

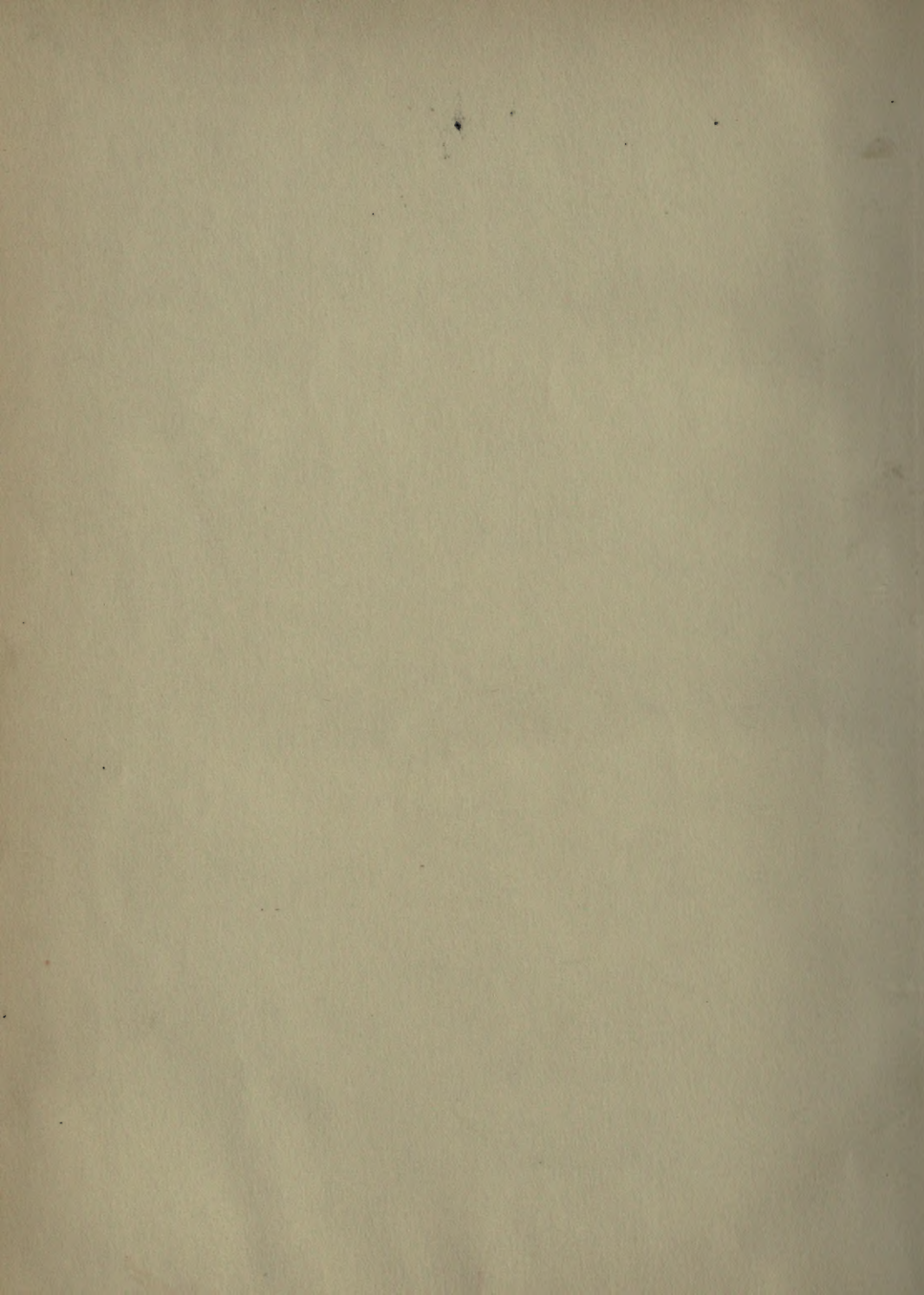
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COMPLAISANCE OF ARTIST

IN SIX VOLUMES



THE  
COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. I

THE  
COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES

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IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. I



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(ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΩΜΩΙΔΙΑΙ)

THE  
COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES

EDITED, TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED

BY  
BENJAMIN BICKLEY ROGERS

VOL. I <sup>122</sup>

- I. THE ACHARNIANS
- II. THE KNIGHTS

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ARISTOTLE'S ECONOMICS



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## ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΒΙΟΙ

### I<sup>1</sup>.

Ἄριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Φιλίππου, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἀθηναῖος, τὸν δῆμον<sup>2</sup> Κυδαθηναίεὺς, Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς· ὃς πρῶτος δοκεῖ τὴν κωμωδίαν ἔτι πλανωμένην τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγωγῇ ἐπὶ τὸ χρησιμώτερον καὶ σεμνότερον μεταγαγεῖν, πικρότερον καὶ αἰσχρότερον Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος βλασφημούντων ἢ ἔδει. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τῆς νέας κωμωδίας τὸν τρόπον ἐπέδειξεν ἐν τῷ Κωκάλῳ<sup>3</sup>, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόμενοι Μένανδρός τε καὶ Φιλῆμων ἐδραματούργησαν. εὐλαβῆς δὲ σφόδρα γενόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐφυῆς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ Φιλωνίδου<sup>4</sup> καθίει δράματα. διὸ καὶ ἔσκωπτον αὐτὸν Ἀριστώνυμος τε καὶ Ἀμειψίας, τετράδι λέγοντες γεγονέναι, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἄλλοις πονοῦντα<sup>5</sup>. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠγωνίσαστο.

<sup>1</sup> This is the recognized "Greek Life of Aristophanes." It is given in the text, except where otherwise mentioned, exactly as it stands in V. It appears, with some modifications, in the Editio Princeps, and generally in the printed editions which contain any life of the poet. Its authority is very slight; the writer seems to have had access to few independent sources of information, and to have derived his facts mainly from the Comedies themselves and the Greek scholia; though C. F. Ranke, in his "De Aristophanis vita Commentatio, Leipsic. 1846," chap. vii, certainly goes too far in denying that he had access to any other authority whatever.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν δῆμον Aldus. τῶν δήμων V.

<sup>3</sup> See on this subject the Introduction to the *Plutus*, p. xxiii in vol. vi of this edition.

<sup>4</sup> The writer does not mean, as some have supposed, that Callistratus and Philonides were engaged together in his earliest plays: his first three plays were brought out in the name of Callistratus; Philonides appears for the first time in the *Rehearsal* which competed with the *Wasps*. After that it was sometimes one and sometimes the other; never both together.

<sup>5</sup> τετράδι γεγονέναι· τὸν Ἡρακλία φασὶ τετράδι γενέσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον ἔνδοξον ὄντα ἄλλῳ ταλαίπωρῳ. λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλοις πονούντων. Prov. Bodl. 867 and Zenobius

διεχθρεύσας δὲ μάλιστα Κλέωνι τῷ δημαγωγῷ καὶ γράψας κατ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἰππέας, ἐν οἷς διελέγχει αὐτοῦ τὰς κλοπὰς καὶ τὸ τυραννικόν, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν σκευοποιῶν τολμήσαντος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ σκευάσαι δι' ὑπερβολὴν φόβου, ἅτε δὴ τυραννικοῦ ὄντος, μηδὲ μὴν ὑποκρίνασθαί τινος τολμῶντος<sup>1</sup>, δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μίλτῳ χρίσας, καὶ αἴτιος αὐτῷ γέγονε ζημίας ε' ταλάντων<sup>2</sup>, ἃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων κατεδικάσθη, ὡς φησιν ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσιν,

ἐγφῶδ' ἐφ' ᾧ γε τὸ κέαρ ἠὺφράνθηεν ἰδῶν,  
τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις οἷς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν.

διήχθρευσε δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης, ἐπειδὴ ξενίας κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἔθετο, ὅτι<sup>3</sup> ἐν δράματι αὐτοῦ Βαβυλωνίοις διέβαλε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς κληρωτὰς ἀρχὰς παρόντων ξένων. ὡς ξένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἔλεγε παρ' ὅσον οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν φασιν εἶναι Ῥόδιον<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ Λίνδου, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινήτην, στοχαζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλείστον χρόνον τὰς διατριβὰς ποιεῖσθαι αὐτόθι, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ἐκέκτητο ἐκέισε, κατὰ τινὰς δὲ ὡς ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος

vi. 7 (Gaisford's *Paroemiog.* pp. 106, 378); Photius, Suidas, Eustathius (on *Iliad* ii. 612, xxiv. 336; *Odyssey* v. 262). And see *Life II* infra. But we are told by both Photius and Suidas that according to Philochorus the proverb was really drawn from the case of Hermes, who we know was born on the fourth day of the month (see note on *Plutus* 1126) and was the *διάκονος* of Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> This is an erroneous deduction from *Knights* 230-3.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Ravenna MS.* and in most MSS. which contain the two plays the *Knights* is placed before the *Acharnians*, as indeed it is in every printed edition before Bekker. The biographer obviously supposed that the *Knights* was the earlier play of the two; and hence the topsy-turvydom of his

present statement. For in reality Cleon's disgorgement of the five talents was the first event; then followed (at what distance of time we cannot tell) the *Acharnians*; and, a year later, the *Knights*.

<sup>3</sup> ὅτι. Both V. and Aldus have *καὶ ὅτι* to the destruction of the sense. διέβαλε Aldus. διέβαλλε V. Here again, in my opinion, the biographer is in error. The *Babylonians* was followed by an impeachment before the Council for high treason; the *ξενίας γραφαὶ* were Cleon's reply to the attack made upon him in the *Knights*.

<sup>4</sup> I do not know why he was supposed to be a *Rhodian*; but in my opinion he had *Aeginetan* blood in his veins. See the *Introduction* to the *Acharnians*.

Αίγινήτης. ἀπολυθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπόντα ἀστείως ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου ταῦτα

μήτηρ μὲν τ' ἐμέ φησι τοῦ ἔμμεναι· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
οὐκ οἶδ'· οὐ γὰρ πώ τις ἐδὸν γόνου αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω [Od. i. 215].

δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον συκοφαντηθεὶς ἀπέφυγε, καὶ οὕτω φανερώς κατασταθεὶς πολίτης κατεκράτησε τοῦ Κλέωνος· ὅθεν φησὶν

αὐτὸς δ' ἔμαντὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἄττ' ἔπαθον<sup>1</sup>  
ἐπίσταμαι δὴ [Acharnians 377]

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐδοκιμῆσαι συκοφάντας καταλύσαντα, οὓς ὠνόμασεν ἠπιάλους ἐν Σφηξίν, ἐν οἷς φησὶν [line 1039]

οἱ τοὺς πατέρας ἦγχον<sup>2</sup> νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς πάππους ἀπέπνυγον.

μάλιστα δὲ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἠγαπήθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν σφόδρα, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ δραμάτων ἐσπούδασε δεῖξαι τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐλευθέρα τέ ἐστι καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τυράννου δουλαγωγουμένη, ἀλλ' οἶδε ὅτι δημοκρατία ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλεύθερος ὢν ὁ δῆμος ἄρχει ἑαυτοῦ. τούτου οὖν χάριν ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐστεφανώθη θαλλῶ<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας, ὃς νενόμισται ἰσότιμος χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ, εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐν τοῖς Βατράχοις περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων,

τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν δίκαιον πολλὰ χρηστὰ τῇ πόλει  
συμπαραινεῖν [line 686].

ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἔνδοξον, τὸ μέτρον<sup>4</sup>, τὸ Ἀριστοφάνειον. οὕτως δὲ γέγονεν ἡ φήμη τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις διήκειν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν<sup>5</sup> πυνθάνεσθαι παρ' ὀποτέροις εἶη ὁ κωμωδοποιός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα Διονυσίῳ τῷ τυράννῳ, βουλευθέντι μαθεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείαν, πέμψαι τὴν Ἀριστοφάνους ποίησιν τὴν κατὰ Σακράτους ἐν Νεφέλαις κατηγορίαν, καὶ συμβουλευσαι τὰ δράματα

<sup>1</sup> ἄττ' ἔπαθον Aldus. ἄττ' ὦν ἔπαθον V. In the play itself it is ἄπαθον, and the next line runs ἐπίσταμαι διὰ τὴν πέρυσσι κωμωδίαν.

<sup>2</sup> πατέρας ἦγχον. πατέρας αὐτῶν ἦγχον V. Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> See the Introduction to the Frogs.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the anapaestic tetrameter catalectic.

<sup>5</sup> He is taking the jest in Ach. 646–51 to be an actual statement of fact.

αὐτοῦ ἀσκηθέντα μαθεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ αἴτιος ζήλου τοῖς νέοις κωμικοῖς, λέγω δὴ Φιλήμονι καὶ Μενάνδρῳ. ψηφίσματος γὰρ γενομένου χορηγικοῦ<sup>1</sup> ὥστε μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν τινὰ ἔτι, καὶ τῶν χορηγῶν οὐκ ἀντεχόντων πρὸς τὸ χορηγεῖν καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκλειπυίας τῆς ἕλης τῶν κωμωδιῶν διὰ τούτων αὐτῶν (αἴτιον γὰρ κωμωδίας τὸ σκώπτειν τινάς), ἔγραψε κωμωδίαν τινὰ<sup>2</sup>, Κώκαλον, ἐν ᾧ εἰσάγει φθορὰν καὶ ἀναγνωρισμὸν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἃ ἐζήλωσε Μένανδρος. πάλιν δὲ ἐκλειπύοτος καὶ τοῦ χορηγεῖν, τὸν Πλοῦτον γράψας εἰς τὸ διαναπαύεσθαι τὰ σκηρικὰ πρόσωπα ἐπιγράφει χοροῦς<sup>3</sup>, φθεγγόμενος ἐν ἐκείνοις ἃ καὶ ὀρώμεν τοὺς νέους οὕτως ἐπιγράφοντας ζήλωφ Ἀριστοφάνους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ δράματι συνέστησε τῷ πλήθει τὸν υἱὸν Ἀραρότα, καὶ οὕτω μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, παῖδας καταλιπὼν τρεῖς, Φίλιππον ὁμώνυμον τῷ πάππῳ καὶ Νικόστρατον καὶ Ἀραρότα, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐδίδαξε τὸν Πλοῦτον. τινὲς δὲ δύο φασί, Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀραρότα, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμνήσθη·

τὴν γυναῖκα δὲ  
ἀσχύνομαι, τὼ τ' οὐ φρονοῦντε παιδίῳ,

ἴσως αὐτοὺς λέγων.

Ἐγραψε δὲ δράματα μδ', ὧν ἀντιλέγεται δ' ὡς οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα Ποίησις Ναυαγδὸς Νῆσοι Νίοβις, ἃ τινες εἶναι ἔφασαν Ἀρχίππου.

<sup>1</sup> χορηγικοῦ. χορηγοῦ V. Aldus.

<sup>2</sup> κωμωδίαν τινὰ. κωμωδίας τινὰς V. Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> χοροῦς. χοροῦ V. Aldus. I suppose the writer to mean that, after the cessation of the old choruses, he still kept up the name of the chorus, as dancing, and

uttering some recognized cries, in the orchestra. None of the emendations of the reading of V. and Aldus are mine; they appear to have been introduced silently, some by one editor and some by another.

II<sup>1</sup>.

Ἄριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς φαλακρὸς ἦν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν Εἰρήνη·  
ἐκωμωδεῖτο δ' ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην, μισεῖσθαι δ' αὐτόν.  
Κρατῖνος

σὺ δὲ τίς<sup>2</sup>; κομψὸς τις ἔροιτο θεατῆς,  
ὑπολεπτολόγος, γυμνιδιώτης, Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων.

καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐξομολογεῖται Σκηναὶς Καταλαμβανούσαις·

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ (φησὶ) τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ,  
τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραλοὺς ἤττον ἢ κείνος ποιῶ.

Ἄριστάνυμος δ' ἐν Ἠλίῳ Ῥιγοῦντι καὶ Σαννυρίων ἐν Γέλωτι τετράδι  
φασὶν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, διδὸν τὸν βίον κατέτριψεν ἐτέροις πονῶν· οἱ γὰρ  
τετράδι γεννώμενοι πονοῦντες ἄλλοις καρποῦσθαι παρέχουσιν, ὡς καὶ  
Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ ἡμερῶν ἱστορεῖ· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆ  
φασὶ γεννηθῆναι. τρεῖς δ' ἔσχεν υἱοὺς, Φίλιππον τὸν τοῖς Εὐβούλου  
δράμασιν ἀγωνισάμενον, καὶ Ἀραρότα ἰδίους τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δράμασι  
διηγωνισαμένον, καὶ τρίτον δὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν Νικόστρατον καλεῖ, οἱ  
δὲ περὶ Δικαίαρχον Φιλέταιρον. κατεκλήρωσε δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰγίναν, ὡς  
Θεογένης<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰγίνης. κωμωδεῖται δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῆς  
Εἰρήνης κολοσσικὸν ἐξῆρεν ἄγαλμα. Εὐπολις Αὐτολύκῳ, Πλάτων  
Νίκαις.

<sup>1</sup> This account is taken from the Scholia on Plato's Apology. The Scholiast obviously cherished a sort of good-natured grudge against Aristophanes, and amused himself by collecting all the instances he could find of a jest having been made at the expense of the poet who made a jest of Socrates. But there is no real malice in his remarks, and he has certainly preserved for us several interesting details which we should not willingly have missed.

<sup>2</sup> σὺ δὲ τίς; Vulgo τίς δὲ σύ;

<sup>3</sup> Θεογένης. This writer is called Theogenes, as here, by the Scholiast on Pindar's Third Nemean, line 21 Θεογένης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰγίνης οὕτω γράφει; but by Tzetzes at Lycophron's Cassandra, line 176 he is called Theagenes, Θεαγένης δὲ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰγίνης φησὶν. The two names are frequently interchanged. This passage is of some importance in determining the person to whom reference is made in Acharnians 653, 654.

III<sup>1</sup>.

'Αριστοφάνης Ῥόδιος ἦτοι Λίνδιος (οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιον ἔφασαν, οἱ δὲ Καμειρέα), θέσει δ' Ἀθηναῖος (ἐπολιτογραφήθη γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς), κωμικὸς, υἱὸς Φιλίππου, γεγωνὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ τὴν ριδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, εὐρετὴς τοῦ τετραμέτρου καὶ ὀκταμέτρου, παῖδας σχῶν Ἀραρότα, Φίλιππον, Φιλέταιρον, κωμικούς. τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπόδουλον ἱστορή-  
 κασιν. δράματα δ' αὐτοῦ μδ' <sup>2</sup>. ἅπερ δὲ πεπράχαμεν <sup>3</sup> Ἀριστοφά-  
 νους δράματα, ταῦτα, Ἀχαρνεῖς, Βάτραχοι, Εἰρήνη, Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι,  
 Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι, Ἴππεῖς, Λυσιστράτη, Νεφέλαι, Ὀρνιθες, Πλούτος,  
 Σφήκες.

IV<sup>4</sup>.

'Αριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς γένει μὲν ἦν Ἀθηναῖος, πατὴρ δὲ  
 Φιλίππου, μητὴρ δὲ Ζηνοδώρας, τὸν δὲ δῆμον Κυδαθηναῖος, Πανδιονίδος  
 φύλης. πάνυ δὲ ὦν εὐφύης καὶ ἀγχίνους, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν νέᾳ κομιδῇ

<sup>1</sup> This life is from the Lexicon of Suidas, and is by no means a favourable specimen of his biographies.

<sup>2</sup> μδ'. The First and Third Lives give forty-four as the number of Comedies written by Aristophanes; the Fourth and the Fifth say fifty-four. But the smaller number is universally accepted, and agrees very closely with the known names of his plays. And of these forty-four, four were supposed to be spurious. See Life I.

<sup>3</sup> πεπράχαμεν. The meaning of this word is not clear. Kuster proposed to alter it to εὐρίκαμεν. Hemsterhuys (as the name Hemsterhuis is commonly written in English) translated it *tracta-*

*vimus*. In my opinion it is equivalent to our word *published*, and means that Suidas put out a MS. containing these eleven plays. These are the very eleven plays which have come down to us; and I suspect that our knowledge of Aristophanes rests upon this MS. of Suidas. The date of Suidas is unknown; and it is quite possible, though perhaps not very likely, that our Ravenna MS. is in the handwriting of Suidas or his assistants.

<sup>4</sup> This life is written by Thomas Magister. Of the Platonic epigram with which it concludes, I ventured to prefix to the Introduction to the Ecclesiastiazusae the following translation:—

The Graces sought a heavenly shrine which ne'er  
 Shall come to nought,  
 And in thy soul, Immortal Poet, found  
 The shrine they sought.



τῇ ἡλικίᾳ εὐδοκίμησεν ἐν κωμωδίαις, ὡς οὐ μόνον τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπερᾶραι· μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις παρήκεν ὑπερβολὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος παρήλθεν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀνεφάνη τις ὕστερον Ἀριστοφάνει παραπλήσιος. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦται θαύματος. δράματα δὲ δ' πρὸς τοῖς ν' γέγραφεν, ἅπαντα εὐμουσίας καὶ χάριτος Ἀττικῆς μεστὰ καὶ πείθοντα τοὺς ἀκούοντας θαυμάζειν τε καὶ κροτεῖν. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας συμφέροντος ἐποιεῖτο λόγον, ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπρᾶς τύχης οὐδέποτε ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ σκώπτειν, εἰ ἀδικούντος ἦσθετο· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ δεδιότες οἱ τοιοῦτοι μετρίου σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρείχον ἀεὶ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ λυσιτελοῦντας. ἔσχε δὲ γ' υἱοὺς, Φίλιππον, Νικόστρατον καὶ Ἀραρότα. ἀποθανόντα δ' οὕτω Πλάτων ἐτίμησεν ἐν ἐπιγράμματι ἠρωελεγεῖω·

αἱ Χάριτες, τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται  
ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

## V 1.

Ἀριστοφάνης Φιλίππου Ἀθηναῖος, μακρολογώτατος Ἀθηναίων, καὶ εὐφυῖα πάντα ὑπεραίρων, ζηλῶν δὲ Εὐριπίδην, τοῖς δὲ μέλεσι λεπτότερος. ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διοτίμου διὰ Καλλιστράτου. τὰς μὲν γὰρ πολιτικὰς τούτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν διδόναι, τὰ δὲ κατ' Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σωκράτους Φιλωνίδην. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο νομισθεὶς ἀγαθὸς ποιητῆς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπιγραφόμενος ἑνίκα. ἔπειτα τῷ υἱῷ ἐδίδου τὰ δράματα, ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν νδ' ὄν νθθα δ'.

<sup>1</sup> This is extracted from the article *περὶ κωμωδίας* (in the *Prolegomena* of Aldus), as emended by various scholars.

The chief emendation ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διοτίμου for ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλοτίμου is due to Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* anno 427 B. C.

## ARISTOPHANES

TO HIS READERS

All evil thoughts and profane be still; far hence, far hence from our choirs depart  
Who knows not well what the Mystics tell, or is not holy and pure of heart.

FROGS 354, 355.

THE  
ACHARNIANS OF ARISTOPHANÈS



121  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΑΧΑΡΝΕΙΣ

THE

# ACHARNIANS OF ARISTOPHANES

ACTED AT ATHENS AT THE LENAEAN FESTIVAL, B.C. 425

THE GREEK TEXT REVISED

WITH A TRANSLATION INTO CORRESPONDING METRES  
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

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## INTRODUCTION

IN the Lenaeae Dionysia of the year 427 B.C. three plays, as usual, competed for the prize of Comedy. One of the three, called the "Banqueters" (*Δαιταλεῖς*), was brought out in the name of Callistratus. But everybody knew that it was not his own composition; everybody knew that it was the work of a new writer, whose name has from that day to this been much in men's mouths, ARISTOPHANES the son of Philippus.

This was the commencement of the poet's dramatic career; and we have every reason to believe that he commenced it at an unusually early age; *ἐν νέᾳ κομιδῇ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*<sup>1</sup>, says one authority; when he was *σχεδὸν μειρακίσκος*, says another. I take the words *σχεδὸν μειρακίσκος* to mean *little more than a μειρακίσκος*. And as the term *μειράκιον* denotes a youth<sup>2</sup> "in the later teens or the early twenties," the Scholiast would hardly have used those words had he conceived the poet to have been, when he wrote the *Banqueters*, more than 25 years of age. We may therefore assume that, according to the Scholiast, Aristophanes was not over 25 in February, 427, and consequently was not born before February, 452. And I do not think that we can fix his age more precisely than this.

It has indeed been frequently suggested that some light is thrown upon the matter by a single line in the existing *Parabasis* of the *Clouds*<sup>3</sup>, or

<sup>1</sup> *ἐν νέᾳ κομιδῇ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ εὐδοκίμησεν ἐν κωμωδίαις*.—Thomas Magister. See Life IV at the commencement of this volume. *σχεδὸν μειρακίσκος ἦδη ἤπτετο τῶν ἀγῶνων*.—Scholiast on *Frogs* 501.

<sup>2</sup> See a learned and instructive article by Dr. A. A. Bryant on "Boyhood and Youth in the days of Aristophanes."—*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xviii, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> This *Parabasis* must have been written many years after the exhibition of the *Clouds* in 423 B.C., since it not only mentions the *Maricas* of Eupolis (exhibited 421 B.C., see Scholiast on *Clouds* 552), but adds that the attack which Eupolis

rather by a gloss<sup>1</sup> of extremely doubtful value upon line 510 of that play. There Aristophanes is speaking of himself as a mother, and of the "Banqueters" as his child, and he says that he exposed the infant, and another girl took it up to rear; and he gives as a reason for his unnatural conduct *παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν, κοῦκ ἐξῆν πῶ μοι τεκεῖν*. Now taking the line as it stands, I should suppose the poet to be comparing himself to an unmarried maiden who had never borne, and could not rightly bear, a child. But the author of the "Gloss. Victor." takes quite a different view. The words *οὐκ ἐξῆν τεκεῖν* are, in his opinion, not confined to the *παρθένος* metaphor, but refer to an actual legal disability imposed on the poet himself. "For there was a law<sup>2</sup>," says he, "among the Athenians, that no person under 30 years of age should recite a drama in the theatre" (*δρᾶμα ἀναγιώσκειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*, a strange expression) "or speak in the public Assembly. In obedience to this law therefore the poet, not being yet 30 years of age, recited to the theatre through the agency of Philonides and Callistratus the Comedies he had himself composed." Now if this statement were correct, Aristophanes must have been over 30 when, in 424 B. C., he exhibited the Knights in his own name, and over 27 when, three years earlier, he exhibited the Banqueters in the name of Callistratus. But wherever Vettori may have picked up this gloss, if indeed he did not compose it himself, it is altogether unworthy of credence. The idea that the privilege of

there delivered upon Hyperbolus had been subsequently repeated, almost *ad nauseam*, by Hermippus and other Comedians.

<sup>1</sup> Not one of the authentic scholia on the great MSS., but one of the so-called "Victor Glosses," "being glosses excerpted from the notes which the Italian scholar Petrus Victorius (Pietro Vettori) entered in his copy of the Aldine Aristophanes now preserved in Munich."—Dr. Earnest Cary, in an interesting article on "Victorius and Codex F of Aristophanes" in vol. 37, p. 199 of the Transactions of the American Philological Association.

<sup>2</sup> νόμος ἦν Ἀθηναίοις μήπω τινὰ ἐτῶν λ' γεγονότα μήτε δρᾶμα ἀναγιώσκειν ἐν θεάτρῳ, μήτε δημηγορεῖν. τοῦτ' ἂν νόμῳ καὶ ὁ Κωμικός οὗτος εἰργόμενος πρότερον διὰ τὸ μὴ τριακονταετῆς ἔτι ὑπάρχειν ποιῶν δρᾶματα διὰ Φιλωνίδου καὶ Καλλιστράτου ἀνεγίνωσκεν εἰς τὸ θεᾶτρον. In the Aldine edition a similar statement is made on Clouds 530, but that seems to have been written by the editor, and is not found in modern editions of the Scholia.



speaking in the public Assembly was confined to citizens over 30 years of age is absolutely unfounded; see the Commentary on Eccl. 130 and Schömann, *De Comitibus* i. 10. And as to the dramatic performances, we must remember that the Archon selected for the public competition the three Comedies which he considered the best; and is it believable that the Athenians would have been debarred, or rather would have debarred themselves, from listening to (it may be) the very best Comedy of the year because its author was only 29 years of age? Then again, in the Knights this very question is put, Why had not the poet previously asked for a Chorus in his own name? How easy it would have been for him to answer, if the fact were so, *The law forbade me*. But no; no such thought ever occurs to him; he gives as his reason *That in his opinion the Comic poet's business is the most difficult thing in the world; κωμφοδοδιδασκαλίαν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον ἔργον ἀπάντων*, and that he was too modest, *σώφρων*, to put himself forward at first. His very excuse shows that had he chosen to apply for a Chorus there was nothing to prevent his obtaining one. No doubt a competitor was required to be an Athenian citizen, and must therefore have been of sufficient age to be entered on the roll of citizenship; but this was the only limit. We may dismiss from our minds all idea of a law<sup>1</sup> fixing the age at which, and not before which, an Athenian citizen was qualified to compete at the Dionysian festivals.

Critics who are willing to make bricks without straw have amused themselves by guessing the particular year in which Aristophanes was born. Several of these guesses, ranging over the decade from 454 to 444 B.C., are given by Mr. Roland G. Kent in the *Classical Review*, xix. 153. He does not, however, quote K. O. Müller's opinion, a writer to whose opinions I myself am accustomed to attach a paramount value. Müller in his *History of Greek Literature* places the birth of Aristophanes at 452 B.C. or thereabouts, a date which chimes in very well with what

<sup>1</sup> Bergk too, in his preliminary note to the *Fragments of Aristophanes* in *Meineke's Fragm. Com. Graec.*, expresses, though on different grounds, his disbelief in the existence of any such law.

has already been said. Not that I have any idea of guessing that year, or any other year, as the year in which Aristophanes was actually born. I only say that, according to the indications that have reached us, he can hardly have been born *before*, though he may very well have been born *after*, the year 452 B.C.

But in truth we know very little of Aristophanes except from his own Comedies. Nor perhaps is this altogether to be regretted. A poet is seen far more truly in his works than in the petty details of his daily life. I do not know that we have lost anything by knowing so little of Shakespeare's life, or gained anything by knowing so much of Milton's.

And if we know little of the poet's private life, we are equally in the dark as regards his lineage. But it seems to me so probable as to be almost certain that he had in his veins some strain of Aeginetan blood.

We are told on as good authority as we can expect in a matter of this sort, viz. that of the Ravenna Scholiast, that Cleon<sup>1</sup> brought against him a *γραφὴ ξενίας*, an indictment for usurping the privileges of an Athenian citizen when he was really an alien; no doubt for exhibiting a play in the Athenian Theatre, which none but an Athenian citizen was qualified to do. Probably these proceedings were taken not by Cleon in his own name, but by one of his creatures, one of the hundred parasites<sup>2</sup> who were always hovering about him, only too eager to be employed in "doing his dirty work." The writer of the Greek Life of Aristophanes says<sup>3</sup> that proceedings of this kind were brought against him on three separate occasions, and were invariably unsuccessful. While therefore it is clear that Aristophanes was really a genuine Athenian citizen, it is equally clear that there were circumstances connected with his parentage or descent, which afforded some ground for disputing his claim to be so. We are told in the Greek Life that some said that he was a Rhodian, and others that he was an Aeginetan; and again that his father Philip

<sup>1</sup> *καὶ ξενίας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐγράψατο [ὁ Κλέων] καὶ εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐνέβαλεν.*—Scholiast on Acharnians 378. In my opinion this particular action was Cleon's reply to the attack in the Knights.

<sup>2</sup> Wasps 1033, Peace 756.

<sup>3</sup> See the First Life at the commencement of this volume.

was an Aeginetan. The Greek Life is of very little authority in itself, but its writer must have obtained these rumours from some earlier source.

But we know with certainty that "Aristophanes" was an Aeginetan name; for Pindar wrote his Third Nemean to celebrate the victory of the Aeginetan Aristocleides, *the son of Aristophanes*. Whatever may have been the date of that ode, it was certainly written many years before our poet was born. It is possible, though perhaps not probable, that his father Philip was a brother, or that his mother was a sister, of Aristocleides, and that the poet, according to the common Hellenic custom, received the name of his grandfather. But whatever his connexion with Aegina, it is clear that his forbears had in some way or other obtained the full privileges of Athenian citizenship. And this kinship with Aegina is necessary to explain the remarkable reference to that island contained in the Parabasis Proper of the present play. The Spartans ask you to restore Aegina, say the Chorus, not that they care for the island itself, but in order to deprive you of your poet. This is explained by the Scholiast to mean that, in the division of the island between Athenian cleruchs<sup>1</sup> about five years and a half before the date of this Comedy, some lands were allotted to Aristophanes: a fact extremely probable in itself, and confirmed<sup>2</sup> by the testimony of Theogenes in his work on Aegina. But it does not adequately meet the requirements of the Parabasis, since the Spartans would not be depriving Athens of her poet by confiscating his land in Aegina. Of course the whole idea is a jest, but it ought to be a plausible jest; and it seems to me that, in order to give any sort of plausibility to the argument, we must take it to mean that the Spartans, if they obtained possession of the island, might be in a position to claim the poet himself as a person of Aeginetan descent. That the language is intended to apply to Aristophanes seems to me abundantly clear. On this subject the reader will find some remarks further on in the course of this Introduction.

This is all we know about the antecedents of the young Athenian

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. ii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Life II at the commencement of this volume.

who, exactly two years before the date of the *Acharnians*, produced his first Comedy the *Δαιταλείς*, "the Banqueters," on the boards of the Athenian Theatre. We have no means of reconstructing the plot of that Comedy; but, chiefly from a somewhat unexpected source, viz. one<sup>1</sup> of Galen's treatises on the writings of his famous predecessor Hippocrates, we know a good deal of its general character and aims. It seems to have been an attack on the new sophistical school of education, such as the poet, four years later, renewed with so much skill and vigour in its "sister Comedy" of the *Clouds*. The principal characters were an old countryman and his two sons, who are dubbed in the *Clouds* ὁ σῶφρων and ὁ καταπύγων. The latter, whose name was Thrasymachus (possibly a name borrowed from the famous sophist of Chalcedon), had been sent to Athens to finish his education there, whilst the father and the other son remained in the country, content with their old-fashioned education, and carrying on, with their own hands, the manual labour of the farm. The old man was probably described as a *Μαραθωνομάχης*; at all events he had been reared in the discipline which *Μαραθωνομάχους* ἐθρεψεν, loving his Homer, and the heroes and demigods of a bygone age. But when Thrasymachus returns, a smart and accomplished Athenian citizen, his father discovers, to his consternation, that education is now conducted at Athens on entirely different principles. The system of the ἄδικος λόγος has superseded the system of the Δίκαιος λόγος. <sup>2</sup> *He learnt nothing that I sent him to*

<sup>1</sup> The treatise called *Τῶν Ἱπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις*. The exact meaning of γλώσσαις is preserved in our term "Glossary." And the treatise in question is merely a glossary to the works of Hippocrates with an important Preliminary Note.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
πίνειν, ἔπειτ' εἶδεν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν,  
Συβαρίτιδάς τ' εὐωχίας, καὶ Χίον ἐκ Λακωνῶν.—Athenaeus xii. 34 (p. 527 C).

Athenaeus quotes the lines as proving the luxury of the "Syracusan table"; which indeed was proverbial. *Συρακοσία τράπεζα' ἡ πολυτελής. ἐδόκουν γὰρ οἱ Σικελιώται ἀβροδίατοι εἶναι μᾶλλον πάντων*.—Bodleian Proverbs 848, Zenobius v. 94 (Gaisford's *Paroemiogr.* pp. 104, 374), Photius, Suidas. See Plato's *Republic* iii, chap. 13. As to the Chian wine, see the Commentary on *Eccles.* 1119 and 1139. Athenaeus has a short chapter on the Laconian κύλικες, xi. 69, in which he again quotes the third of the foregoing lines.

learn, says the old man, *but instead to drink, and to sing (and that in ill fashion), and the Syracusan table, and Sybaritic feasting, and Chian wine out of Laconian goblets.* In appearance Thrasymachus has become a young fop, smooth as an eel, and wearing golden ringlets<sup>1</sup>. The last thing he is willing to do is to help his father and brother by labouring on the farm. He has been used to play the pipe and the lyre, and even that is a fatigue to him, and do they now ask him to dig<sup>2</sup>? In one subject, however, he had been carefully trained by his sophistical teachers. He knew all the tricks of litigation, and had the language of Solon's laws at his fingers' ends; so that, when his father questions him as to the meaning of certain Homeric phrases, he retorts by propounding questions as to the meaning of certain legal phrases. The dialogue is given by Galen in the preliminary note to his "Glossary to the Works of Hippocrates." He is explaining<sup>3</sup> that by γλωσσαι he means words obsolete, or employed in other than their ordinary signification, or invented by Hippocrates himself. And he proposes to illustrate his meaning by examples taken from the Δαιταλείς of Aristophanes. There, he says, the father asks the young profligate the meaning of certain Homeric phrases,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ λείους ὥσπερ ἔγγελυς, χρυσοῦς τ' ἔχων κικίνους. This line is compounded by Hemsterhuys from two quotations. Athenaeus vii. 54 (p. 299 B) quotes from the Δαιταλείς the words καὶ λείους ὥσπερ ἔγγελυς, and the Scholiast on Theocritus xi. 10 quotes from τοῦ Κωμικοῦ the words ὥσπερ ἔγγελυς, χρυσοῦς ἔχων κικίνους. These κικίνους of the young fops Aristophanes could never abide. Cf. Wasps 1069.

<sup>2</sup> ὅσα τ' ἀλοῖς καὶ λύραισι κατατέτριμμαί χρώμενος,  
εἰτά με σκάπτειν κελεύεις;—Athenaeus iv. 84 (p. 184 E).

I take κατατέτριμμαί to be used in its ordinary sense, *I am quite worn out with*, and not, as it is generally interpreted, "I have passed my whole time."

<sup>3</sup> ὁ λόγος ὅδε σίγκειται περιέχων οὐ μόνον ὅσα, τοῖς ἄλλοις παλαιοῖς ὑπάρχοντα συνήθη τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἐν ἔθει νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τινα τρόπον ἴδιον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης, ἢ μετενεγκάν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνήθους, ἢ σχῆμα περιθεῖς ἕτερον, ἢ τὸ σημαῖνον ὑπαλλάξας. ὅτι γὰρ ἐποίουν οἱ παλαιοὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτοῖς, δέδεικται μὲν ἰκανῶς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένους ἐν τοῖς Περί ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, δείξαίμι δὲ ἄν σοι καὶ γὰρ νῦν διὰ βραχείων, ἐπὶ παραδειγμάτων ὀλίγων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνωσκειν ἐναργέστερον οἶον μὲν ἢ γλωττά ἐστίν, οἶον δέ τι καὶ τὸ παραπλήσιον αὐτῇ. νομίζω δὲ σοι τὰ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους ἀρκέσειν τὰ ἐκ τῶν Δαιταλέων, ὧδέ πως ἔχοντα.

κόρυμβα and ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα<sup>1</sup>. The word κόρυμβα, the *figure-heads* of the ships, is found in Iliad ix. 241, where Hector is described as threatening<sup>2</sup> to cut off the ἄκρα κόρυμβα of the Achaean vessels, and then to burn the vessels themselves. The phrase ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα occurs four times in the Odyssey, twice in the Tenth, and twice in the Eleventh, Book, and always signifies *the sapless skulls* of the dead. But the singular thing is that, though these three words are Homeric phrases, their use is by no means confined to the epic; they are all found also in contemporary writers. The word κόρυμβον, which occurs only once in Homer, is employed twice by Aeschylus in the Persae; κάρηνον (in its Doric form κάρανον) is found in the Choephoroe; and ἀμενηνός in the Ajax of Sophocles. Apparently, however, the great Athenian Tragoedians are as much a sealed book to Thrasymachus as are the Epics of Homer, and instead of attempting to answer these questions he parries them by asking, in his turn, whether his brother, the σώφρων, knows the meaning of the legal terms ἰδυίοι and ὀπιύειν. The first word, ἰδυίοι (otherwise ἰδύοι), *people who*

<sup>1</sup> The lines of Aristophanes, so far as they can be restored, are supposed to be as follows:—

ΠΑΤΗΡ. πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ λέξον Ὀμηρείους γλώττας, τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα,  
τί καλοῦσ' ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα.  
ΘΡΑΣΥΜΑΧΟΣ. ὁ μὲν οὖν σὸς, ἐμὸς δ' οὗτος ἀδελφός, φρασάτω τί καλοῦσιν ἰδυίους,  
τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὀπιύειν.

The first line is found in Pollux ii. 109, and no doubt the shorter lines are the latter halves of anapaestic tetrameters. The text of Galen, at least in Kühn's edition, is in a very confused state, but as corrected by various critics it is made to run as follows. Immediately after the words ὠδέ πως ἔχοντα, with which the preceding note terminates, Galen proceeds:—

“πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ λέξον Ὀμηρείους γλώττας, τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα.” προβάλλει γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ δράματι ὁ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαιταλέων πρεσβύτες τῷ ἀκολάστῳ νείῳ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ κόρυμβα τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐξηγήσασθαι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο “τί καλοῦσ' ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα.” κακείνος μὲντοι ἀντιπροβάλλει τῶν ἐν τοῖς Σόλωνος ἄξοσι γλωττῶν τὰς εἰς δίκας διαφερούσας ὠδέ πως “ὁ μὲν οὖν σὸς, ἐμὸς δ' οὗτος ἀδελφός, φρασάτω τί καλοῦσιν ἰδυίους.” εἴτ' ἐφέξης προβάλλει, “τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὀπιύειν.” ἐξ ὧν δήλον ὡς ἡ γλώττα παλαιόν ἐστιν ὄνομα τῆς συνηθείας ἐκπεπτωκός.

<sup>2</sup> Why, asks the Homeric scholiast, would Hector before burning the vessels cut off their κόρυμβα? And he answers his question by saying, Because in them are the statues and images of the gods.

*know*, that is, *eyewitnesses*, seems to be a legal term and nothing more. 'Ιδύους' τοὺς μάρτυρας. οὕτω Σόλων.—Photius. ὅτι δὲ ἰδύους καὶ Δράκων καὶ Σόλων τοὺς μάρτυράς φησιν, Αἴλιος Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ.—Eustathius on Iliad xviii. 501. See Fritzsche's Essay, "De Daetalensibus Aristophanis," p. 42. And that *δπύειω* (otherwise *δπέιω*), *to marry*, is a legal term used in Solon's laws is plain from the passage in Plutarch's Solon, ch. 20, to which Dindorf refers. It is, however, employed by Aristophanes himself in line 255 of the Acharnians, possibly not without a reminiscence of the pointed question which is propounded in the *Δαιταλεῖς* as to its proper signification.

So far Galen has been illustrating his statement, that the term *γλωσσαι* is applicable to words which were formerly in familiar use, but have now fallen into desuetude. He now proposes to illustrate the further statement, that the men of old time coined new words peculiar to themselves which did not pass into general currency. And for this purpose also he refers to the *Δαιταλεῖς* and quotes another dialogue between the Father and the Profligate Son. The former dialogue was in anapaestic tetrameters, this is in ordinary iambic senarii. It is given below<sup>1</sup> as it is emended and arranged by Elmsley in his note on Acharnians 716. The young reprobate has the impertinence to tell his father that he is so old-fashioned and antiquated as to be no better than a corpse. "Why, you are a coffinette," he says, "and funeral fillets and perfumes<sup>2</sup>." For *σορός*, a *coffin*, he uses the affected diminutive *σορέλλη*. "Coffinette!" cries the father, "you got that word from Lysistratus," meaning

- <sup>1</sup> ΘΡΑΣ. ἀλλ' εἶ σορέλλη, καὶ μύρον, καὶ ταινία.  
 ΠΑ. ἰδοὺ σορέλλη' τοῦτο παρὰ Λυσιστράτου.  
 ΘΡΑΣ. ἦ μὴν ἴσως σὺ καταπλαγήσει τῇ χρόνῳ.  
 ΠΑ. τὸ καταπλαγήσει τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων.  
 ΘΡΑΣ. ἀποβήσεται σοι ταῦτά ποι τὰ ῥήματα.  
 ΠΑ. παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦτο τ' ἀποβήσεται.  
 ΘΡΑΣ. τί ὑποτεκμαίρει, καὶ κακῶς ἄνδρας λέγεις  
 καλοκάγαθίαν ἀσκοῦντας; ΠΑ. οἴμ', ὦ Θρασύμαχε,  
 τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγῶρων γηρίεται;

<sup>2</sup> As to fillets and perfumes used in funerals, see Eccl. 538 and 1032, and the passage from the Tagenistae cited in the Commentary on Eccl. 131.

probably the Lysistratus mentioned in the Acharnians, the Knights, and the Wasps. "Ah!" says the son, "I warrant you will be quite dumb-founded<sup>1</sup> by and by." "Quite dumbfounded!" retorts the father, "that came from the orators." "Well, you will find that these sayings," the son goes on, "will issue somewhither." "Issue somewhither!" says the father, "you got that from Alcibiades." Alcibiades was at this time a mere youth, and probably in some speech had said, mysteriously, that his words would "issue somewhither," that is, would have some effect. It must be admitted that the old farmer seems well acquainted with what is going on at Athens. Finally the son asks, "Why do you make these conjectures, and speak ill of men who practise gentlemanliness?" And the father replies, "O dear, which of the advocates is it, Thrasymachus, who talks in that fashion<sup>2</sup>?"

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to consider the other fragments of the *Δαιταλείς*. Enough has been said to show what was the general purport of the play, and in what sense Aristophanes considered the

<sup>1</sup> *καταπλαγήσει*. Some would alter *καταπλαγήσει* into *καταπλιγήσει*, and *ἀποβήσεται* (two lines below) into *ἀποβύσεται*, on the assumption that Aristophanes is in this short dialogue intending to confine himself to words or phrases newly invented and used only by the inventor. But that is not the idea of Aristophanes. Galen quotes the passage as on the whole illustrating, or tending to illustrate, his own proposition, but some lines do so less effectively than others.

<sup>2</sup> After the passage cited in a preceding note, and ending with the words *τῆς συνηθείας ἐκπεπτωκός*, Galen proceeds:—

ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν περὶ λόγους ἐχόντων ἡξίου ποιεῖν ὀνόματα καινὰ, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ἱκανῶς, ὃς γε ὅπως αὐτὰ ποιητέον ἐκδιδάσκει, δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν ταυτῷ δράματι διὰ τῶνδε· "ἀλλ' εἰ σορέλλη καὶ μύρον καὶ ταινία." εἶτα ὁ πρεσβύτες ἐπισκώπτων· "ἰδοὺ σορέλλη" τοῦτο παρὰ Λυσιστράτου." πάλιν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀκολάστον νέος εἰπόντος· "ἢ μὴν ἴσως σὺ καταπλαγήσει τῷ χρόνῳ." καὶ τοῦθ' υἱοῦ ὁ πρεσβύτες ἐπισκώπτων ἐρεῖ· "τὸ καταπλαγήσει τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων." εἶτ' αὖθις ἐκείνου φάντος· "ἀποβήσεται σοι ταῦτα ποι τὰ ῥήματα." πάλιν ὁ πρεσβύτες καὶ τοῦτο σκώπτει· "παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦτο τἀποβήσεται." καὶ μὲν γε καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὐδέπω πανόμενος οὐδὲ αἰδούμενος τὸν γέροντά φησι· "τί ὑποτεκμαίρει καὶ κακῶς ἄνδρας λέγεις καλοκάγαθιαν ἀσκούντας;" εἶτα ὁ πρεσβύτες· "οἴμ', ὦ Θρασύμαχε, τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγῶρων γηρύεται;" δηλον οὖν ἐκ τούτων οἴμαι σοι γεγονέναι, ὡς εἶπον, εἶναι τρόπον τῶν γλωττῶν ἢ τοῦ κοινοῦ πᾶσι ὀνόματος ἐκπεπόντος τῆς ἐπικρατούσης συνηθείας, ἢ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τινος τῶν παλαιῶν μὴ παραδεχθέντος ὅλως εἰς τὴν συνηθειαν.



Clouds its "sister Comedy." Each play upheld the ancient, and deplored the modern, theory of education. The object of the old system was the formation of character; the object of the new was to make men sharp-witted and argumentative, and its *effect* was to render them irreverent and unprincipled. The *Δαιταλείς*, who formed the Chorus of the Play, were Banqueters feasting in the temple of Heracles. There were several temples of Heracles in Athens, and Commentators have discussed at some length, and with much learning, which of these temples was the scene of the banquet; see especially Fritzsche, "De Daetalensibus," pp. 23-32. But we cannot be sure that the scene of the Comedy was laid in Athens at all: the action may well have taken place in a country village, where a temple to Heracles was by no means uncommon. And in all probability the merrymaking was of a rustic and primitive character, like those represented in the Acharnians and the Plutus, and so would be little to the taste of the city-educated son. The old man would seem to have been himself one of these Banqueters, and the description of him by Galen as a member of the *deme* of *Δαιταλείς* (ὁ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαιταλέων πρεσβύτης) may well have been invented, as a jest, by the irreverent youngster.

The Scholiast on Clouds 529<sup>1</sup> tells us that the *Δαιταλείς*, though received with great praise, did not obtain the prize, but was awarded only the second place amongst the three competing Comedies. And as he probably had access to the *didascalie*, we must, I suppose, accept his testimony. Yet it seems inconsistent with the language of Aristophanes himself in the passage on which the Scholiast is commenting. The poet is there contrasting the different fortunes of the *Δαιταλείς* and the Clouds. The former, he says, received the very highest praise, *ΑΡΙΣΤ' ἠκουσάτην*; with the latter he retired defeated. Yet if he was defeated on both occasions, if neither Comedy obtained the prize, and the only difference between their fortunes was that the earlier play was placed Second, and the later Third, amongst the three competitors, there was no

<sup>1</sup> ἄριστ' ἠκουσάτην· ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐδοκίμησαν. οὐ γὰρ εἰκόμησαν, ἐπεὶ δεῦτερος ἐκρίθη ἐν τῷ δράματι.—Ravenna Scholiast.

very striking contrast between their respective receptions. However, it is useless to challenge the authority of the Scholiast in a matter of this kind.

Before finally taking leave of the *Δαιταλείς*, it may be desirable to revert to the statement made in the opening sentences of this Introduction, that the Comedy was brought out in the name of Callistratus. This we are distinctly told by the author of the Fifth Life of Aristophanes given at the commencement of the present volume, and there is no doubt of his accuracy. For though the Scholiast on *Clouds* 531 explains the words *παῖς ἑτέρα*, there employed, by "*Φιλωνίδης καὶ Καλλίστρατος*," and other grammarians say that Philonides and Callistratus brought out the earliest Plays of Aristophanes, they are clearly referring to the poet's general practice of bringing out his Comedies in one or other of these two names, and do not mean that the two co-operated in any one play. Or if that were their meaning, we know enough of the poet's practice to be able to assert with confidence that they are absolutely wrong. Neither are those old grammarians to be believed who suggest that either Callistratus or Philonides was an actor in the poet's Comedies. The actors were chosen by the State, not by the Comic poet. These two men were undoubtedly inferior playwrights, friends of the poet, whose names appeared, instead of his own, in the application to the Archon for a Chorus, that is to say, for the privilege of having the Comedy exhibited under the auspices of the State at the ensuing Dionysia. The first three Comedies of Aristophanes—the *Banqueters*, the *Babylonians*, and the *Acharnians*—were all brought out in the name of Callistratus; the name of Philonides does not make its appearance until several years later, namely at the *Lenaeon* festival of B.C. 422. Of the eleven extant comedies three—the *Acharnians*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata*—were certainly produced in the name of Callistratus; one, the *Frogs*, in the name of Philonides; and five—the *Knights*, the *Clouds*, the *Wasps*, the *Peace*, and the *Plutus*—in the name of Aristophanes himself. We are not told in whose name the *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Ecclesiazusae* were produced. But we know that the *Rehearsal* was brought out in the name of Philonides at the same Dionysia at which Aristophanes exhibited the *Wasps* in his own

name; and that in the year 414 B. C., when Aristophanes exhibited the *Birds* at the Great Dionysia in the name of Callistratus, he also exhibited the *Amphiaraus* at the Lenaeon Dionysia in the name of Philonides.

That the *Banqueters* was exhibited at the Lenaeon festival is inferred from *Acharnians* 1150-5; a passage which also tells us that the *Choregus* was one Antimachus, and that he excluded Aristophanes himself from the usual Choral banquet; doubtless on the ground that he was not the officially recognized *χοροδιδάσκαλος* of the play.

In the year 426 B. C., the year following the production of the *Δαιταλεῖς*, during the archonship of Eucles<sup>1</sup>, Aristophanes again obtained a Chorus, and competed for the Comic prize, this time at the Great Dionysia. This, his second play, was called the *Babylonians*, *Βαβυλώνιοι*, and was brought out, like the first, in the name of Callistratus. The fragments of this play are exceedingly minute and scrappy, and we should really know little or nothing of its character but for the (to us) most fortunate circumstance that it brought its author into collision with Cleon. And from the account which Aristophanes gives in the *Acharnians* of the attack made upon him by Cleon, and from the defence which he there offers

<sup>1</sup> τὸν Βαβυλωνίους ἐδίδαξε διὰ Καλλιστράτου Ἀριστοφάνης, ἔτεσι πρὸ τοῦ Εὐκλείδου κε', ἐπὶ Εὐκλείους.—Photius (and Suidas), s. vv. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος. κε' (25) is Bouhier's correction for και, and is accepted by Hemsterhuys, Wesseling, Dindorf, and Ranke, *De Aristophanis vita*, p. 330. Clinton altered και into κδ' (24), and this is followed by Fritzsche (*De Babylonii Commentatio*, p. 1) and Bergk (*Preliminary Note to Fragments*). But Bouhier is clearly right. The letters ε and α are constantly confused; and Photius, according to the Greek mode of computation, is reckoning, in his calculation, both the archonship from which he starts and that with which he concludes. This makes the interval twenty-five years. In our method of computation it would be twenty-four. But why does Photius refer to this interval at all? I have seen no explanation of this, but I take the reason to be that some writers (as, for example, Diodorus xii. 53) give the name of Euclides, instead of Eucles, to the archon of 428-427; and that Photius, knowing the archonship of Euclides to have occurred in 404-403, is careful to mention that this play was exhibited in the archonship of Eucles, and not in that of Euclides which did not take place until (we should say twenty-four, but the Greeks would say) twenty-five years later.

for the satire against which that attack was directed, we do undoubtedly gain some insight into the scope and nature of the second Comedy.

And first as to Cleon's attack. We are told by the Scholiast<sup>1</sup> on Acharnians 378 that in the Babylonians Aristophanes satirized many persons, making fun of the officials, whether elected by votes or by lot, and of Cleon, apparently by name. Cleon enraged at this—for the play was exhibited at the Great Dionysia, when foreigners were present—indicted him for wrongdoing towards the citizens, as having done these things in a manner insulting to the Demos and the Council. This account is possibly to some extent derived from the Acharnians itself, but anyhow appears to be substantially correct. We learn from Acharnians 379<sup>2</sup> that the proceedings were taken in the Council. And that they did not consist of a mere invective, but took the form of actual litigation, is plain from the expression "he *dragged me* into the Council Chamber." Cleon must therefore have proceeded by way of *εἰσαγγελία*, *denunciation*, a proceeding<sup>3</sup> prescribed by law for certain offences of a treasonable character, and available for all offences not precisely falling within the provisions of any existing legislative enactment. If the βουλή entertained the denunciation it might direct the form in which the question should

<sup>1</sup> (On the words τὴν πέρσι κωμῳδίαν.) τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λέγει. τούτους γὰρ πρὸ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν οἷς πολλοὺς κακῶς εἶπεν. ἐκωμῳδῆσε γὰρ τὰς τε κληρωτὰς καὶ χειροτονητὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ Κλέωνα, παρόντων τῶν ξένων. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Κλέων ἐγράψατο αὐτὸν ἀδικίας εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς εἰς ὕβριν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ταῦτα πεποιηκότα. The words κακῶς εἶπεν appear to be an echo of Ach. 503 τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω and Ach. 649 εἶποι κακὰ πολλὰ: and the words εἰς ὕβριν τοῦ δήμου of Ach. 631 τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει. In the Greek Life we are told that in this Comedy the poet διέβαλε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς κληρωτὰς ἀρχὰς, παρόντων ξένων.

<sup>2</sup>

αὐτὸς τ' ἔμμαντὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἀπαθον  
ἐπίσταμαι διὰ τὴν πέρσι κωμῳδίαν.  
εἰσελκύσας γὰρ μ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
διέβαλλε, καὶ ψευδῆ κατεγλώττιζέ μου,  
κάκκλοβόρει, κάπλυεν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου πάνυ  
ἀπώλομην μολυσπραγμονούμενος.—Ach. 377–82.

<sup>3</sup> Hyperides, pro Eux., columns 22 and 23 in Churchill Babington's edition; Aristotle, Polity of Athens, chap. 8; Harpocration, s. v. *εἰσαγγελία*. The brief account of the *εἰσαγγελία* given in the text is of course very superficial and incomplete.

be submitted to the dicastery, and the penalty to which the offender, if convicted, should be liable. Cleon then, having brought Aristophanes before the βουλή by means of an εἰσαγγελία, denounced him as an offender against the State, and stormed<sup>1</sup> and shouted at him to such an extent, that the young poet almost died, he says, drowned in a deluge of vociferous vituperation. However, it would seem that the Council refused in this case to entertain the denunciation, deeming probably the satire of a Comic poet, even though directed against the public measures of the State, an unfit subject for a criminal proceeding. The accusation which Cleon brought against him was certainly one of ὕβρις, of insulting the Demos and the City in the presence of foreigners; ὅτι ὑβρίζει (or κακῶς λέγει) τὸν Δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν, παρόντων ξένων. And therefore in the Acharnians, which was acted at the Lenaeon festival when no foreigners were present, Aristophanes<sup>2</sup> says: “Not now will Cleon slander me, because in the presence of foreigners I speak ill of the State; for we are alone, and this is the Lenaeon festival.” And again in the Parabasis<sup>3</sup> he says that he is slandered by his enemies, meaning Cleon and his hangers-on, as one who makes fun of the City and insults the Demos. And it is with a humorous allusion to the same accusation that, when describing certain injuries inflicted on the Megarians, he is careful to say that they were the acts of individuals, and not of the State<sup>4</sup>; “I do not say the State; please to remember this, that I do not say the State.”

So much for Cleon's attack. We have next to consider the reply of Aristophanes, contained in the Parabasis of the Acharnians; a reply, he

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me very probable that the account given in the Knights of Cleon storming before the Council, ελασίβροντ' ἀναρρηγνύς ἔπη, and κρημνοὺς ἐρείδων, is a reminiscence of the demagogue's stormy invective against the poet himself.

<sup>2</sup>

οὐ γὰρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι  
ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.

αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν, οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγῶν, κ.τ.λ.—Ach. 502-4.

<sup>3</sup>

διαβαλλόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυβούλοις,  
ὡς κωμῶδει τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει.—Ach. 630, 631.

<sup>4</sup>

ἡμῶν γὰρ ἄνδρες, οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω,  
μέμησθε τοῖθ', ὅτι οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω.—Ach. 515, 516.

calls it <sup>1</sup>, to the calumnies (*διαβολαί*) of Cleon. There is no apologetic note in his defence; he claims that so far from being an insult, the satire of which his accuser complained was most beneficial, to the State; and that he himself deserved the greatest credit for fearlessly pointing out to the people the ease with which they were led astray by the orators and the demagogues. It is not to be supposed that he deals with all the items of the indictment. He seizes upon two points, either as being the most important or possibly as those which could most conveniently be dealt with in the Parabasis of a Comic Play. We will consider each of the points separately.

1. In the *Babylonians* he had warned the Athenians, he tells us <sup>2</sup>, not to be too easily led astray by novel rhetorical phrases, nor to take so much pleasure in flattery, nor to follow with open mouth whatever any one might say. That the people were always too ready to be taken in by the blandishments of an eloquent speaker is frequently urged by the poet. He makes the charge, as we see, in the *Babylonians*; he repeats it in the *Acharnians*; he reiterates it more than once in the *Knights*. *Fair is thine Empire*, he says <sup>3</sup> to the Demus in the latter play, *and all men fear thee as a despotic King. Yet easy it is to lead thee astray, and dearly thou lovest to be flattered and deceived, and with open mouth dost thou follow whoever may chance to be speaking.* All honour to the poet who dared address such language as this to the Sovereign People of Athens; and all honour to the people who could listen to the reproof, not only without resentment, but with genuine admiration of the satirist. It may be that in the *Babylonians*, as in the *Acharnians* and the *Knights*, the charge was made in general terms. But when we remember the events which were happening in the year 427 B.C., the very year in which Aristophanes was composing the *Babylonians*, we can hardly doubt that he had in his mind a remarkable instance of the manner in which his

<sup>1</sup> διαβαλλόμενος δ' . . . ἀποκρίνεσθαι δεῖται.—Ach. 630, 632.

<sup>2</sup> πᾶσας ὑμᾶς ξενικοῖσι λόγοις μὴ λίαν ἐξαπατᾶσθαι, μὴδ' ἡδεσθαι θωπευόμενους, μὴδ' εἶναι χαννοπολίτας.—Ach. 634, 635.

<sup>3</sup> *Knights* 1111-19.

countrymen were carried away by the "foreign eloquence," *ξενικοῖσι λόγοις*, of a rhetorical ambassador. For that was the year of the memorable embassy<sup>1</sup> from Leontini, headed by the famous Gorgias, an embassy sent to implore the assistance of Athens, then the greatest naval power in the world, against the ever-increasing encroachments of Syracuse. So persuasive was the eloquence of Gorgias, so dazzled were the Athenians by his novel style of oratory, his elaborate antitheses, his rhythmical cadences, his carefully poised sentences of equal length and similar terminations, and the general quaintness and artificiality of his language, that they were unable to resist his appeal, and immediately dispatched a squadron of twenty triremes to the relief of Leontini. This was their first expedition to Sicily, though dreams<sup>2</sup> of the invasion of the great island had long been floating in their minds, and this, we are told by both Thucydides and Diodorus, was a tentative experiment, for the purpose of testing whether it would be feasible at some subsequent period to bring the whole of Sicily under the domination of Athens. The chief commander of the expedition was Laches; and the episode of the Two Dogs in the Wasps, the mock trial of *Λάβης* on the accusation of *Κύων*, is a caricature of the impeachment of *Λάχης* by *Κλέων* on the return of the expedition from Sicily without having achieved any great and preponderating success. It is impossible to believe that Aristophanes ignored, in the *Babylonians*, this notable instance of the effect of oratory, *ξενικῶν*

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. iii. 86. Thucydides does not mention Gorgias; but Diodorus (xii. 53), in his account of the embassy, writes as follows:—

ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἀρχιπρεσβευτῆς Γοργίας ὁ ῥήτωρ, δεινότητι λόγου πολὺν προέχων πάντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν. . . οὗτος οὖν κατατήσας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ παραχθείς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, διελέχθη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, καὶ τῷ ξενίζοντι τῆς λέξεως [compare the *ξενικοῖσι λόγοις* of Ach. 634] ἐξέπληξε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὄντας εὐφρούς καὶ φιλολόγους. πρῶτος γὰρ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς τῆς λέξεως σχηματισμοῖς περιτοτέροις, καὶ τῇ φιλοτεχνίᾳ διαφέρουσιν ἀντιθέτοις καὶ ἰσοκόλοις καὶ παρίσοις καὶ ὁμοιοτελείτοις καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις τοιοῦτοις, ἃ τότε μὲν διὰ τὸ ξένον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἤξιούτο, νῦν δὲ περιεργίαν ἔχειν δοκεῖ, καὶ φαίνεται καταγέλαστον πλεονάκις καὶ κατακόπως τιθέμενον. τέλος, πέισας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς Λεοντίνιαις, οὗτος μὲν θαυμισθεὶς ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ ῥητορικῇ τὴν εἰς Λεοντίνους ἐπάνοδον ἐποίησατο.

<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction to the *Birds*, pp. xiii-xv.

λόγων, upon the Athenian assembly; and as Cleon would undoubtedly have spoken in favour of the proposed expedition, we can well understand that he would be mightily incensed at the ridicule poured by Aristophanes on the eloquent flattery which induced the Athenians to sanction it. Two lines of the Babylonians, preserved by Athenaeus, are obviously intended to describe the Athenians listening, in rapt attention, to a popular orator: *Every one of them had his mouth wide open, for all the world like mussels roasting on the embers*<sup>1</sup>.

2. After taking credit to himself for showing in the Babylonians how easily the people are beguiled by the orators, he proceeds to mention a second benefit which, by that Comedy, he had conferred on the State; *καὶ τοὺς δῆμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν δείξας ὡς δημοκρατοῦνται*<sup>2</sup>. And therefore, he says, the allies, when they come to Athens, are eager to see the most excellent poet, who ventured to say amongst the Athenians the things that are just and right. It is obvious, from this remark, that this second point, whatever it was, was agreeable to the allies, and was, or might have been, so unpalatable to the Athenians that it required some courage on the part of the poet to present it to an Athenian audience. What then was this second point, which Cleon declared was an insult, and which the poet defends as a benefit, to the State? The first thing to be remarked in the line just quoted from the Acharnians is that the accusative *τοὺς δῆμους* is not really governed by *δείξας*; it is the subject of *δημοκρατοῦνται* placed, by a common Attic idiom<sup>3</sup>, before the conjunction as an independent accusative, and only by accident finding a transitive participle there. The line really means *δείξας ὡς οἱ δῆμοι δημοκρατοῦνται*, just as in Birds 483 the words *ἐπιδείξω τὸν ἀλεκτρύονα, ὡς ἐτυράννει* stand for *ἐπιδείξω ὡς ὁ ἀλεκτρύων ἐτυράννει*. What then is the meaning of *δημοκρατοῦνται*? Of course, in ordinary language, it would mean *are democracies, are states in which the demus is supreme*. But to say that the

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέχασκον εἰς ἕκαστος ἐμφερέστατα  
ἰππομέναις κόγχαισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων.—Ath. iii. 33 (p. 86 F).

<sup>2</sup> Ach. 642.

<sup>3</sup> See Clouds 145, Birds 483, 652, 1269, Eccl. 583, and the notes there.



allies were democracies would be a mere truism which could excite neither the gratitude of the allies nor the displeasure of the Athenians; and to say that the Demus, itself the governing power, was governed by the Demus would be mere nonsense. And we must remember that we are dealing with the *Acharnians*, where more than in any other of his plays Aristophanes was fond of employing words<sup>1</sup> in other than their ordinary signification. And I feel no doubt that he is here using *δημοκρατεῖσθαι* in the sense of being governed not by *their own*, but by the *Athenian* Demus; and that in the *Babylonians* he sought to portray the manner in which the subject democracies of the isles were ruled by the sovereign democracy of Athens; or, to speak more precisely, to point out the injuries inflicted on the allies by the demagogues, the Demus-leaders of the Athenian Republic. This was a topic very near the heart of Aristophanes; it would give the greatest gratification to the allies themselves; while to speak the truth on the subject before an Athenian audience undoubtedly required great courage and involved great peril to the speaker. How trenchantly Aristophanes would handle the subject we may judge from such passages as *Wasps* 669-77. It was here, in all probability, that he fell foul of Cleon.

We see therefore that, while the "Banqueters" was a social Comedy, the forerunner of the *Clouds*, the "Babylonians" was a political Comedy the forerunner of the *Knights* and the *Wasps*; and that two of the grounds, probably the two principal grounds, for which the poet took the people to task in his second play were (1) their subservience to the orators, and (2) their allowing the demagogues to evil entreat the subject allies. And that is substantially all that we really know about the *Babylonians*. It is useless to discuss questions which do not admit of an answer; as, for example, whom the *Babylonian* Chorus were intended to represent, and what part they took in the drama. Fritzsche wrote a little treatise, "De Babyloniis Aristophanis Commentatio," but it contains nothing of value.

There is another topic to which it may be desirable to call attention.

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of *ἀναβάδην*, *Ach.* 399.

Throughout the foregoing remarks it has been assumed, in accordance with the general opinion, that the controversy to which the satire of the Babylonians gave rise was a controversy between Cleon and the poet himself; and I feel no doubt that such was the case. But some, both in ancient and in modern times, bearing in mind that both the Babylonians and the Acharnians were brought out in the name of Callistratus, have concluded that the litigation instituted by Cleon must have been directed, not against the poet himself, but against Callistratus, the poet's nominee; and consequently that it is Callistratus of whom Dicaeopolis is speaking in lines 377-82 and 502, 503, and the Chorus in the *Parabasis Proper*. And as a corollary some grammarian suggests that it must have been Callistratus and not Aristophanes who held land, as a cleruch, in the island of Aegina. All this seems to me to be founded on a complete misapprehension. It was undoubtedly known from the very first that Aristophanes was the author of the Comedies produced in the name of Callistratus; the advent of a new Comic poet was an event of no small importance at Athens; and Aristophanes himself tells us in the *Knights* that he was besieged by inquirers anxious to discover why it was that he did not exhibit his own Comedies in his own name. And when he was composing the *Acharnians*, he could not possibly tell who his actors would be, or who the members of his Chorus; or even in whose name the Comedy would ultimately be produced; he only knew that he was himself its true and "onlie begetter"; and that it was he, and he only, who would be addressing the audience through the lips of his (as yet unknown) actors and Chorus. And in the *Wasps*, which in my opinion was undoubtedly brought out in his own name, he speaks of his quarrel with Cleon exactly as he speaks of it here; and there too, as in the *Parabasis* here, he places the statement in the mouth of the Chorus; *Wasps* 1284-91. And besides all this, it is a thing incredible in itself that a shrewd and practical politician like Cleon should have attempted to wreak his vengeance on a man who was merely a name, rather than on the daring genius from whose outspoken criticism and fearless hostility he could expect nothing but annoyance and exposure in the future.

The "Banqueters," as we have already seen, was exhibited at the Lenaeon Dionysia in February 427 B. C.; the "Babylonians" at the Great Dionysia in March 426; and now, at the Lenaeon Dionysia in February 425, Aristophanes, still using the name of Callistratus, produces the present Comedy, his third play, the *ACHARNIANS* (*Ἀχαρνεῖς*<sup>1</sup>), the oldest Greek Comedy which has survived to our times. The three competitors at that Lenaeon festival were the three greatest names of the old Attic Comedy; they were, to borrow a line from Horace<sup>2</sup>, "Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetae." The prize was awarded to Aristophanes; Cratinus with his "Storm-tossed," *Χειμαζόμενοι*, was placed second; and Eupolis with his "New Moons," *Νουμηνίαι*, was placed last. And it so happens that while the *Acharnians* has lived for upwards of two thousand three hundred years, not a syllable of the "Storm-tossed" or of the "New Moons" has reached us; nay, their very

<sup>1</sup> The title is *Ἀχαρνεῖς* in the Ravenna MS., both in the heading of the play and in the list of Comedies prefixed to the MS. So it is given in every MS. of Suidas (see *Life III supra*); a fact of some importance if it is from Suidas that we derive our present MSS. of Aristophanes. So again in the second Argument, and indeed wherever the name occurs. I do not know on what authority the title *Ἀχαρνῆς*, given in our printed editions, is supposed to rest.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. i. 4. 1. The three are often bracketed together as the chiefs of the Old Comedy. ἡ δέ γε κωμῳδία, ὅτι πολιτεύεται ἐν τοῖς δράμασι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ, ἢ περὶ τὸν Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ Εὐπόλιν, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ἢ γάρ τοι κωμῳδία αὐτῆ, τὸ γέλοιον προστησαμένη, φιλοσοφεῖ.—Dionys. Hal., *Ars Rhetorica*, chap. xi. I will give the lines of Persius in Gifford's translation:—

But thou, whom Eupolis' impassioned page,  
Hostile to vice, inflames with kindred rage,  
Whom bold Cratinus, and that awful sire  
Force, as thou read'st, to tremble and admire.—Sat. i. 123, 124.

The "awful sire," *praegrandis senex*, is Aristophanes. "Antiqua comoedia, cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam prope sola retinet, tum facundissimae libertatis, etsi est in insectandis vitiis praecipua, plurimum tamen virium etiam in ceteris partibus habet. Nam et grandis, et elegans, et venusta, et nescio an ulla, post Homerum tamen, quem, ut Achillem, semper excipi par est, aut similior sit oratoribus, aut ad oratores faciendos aptior. Plures eius auctores; Aristophanes tamen, et Eupolis, Cratinusque praecipui."—Quinctilian *Instit.*, *Orat. x. 1. 65.*

names have been preserved only in the record which chronicles their defeat by the Acharnians.

Though the Acharnians may not be considered one of the poet's chief masterpieces, it is nevertheless an excellent play. And if only one of his Comedies had survived to our day, I think that this is the one which would have given us the most comprehensive idea of the range of Aristophanic satire. If it has not the concentrated power of his later plays, yet no other Comedy exhibits the same variety of incident. With the prodigality of youth, the poet runs through the whole gamut of his likes and dislikes; his longing for Panhellenic unity, as in the great days of Marathon and Salamis; his efforts for right and justice, τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, in Athenian public life; and again the special objects of his aversion, as contravening these aims—the demagogues, the Informers, the war-party, the sophists, the lowering of the old heroic tragedy by Euripides—are all brought before us in turn; the germs of almost all his later efforts are discoverable in this early production.

The general idea of the play is very simple. An honest citizen, finding it impossible to get the State to conclude a peace with Sparta, makes a private peace on his own account; and thenceforward is represented as living in all the joys and comforts of Peace, whilst the rest of the City continues to suffer the straits and the miseries of War. But this simple plot is worked out and illustrated with an abundance of laughable and picturesque incidents.

The play opens with the representation of an Athenian ἐκκλησία, the great democratic assembly of all the citizens, which exercised autocratic power over Athens and the Athenian Empire. The vivid account which is given of the gathering of the Assembly, the way in which its proceedings were conducted, the reports made by returning embassies of the incidents and results of their respective missions, and finally of the manner in which the Assembly was dissolved, constitutes an unrivalled picture of this all-important institution. But we are met at the outset by a singular little question which it is desirable to consider at somewhat greater length than can conveniently be done in a mere footnote.

The *ἐκκλησία* at which these embassies were received is expressly introduced to us as a *κυρία ἐκκλησία*; and it must be remembered that no authority on the Attic life of his day is comparable with that of Aristophanes himself, an Athenian speaking before the Athenian people assembled in the theatre, and treating of matters within their familiar cognizance. What then is the meaning of this particular phrase, a *κυρία ἐκκλησία*? For the reasons I am about to mention, I believe that there were three Regular Assemblies held every month, viz. on the eleventh, the twentieth, and the last day of the month; and that these three recurring, as it were, automatically, without the necessity of any special intervention on the part of the authorities, and being the assemblies at which the general government of the empire was carried on, were called *κύριαι* in contradistinction to the extra meetings convoked on any special emergency which were called *σύγκλητοι*. This is substantially the view taken by the Scholiasts, save only that they give the first, the tenth, and the thirtieth days of the month as the days on which the *κύριαι ἐκκλησῖαι* were holden. Their statement as to the particular days can hardly be correct, since it would make two of the three Assemblies occur on two successive days, and leave an interval of no less than twenty days between the second and the third. The true dates are no doubt those given by Ulpian (in his Exegesis of Demosthenes against Timocrates 22, p. 706), who says that the three Assemblies were held on the eleventh, the twentieth, and the thirtieth of each month. This would leave an interval of nearly equal duration between every two Assemblies.

But against this view there is, or was, a great body of authority. The other grammarians, almost unanimously, give the go-by to the *month* altogether, and state that there were four Assemblies in each Prytany of thirty-five or thirty-six days; that *κυρία* was the special name of the *first* of the four; and that the reception of embassies took place, not on the first, but on the third or fourth Assembly. See Pollux viii. 95, and Harpocration, Photius, Hesychius and Suidas, s.v. *κυρία*. This seems to be in direct conflict with the representation of Aristophanes that embassies were received in a *κυρία ἐκκλησία*. Photius indeed does give, as an

alternative, the view taken by the Scholiasts here. After stating that the *κυρία ἐκκλησία* was one of the four held in each Prytany, he adds: *But others say that there were three ἐκκλησίαι every month, which were called κύρια in contradistinction to the σύγκλητοι.* Harpocration refers to Aristotle's Polity of Athens as the authority for his statement; and now that we are able to refer to that treatise the entire difficulty disappears. For it is plain that all these grammarians are borrowing the statements of Aristotle in the forty-third chapter of the Polity; and that chapter is contained in the section of his work which is expressly restricted to the polity existing at the date of the treatise (*ἡ ΝΤΝ κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας*, chapter 42), nearly, if not quite, a century after the date of the Acharnians, and seventy or eighty years after the fall of Athens and the dissolution of her empire. Probably there were no great changes in the actual constitution of Athens during that interval, but there must have been enormous changes in her methods of transacting business. At the date of the Acharnians, Athens was not a mere individual city like Thebes or Corinth; she was the mistress of a mighty empire, the busiest city in the world, whose embassies went out into all lands, and to whom embassies and deputations were constantly coming, even from the ends of the world. But all this ceased when her empire fell. She became a mere ordinary Hellenic city with little business to transact. And as a matter of fact, we know that after the disastrous termination of the War her citizens became quite listless and cared no longer to attend the Assemblies. Nor was the *obol* which, on the resolution of Agyrrhius, it was resolved to pay each citizen for each attendance sufficient to overcome their apathy. It was only when the *dole* was, by the same demagogue, raised to three *obols* that they again flocked in any numbers to the Assemblies in the Pnyx. See *Ecclesiastusae* 183-8, 300-10, *Plutus* 171, 329. And nothing can be more probable than that, to secure a more frequent payment of the *dole*, the *ἐκκλησίαι*, instead of being three in every thirty days, should have been increased to four in every thirty-five or thirty-six days; and that to ensure that there should be some business to be transacted at each of these more numerous

Assemblies, the various matters to be discussed should have been appropriated between the four Assemblies, and certain specified matters appropriated to each of the four. There can be no manner of doubt that at the date of this Comedy embassies were received in a *κυρία ἐκκλησία*; and it is extremely probable that at the date of the Polity the name *κυρία* had been restricted to one Assembly in each Prytany, and that it was not the custom to receive embassies at that particular Assembly. Had there been a conflict between the statements of Aristophanes and Aristotle as to the practice at the date of the Acharnians, it is clear that the statement of the former must have prevailed; but there is *no* conflict. The statement of Aristotle, whilst fully justifying the views expressed by Pollux, Harpocration, and the rest, yet takes away their sting by showing that they refer to the changed circumstances of a later period.

It is unnecessary here to enter into the various incidents of this particular Assembly, or to describe how the fifty Presidents<sup>1</sup> (*πρυτάνεις*) kept order by means of the Scythian archers who formed the ordinary police at Athens. It is enough to say that Peace is the last thing of which either Presidents or people think; and one unfortunate citizen who ventures to mention its name is at once put down and hustled off in disgrace. Dicaeopolis, who has vainly attempted to interpose in his behalf, sees that there is no hope of prevailing upon the authorities to make a public peace between Athens and the Peloponnesians, and therefore sends him off to Sparta, to negotiate there a private peace between himself (Dicaeopolis) and his family on the one hand and the Peloponnesian confederacy on the other. This task he successfully accomplishes; but as he is returning home with samples of several treaties, he is suddenly waylaid by twenty-four sturdy and irate old men, Acharnians, who form the Chorus

<sup>1</sup> One thing I may perhaps be permitted to mention, viz. that in my opinion the Presidents did not *go up* to the Pnyx, as the people did, from the lower level of the Agora; but *came down* to it from the higher level at the opposite extremity, descending by steps on either side of the bema to the Presidential benches, on which they sat facing the assembled people. Hence the compound *καταπέροντες* in line 26.

of the play. Their vineyards had been hacked and trampled down by the Peloponnesian troops, when Archidamus the king invaded Attica; and they will not hear of peace with the hated foe until they have paid him back tenfold into his bosom. Nothing can exceed their fury when they light upon an envoy in the very act of bringing terms of peace from Sparta to Athens. They hurl opprobrious terms at his head; and, what is worse, they pick up a quantity of stones with intent to hurl them in the same direction. He runs away; they follow, roaring, after him.

And who are these terrible old men? Acharnæ was the largest town in Attica, about seven miles to the north of Athens, whilst a little behind it, between it and Boeotia, arose the well-wooded range of Mount Parnes<sup>1</sup>. From these hills the inhabitants obtained wood for the charcoal, the making and selling of which constituted their principal traffic. They had long been noted for their manly and soldierlike qualities; *Ἀχάρναι παλαιφάτων εὐάνορες*, says Pindar in the second Nemean; and at the commencement of the Peloponnesian War they furnished a contingent of no less than 3,000 hoplites, a little army in itself, to the military array of Athens. And when, in the first year of the War, the invading army of Archidamus encamped at Acharnæ, and were seen from the walls of Athens laying waste the farms and hacking down the vines in that district, many of the Athenians, especially the younger men, were eager to march out at once and give battle to the invaders; and the Acharnians, says Thucydides<sup>2</sup>, counting themselves no small part of the Athenian people, were, when they saw their own territory laid waste, most urgent in their demand to be led out against the foe.

But why should Thucydides have given such special prominence to the indignant and bellicose spirit of the Acharnians? Nothing came of it. It had not, so far as his History shows, the slightest practical effect. If

<sup>1</sup> For an extremely interesting account of Mount Parnes see Wordsworth's Greece, pp. 85-90.

<sup>2</sup> οἳ τε Ἀχαρνῆς οἰόμενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ ἐτέμετο, ἐνήγον τὴν ἕξοδον μάλιστα.—Thuc. ii. 21.



indeed there is anything in the suggestion thrown out in the Commentary on line 220 that the old Acharnian Lacratides there mentioned is the Lacratidas who, according to Heracleides Ponticus (Plutarch, Pericles 35), came forward shortly afterwards as the accuser of Pericles, the indignation of the Acharnians at the unavenged devastation of their homes may have borne considerable fruit in causing the temporary eclipse of that great statesman. But this does not answer the foregoing question, for *Thucydides* at all events does not allude to either the Acharnians or Lacratidas in connexion with the attack upon Pericles.

This is one of the many little touches which might lead us to believe that the great historian recognized the historical Comedies of Aristophanes, of which the Acharnians, the Knights, the Peace and the *Lysistrata* are the only survivors, as being, like his own History, a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, a possession for all time, and in composing his own work kept steadily in view the deep impression which those Comedies had made upon the Athenian people. More than forty years ago, in the Introduction to the "Peace," I called attention to "the striking accord which we everywhere find between the light offhand touches of Aristophanes and the well-considered judgements of Thucydides; and that, not merely when they are treating of actual events, or estimating the conduct and character of individuals, but also when they are tracing the various dispositions and tendencies of the several Hellenic States." But it had not occurred to me then that the historian was really keeping in mind the poet's works; though in truth during his absence from Athens, first as an officer on active service and afterwards as an exile, he would be compelled to rely upon the information of others as to what was going on within the Empire City; and where could he find information so absolutely trustworthy, making allowance for caricature, as in the dramas exhibited by the great contemporary comedian before the Athenian people, reflecting their ideas from day to day, and confirmed by their acclamations of applause? I believe that many statements in Thucydides are due to his recollection of the Comedies of Aristophanes.

In explaining the grounds on which the Spartan requisition to the

Athenians τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ was levelled at Pericles, Thucydides<sup>1</sup> (i. 126) has occasion to narrate the sacrilege of the Alcmaeonidae in the affair of Cylon, and from that sacrilege, he says, the Alcmaeonidae (from whom, through his mother, Pericles was descended) were called ἐναγείς. This gives the required explanation, and it is difficult to understand why he should have proceeded to mention the circumstance (wholly irrelevant to his narrative) that they were also called ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ, had they not been so described in a work so universally known and appreciated as the Knights of Aristophanes. See Knights 445.

And possibly he would not have preserved the precise phrase employed by Cleon about the generals in regard to the proceedings at Sphacteria, εἰ ἌΝΔΡΕΣ εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, if the phrase had not been kept alive in the popular memory by the allusion to it in Knights 392.

And again, it may be that the particularity with which he specifies that the Peace of Nicias was concluded not only in the early spring of the year 421, but also *immediately after the Great Dionysia*, was due to the production of the "Peace" of Aristophanes at that very festival.

And the Eighth Book of Thucydides is full of verbal parallels to the historical discussions in the Lysistrata.

These are but a few examples out of many. Any one who will institute a minute comparison of the two documents—the History of Thucydides and the historical dramas of Aristophanes—will discover innumerable instances of the same description; and will, I think, rise from the study with the conviction that, when Thucydides was writing his History, he was always keeping before his mind, as another authentic record of the inter-Hellenic War, the historical scenes and allusions contained in the Comedies of Aristophanes.

But we must return to the envoy carrying the truces, τὸν σπονδοφόρον, whom we left pursued by the twenty-four Acharnians. He outruns

<sup>1</sup> In the very same chapter of Thucydides the expression *καθεζομένους ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν* may seem to recall the lines in the very same play of Aristophanes:—

*καθῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ*  
*εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον πλεούσας, ἢ 'πὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν.*—Knights 1311.

them and enters, still running, upon the stage, gives Dicaeopolis three truce-samples, and *exit* still running for his life.

The samples which he gives to Dicaeopolis are truces for five, ten, and thirty years respectively. They are in the form of wine-samples, a metaphor assisted by the fact that truces, as well as libations of wine, were called by the name of *σπονδαί*. Dicaeopolis tastes all three, and at once rejects the five years, and the ten years, as constituting no real Peace, but merely a suspension of hostilities, during which each side would be busily preparing for a renewal of the War. But he greets with enthusiasm the thirty years' truce as fulfilling his utmost hopes. Thirty years, the term of a generation, seem to have been considered a sufficiently long period for all practical purposes. Some twenty-five years before the date of the Acharnians, Sparta had concluded a five years' truce with Athens, and a thirty years' truce with Argos (Thuc. i. 112, v. 14); and about five years later, a thirty years' truce with Athens (Id. i. 115). And both here and in the Knights (line 1388) the hopes of Aristophanes are limited to a truce for thirty years. The Peace of Nicias, however, which was concluded four years after the date of the present Comedy, was for no less than FIFTY years. And elsewhere in Thucydides we read of treaties concluded for one hundred years.

However, Dicaeopolis is well satisfied with his thirty years' truce, and as he is now at liberty *βαίνειν ὅποι θέλει*, he proposes immediately to celebrate the Rural Dionysia. And so in this the earliest, as well as in the Plutus the latest, of his extant Comedies, the poet gives us a specimen of the coarse but hearty amusements of the Attic country-folk. In the Plutus we have a representation of the Cyclops-dance; here we see the manner in which the Dionysian festival was celebrated in the country villages. Indeed in the present play we take part in two Dionysian festivals, here the Rural and presently the Anthesterian. But the celebration of the Rural Dionysia is part of the fiction of the "Private Treaty," the comic Plot of the Play. The celebration of the Anthesterian Dionysia has nothing to do with the Private Treaty, nor is there anything to introduce or lead up to it; we accidentally, as it were, find the whole population of

the City, the war-party as well as the peace-party, engaged in its festivities. There is absolutely nothing to account for its introduction, unless it was actually in course of celebration at the very time when the Comedy was exhibited; or, in other words, unless the Anthesterian was identical with the Lenaeon festival. And this, in my opinion, is the fact. The question of the Attic Dionysia has been much discussed; and I will here briefly set down the conclusions at which I myself have arrived on the subject.

It seems to me that there were only two Dionysian festivals celebrated in the City of Athens itself, and that these were—

I. The LENAEAN, which being celebrated in the month Anthesterion was called also the Anthesteria. This was originally a one-day festival held on the 12th of Anthesterion, but was afterwards expanded into three days, probably for the sake of the dramatic competitions which were necessarily spread over three days; a Tragic tetralogy (or trilogy) occupying the morning, and a Comedy the afternoon, of each day. Of these three days the first, called the Πιθοιγία or *Broaching of the Casks*, took place on the 11th of Anthesterion; the second, the Χόες or *Pitcher Day*, on the 12th; and the Χύτροι or *Pot Day*, on the 13th; the whole festival being in the latter part of February. See the Commentary on Birds 789 and Frogs 216. At this festival only the residents at Athens, citizens and μέτοικοι, were present; and it is pointed out in the Introduction to the Frogs (p. v) that all the extant Comedies which we know to have been exhibited at these Dionysia—the Acharnians, the Knights, the Wasps, and the Frogs—were successful; whilst all those which we know to have been exhibited at the Great Dionysia—the Clouds, the Peace, and the Birds—failed to obtain the prize. This, Thucydides tells us (ii. 15), was the elder festival, τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια. Observe the use of the *comparative*, implying that there were but two.

II. The GREAT OR CITY Dionysia, τὰ Μεγάλα, τὰ ἐν ἄστει, which were celebrated about a month later than the Lenaeon; Hesychius, s. v. Διονύσια. This was the splendid festival at which the allies and visitors from all friendly states were present. Then the tribute was paid by the

allies, and spread out, talent by talent, in the theatrical orchestra, before the eyes of the audience; then the orphaned sons of Athenian soldiers who had fallen in battle were brought into the theatre, clad in bright armour, and invited to take their seats in the front rows of the auditorium; then proclamations of outlawry were made; and nothing was spared to show the magnificence of the Imperial City.

Contrasted with the great City Dionysia, τὰ μεγάλα, τὰ ἐν ἄστει, were the little country Dionysia, τὰ μικρὰ, τὰ ἐν ἀγροῖς. These were not celebrated in Athens itself; they were held only in the country villages, and were naturally quite insignificant affairs. The fact that this festival was confined to the country was unfortunately overlooked by some of the old grammarians, who, knowing that there were but *two* Dionysian festivals in Athens, and seeing that τὰ μεγάλα, τὰ ἐν ἄστει could not be the same as τὰ μικρὰ, τὰ ἐν ἀγροῖς, assumed that the latter must be identical with τὰ Λήναια. This strange idea is found in the Scholium on line 504 of this play, which otherwise is perfectly right. "There were two Dionysian competitions every year<sup>1</sup>," says the Scholiast, "first, one in spring, ἐν ἄστει, when the tribute was brought to Athens; and secondly, one ἐν ἀγροῖς, which is called the Lenaeon, when no strangers were present, for it was yet winter." This confusion of the Lenaea with the Rural Dionysia imposed upon some of the earlier scholars, such as Scaliger and Casaubon; but the error was pointed out, and the Dionysia arranged in accordance with what I conceive to be the true view, by Ruhnken, whose arguments are set forth and enforced by Fynes Clinton in an Appendix to the second volume of his *Fasti Hellenici*. However, Boeckh "in an essay on the Attic Dionysia, published in 1819 among the transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences," and presented in an abridged form to English readers by Bp. Thirlwall in the *Philological Museum*, vol. ii, pp. 273-307, started a new difficulty, contending that the Anthesteria and

<sup>1</sup> ὁ τῶν Διονυσίων ἀγὼν ἐτελεῖτο δις τοῦ ἔτους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔαρος, ἐν ἄστει, ὅτε καὶ οἱ φόροι Ἀθήνησιν ἐφέροντο, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν ἀγροῖς, ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ λεγόμενος, ὅτε ξένοι οὐ παρήσαν Ἀθήνησι. χειμῶν γὰρ λοιπὸν ἦν. The words πρῶτον and δεύτερον refer to the *importance*, not to the *time* of the respective festivals.

the Lenaea were two distinct festivals, and that consequently there were *three* Dionysian festivals every year in Athens. This seems to me directly opposed to the statement of Thucydides, and to every indication<sup>1</sup> given by ancient writers on the subject; but the authority of Boeckh in Germany and Bp. Thirlwall in England overbore all opposition, and this became for a time the generally accepted view. Of late years, however, doubts as to its accuracy have been expressed in various quarters; and I am myself convinced that there were but two Dionysian festivals celebrated in the city of Athens, the Lenaea and the Great Dionysia. This is not the place to enter into a full discussion of the question; but a few more remarks will be found in connexion with the Dionysian festival which pervades the final scenes of the Comedy.

Dicaeopolis has hardly entered into his house to prepare for the celebration of the Rural Dionysia when the Acharnians, in hot pursuit of "the man who bore the treaties," come running down into the orchestra, singing their Parodos or entrance-song. The fugitive has disappeared; they cannot overtake him; old age has dimmed their energy and stiffened their muscles. Ah, if we were as once we were, they cry in Nestor-like recollection of their youthful feats, he would not so easily have escaped us. But hush! Dicaeopolis is coming out of his house; they hear him preparing for a peaceful sacrifice; they have surely caught, not the man who bore the treaties, but the actual traitor who made them. For the moment they pause, and are by a convenient fiction supposed to be out of sight; and Dicaeopolis goes on with his preparations, little dreaming what hostile and wrathful eyes are watching his every movement.

The Rural Dionysia, as has already been observed, and as indeed the name itself implies, were celebrated not in Athens, but only in the country villages; and Dicaeopolis therefore pretends that he has somehow got back into his country home at Cholleidae. But this is all his nonsense;

<sup>1</sup> One slight indication is pointed out in the Commentary on Thesm. 746; another will be found in the statements in the Eighth Book of Pollux; *ὁ μὲν Ἀρχῶν διατίθησι Διονύσια* (segm. 89); *ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προέστηκε Ληναίων* (segm. 90). That exhausts the subject. Nobody presides over a third Dionysia.

such make-believes were common in the old Attic Comedy. Cholleidae was twelve miles from Athens. Dicaeopolis knows that he has just come out of his own town-house ; and at this moment (but he does not know that) the grim old Acharnians, who have been pursuing the treaty-bearer through the streets of Athens, are waiting, ambushed, to spring out upon their prey.

These village festivities would of course be quite insignificant when compared with the splendid solemnities with which the Dionysia were celebrated at Athens. In the Introduction to the Thesmophoriazusae, p. x, will be found an epistle of Alciphron (iii. 39) in which a country lad adjures his mother to leave for awhile her village home, and come up to behold, before she dies, the wonderful sights of Athens, mentioning amongst other things the celebration of the Dionysia. Both the lad and his mother would naturally have often witnessed, if not taken part in, the village Dionysia, but that would have been merely a little procession of the villagers singing the Phallus song, and would not have at all prepared him for the splendour of the festivities in the metropolis itself. And the procession which Dicaeopolis is forming is not even a village procession. It is merely the parade of his own family—himself, his daughter, and his two servants ; whilst the wife is the single spectator watching them from the roof of the house. The daughter walks in front, bearing the Sacred Basket ; the two servants follow, holding the phallus-pole erect ; and he himself brings up the rear, singing, as a *solo*, the indispensable Phallus song. The Chorus allow him to finish his song without interruption, and then, just as he is talking about a bowl of Peace, he finds to his surprise and dismay a volley of stones from the orchestra clattering all about the stage. The daughter and servants vanish into the house, the wife disappears from the roof, and he is left alone, to extricate himself as best he can from these formidable and unexpected assailants. They threaten him with instant death ; he implores them to allow him first to make his defence, offering to make it with his head over a chopping-block ; but all in vain, until he bethinks himself of the device by which Telephus obtained a hearing in the Euripidean Tragedy of that name.

The Telephus of Euripides, a source of never-failing delight to Aristophanes, is perpetually brought before us in the ensuing scenes. Telephus, the son of Heracles and Auge, ruled over a part of Mysia. The Achaeans, apparently in some exploring expedition preliminary to the sailing of the great armament for Troy, had accidentally landed in his territory, and Telephus opposing them received a serious wound from the spear of Achilles. The wound growing daily more painful, and defying the skill of the physicians, he consulted the Pythian oracle, and received for answer *ὁ τρώσας ἰάσεται*, *the wounder will heal*. Thereupon Telephus dresses himself up as a beggar, and in that guise seeks the Achaean camp. The leaders are playing with dice (see the Commentary on Frogs 1400) and he cannot gain their attention until, by the advice of Clytaemnestra, he seizes the infant Orestes, and threatens to slay him unless they will listen to his petition. This step is successful, and Telephus, being a Euripidean hero, at once starts off on a lengthy speech, *ρήσιν μακρὰν*, to the assembled chieftains. It commences with the words

*μή μοι φθονήσητ', ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροι,  
εἰ πτωχὸς ὦν τέτληκ' ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν,*

from which we see that he was still passing off as a beggar, and had not revealed his identity, excepting, I suppose, to Clytaemnestra. I presume that he represented himself to be a poor Mysian peasant, wounded by the spear of Achilles. The chieftains are won over by his pleading; Achilles attempts to heal him but without success, till Odysseus suggests that the wounder, *ὁ τρώσας*, was not Achilles, but his spear. The spear is applied to the wound, and Telephus is cured, as our own homely proverb puts it, by "a hair of the dog that bit him."

Telephus gains a hearing by seizing and threatening to kill Orestes the son of Agamemnon. Dicaeopolis gains a hearing by seizing and threatening to kill a hamper of charcoal, such as these Acharnians were accustomed to use in their daily avocations. He keeps to his promise to plead before them with his head over a chopping-block, but he asks to be allowed to do so, like Telephus, in the guise of a beggar. His request being granted, he trudges off to the house of Euripides, in the



hope that the poet will lend him the very garments which Telephus wore in the play. Euripides is found to be sitting upstairs, writing a Tragic Play. He cannot spare the time to come down to Dicaeopolis, but he consents to be wheeled out by the *eccyclema*, so as to converse with his visitor from his seat in the upper floor of his house. For the Comic dramatists do not hesitate to talk in the most open and familiar manner of the machinery by which the changes of scenery are effected. The *eccyclema* was the apparatus by which the outer wall, which stood on wheels or rollers, was turned round as on a pivot, not only disclosing, but also bringing out with itself a part of, the interior of the house. It was in very common use for the purposes of both Tragedy and Comedy; indeed in Comedy every house seems to have been furnished with one. Both here and in the *Clouds* the machinery is applied to two different houses in the course of the same play. Here it brings out Euripides in the upper story of his own house; while later on it brings out the kitchen in which Dicaeopolis is cooking his dinner. In the *Clouds* it brings out, first, a bedchamber with Strepsiades and Pheidippides in bed, and, a little further on, the interior of the *Phrontisterium* with the students on the ground below, and Socrates high up in the air in his basket of contemplation.

I do not know who first originated the grotesque idea that the *eccyclema* was a little platform, apparently something like the stand in a Punch and Judy show, wheeled out *through the door* of the house on to the stage. I have not myself met with it in any work of earlier date than K. O. Müller's "Dissertations on the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus." (I quote from the translation published at Cambridge in 1835.) The *Eumenides* furnishes one of the most notable instances of the use of the *eccyclema*. We first see the outside of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. We see the Priestess enter, and immediately return full of horror at the sight which she has witnessed within. And then by a turn of the *eccyclema* the Temple wall opens, and we ourselves see what the Priestess saw, the suppliant, his hands still dripping with a mother's blood, cowering at the altar, and the frightful apparition of the Furies in the foreground;

στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα, as the Scholiast says, ἔνδηλα ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει. It is difficult to imagine a better example of the use of the eccyclema; but Müller, obsessed by his Punch and Judy notion, will not allow that it is a case of the eccyclema at all. For "how spacious," says he, "must have been the movable stage which was capable of exhibiting at once, in a tasteful group, Orestes on the Omphalus, the Gods, and the entire Chorus! and how wide must have been the portal, which admitted of their being wheeled through!" It would indeed have been impossible; and this alone should have sufficed to show him how utterly wrong his conception of the eccyclema must be. Had he realized its actual nature he would have seen that there was no difficulty whatever. He also confuses the ἐκκύκλημα with the ἐξώστρα, which was an entirely different thing. See the Commentary on Thesm. 277. It is surprising that the late Mr. Haigh, in his admirable treatise on "the Attic Theatre," should have lent his name to the Punch and Judy theory. He cites all the authorities; and they all, without exception, disprove it.

The eccyclema is invariably spoken of as περιστρεφόμενον, turning on a pivot. περιστρεφόμενον τὰ δοκοῦντα ἔνδον ὡς ἐν οἰκίᾳ πράττεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐξω ἐδείκνυε, says the Scholiast on line 408 of the present play. So on Clouds 184, when the interior of the Phrontisterium is suddenly disclosed, the Scholiast observes ὁρᾷ δὲ ὡς φιλοσόφους κομῶντας, στραφέντος τοῦ ἐκκυκλήματος. The Scholium on Eumenides 84 has already been quoted στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἔνδηλα ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει. In all these passages the allusion is to the wall *revolving* on a pivot. In other cases, though the word στρεφόμενον is not used, it is equally plain that we are supposed to be looking at the actual interior of the house, and not at a little stand wheeled out upon the stage. Thus the Scholiast on Choeph. 960 says ἀνοίγεται ἡ σκηνὴ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐγκυκλήματος ὁράται τὰ σώματα. The phrase *the scene opens* implies that that which is behind the scene is exposed to our view. And there is the same implication in Soph. Ajax 346, where Aias is heard lamenting within his tent, and the Chorus wishing to know what is going on behind the scenes say, ἀλλ' ἀνοίγετε, to which Tecmessa replies, ἴδου, διόγω, and immediately Aias is discovered sitting

amongst his captive sheep. There the Scholiast says *ἐνταῦθα ἐγκύκλιμα τι γίνεται, ἵνα φανῆ ἐν μέσοις ὁ Αἴας ποιμνίους*. It would be tedious to go through the various passages in Tragedy and Comedy in which the *ἐγκύκλιμα* is used, but it seems to me that every one of them supports the conclusion at which we have arrived.

I imagine that the "little platform" idea was derived from a misunderstanding of a passage in Pollux (iv. segm. 128). Pollux writes as follows:—"The *ἐγκύκλιμα* is a floor on lofty wooden pillars whereon a seat is placed." He must be thinking, as Mr. Haigh observes, of some particular instance of the *ecyclema*; and it seems to me very probable that he is thinking of the very scene we are now considering, where Euripides is seated on the upper floor writing a Tragic Play. "And it discloses the hidden things done within the houses. And the operation is called *ἐκκυκλεῖν*, and when it is wheeled in, *εἰσκύκλιμα*. And it is to be observed at every door, that is to say, at every house," *καὶ χρὴ τοῦτο νοεῖσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην θύραν, οἰοεὶ, καθ' ἐκάστην οἰκίαν*. He means apparently that the swivel, or hinge, or whatever we are to call the apparatus which sets the revolving wall in motion, is to be seen in every house, near the door. He does not give the slightest encouragement to the idea that anything comes *through* the door.

So then we have Euripides sitting on the upper floor, and holding converse with Dicaeopolis below. A very amusing dialogue ensues. Dicaeopolis wants to borrow the garb of one of Euripides's ragged heroes, but forgets the name of Telephus. Euripides therefore has to guess the name; and so copious is his supply of heroes of this description that he names four—Oeneus, Phoenix, Philoctetes, and Bellerophon—before he hits upon Telephus. Indeed the poet's passion for dilapidated heroes is really remarkable; and years after this, in the Helen, he introduced Menelaus in the guise of a ragged ruffian whose very appearance nearly frightens Helen out of her wits. However, Telephus is reached at last; and Dicaeopolis is clothed in his beggarly raiment. And no sooner is this done than the old countryman finds to his delight that he has got, together with the ragged clothes, the subtlety and loquacity of the

Euripidean hero. He now petitions, one by one, for all the other articles with which Telephus was equipped as a beggar; and finally, having obtained all these, he asks the poet for some chervil from his mother's store; his mother being supposed to have sold herbs in the market. This insult naturally brings the conversation to an abrupt end; Euripides is wheeled back, the wall closes up, and the house resumes the appearance which it wore before Dicaeopolis came.

Now therefore Dicaeopolis is ready to deliver his speech "on behalf of the Lacedaemonians." He delivers it in his beggar's rags, leaning over the chopping-block. It may seem, and was, a very daring thing in the midst of a terrible war to stand before the Athenians and deliver a speech on behalf of their enemies; but as a matter of fact he confines himself to one point, viz. that the Lacedaemonians did not commence the War out of any determined hostility to Athens, but that after the decree fulminated by Pericles against Megara they had no alternative. Here, as afterwards in the Peace, he declares that this Megaric decree was the occasion of the War. And with this all authorities agree. See the note on Peace 609, and to the authorities there cited add Aelian, V. H. xii. 53, and the notes of Kuhn and Perizonius there. But although the Megaric decree was undoubtedly the *occasion* of the War, yet of course the real *cause* of the War was the growth of the Athenian empire, a phenomenon abhorrent to the Hellenic theory that all Hellenic states should be autonomous and independent of each other, menacing to the Hellenic states which still remained free, and utterly distasteful to the subject allies themselves. Yet it seems to have grown up without any specially ambitious designs on the part of the Athenians. The splendid services of Athens during the Persian wars, the gallantry of her soldiers and sailors at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, the sagacity of her leaders, and above all the generous and self-sacrificing spirit in which she was always ready to subordinate her own special interests to the general interests of Hellas, coupled with the fact that her navy was larger and more efficient than that of any other Hellenic state, made it almost a matter of course that she should be chosen as the leader of the Navy

League which was to protect Hellas in the future from all aggression on the part of the Persians. And the various steps which converted that alliance of independent states into the Empire of one over the rest—the commutation of service in their own vessels into a money payment to the general treasury, and the transfer of that treasury from Delos to Athens itself, so that the free contributions of the allied states to the common cause became a tribute payable by the states to Athens—seem to have been brought about as much by the wishes of the allies as by the ambition of the Athenian leaders. But the result was that Athens, the hater of all Tyrants, appeared at last as a full-blown Tyrant City, raising or lowering the tribute at her own will, and treating as rebels to her sovereignty such states as sought to withdraw themselves from what they supposed to be a free and voluntary alliance. From being the champion of Hellenic freedom she became its worst enemy; and the general opinion of Hellas went largely in favour of the Spartan confederacy (*παρὰ πολλὸ ἐποίει ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους*, Thuc. ii. 8) which sought to put an end to her tyranny, and to set all Hellenic states free and independent as before. The Megaric decree was merely the spark which set fire to the tinder. In any case the conflict was imminent, and this was merely the excuse and occasion for commencing it.

Nevertheless the argument of Dicaeopolis carries conviction to half the members of the Chorus; and while one section or Semichorus is as violently opposed to him as before, the other Semichorus has come round altogether to his side. So sharp is the contest between them that a scuffle takes place in the orchestra, and the hostile leader, being worsted in the fray, calls for help to Lamachus, the famous Athenian general who in the earlier Plays of Aristophanes is the representative of the party in favour of a vigorous prosecution of the War. In a later scene we shall see him arming for the fight; but now, when on the summons of the hostile Semichorus he issues from his house, he is already fully armed. An altercation takes place between him and Dicaeopolis, in which the latter gets so much the better of the argument that even the hostile Semichorus is at last convinced, and henceforth the entire Chorus becomes the friend,

and indeed the humble flatterer, of Dicaeopolis. Lamachus marches off, denouncing a truceless war against the Peloponnesian confederacy, whilst Dicaeopolis proceeds to establish his private market at which, he says,

- (1) The Megarians may deal,
- (2) The Boeotians may deal,
- (3) Lamachus may not deal.

These three rules give the cue for the three scenes which immediately follow.

First, *the Megarian*. Of all the Hellenic states Megara was the greatest sufferer from the Peloponnesian War. Even before the actual commencement of hostilities its inhabitants had been brought to the brink of ruin by the operation of the "Megaric decree." But so soon as the War broke out their sufferings were increased tenfold. In the very first year they were assailed<sup>1</sup> by the entire military and naval forces of Athens under the command of Pericles, the largest Athenian force, Thucydides tells us, that was ever brought together. It was composed of 13,000 hoplites with an extensive array of light-armed troops and a fleet of 100 triremes. The soldiers spread themselves over the whole of the little territory of Megara, carrying ravage and destruction everywhere; they were like field-mice, says the Megarian in the play, grubbing up the roots of every plant; they were like the army of locusts of whom the Prophet said, "the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness"; and great was the spoil, Diodorus tells us, which Pericles brought back to Athens.

And this was not all. A decree was passed, declaring against Megara a truceless war, denouncing death to every Megarian found upon Attic soil, and requiring the generals, on assuming office, to swear<sup>2</sup> that they

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. ii. 31; Diodorus xii. 44; Plutarch, Pericles 34.

<sup>2</sup> γράφει ψήφισμα κατ' αὐτῶν Χαρίνος, ἀσπονδον μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραν, ὅς δ' ἂν ἐπιβῆ ἡς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ ζημιούσθαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς, ὅταν ὀμνύωσι τὸν πάτριον ὄρκον ἐπομνύειν ὅτι καὶ δις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσι.— Plutarch, Pericles 30. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὴν Μεγαρίδα, καὶ ἵππέων καὶ πανστρατιᾶ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἐάλω ὑπ'

would invade Megara twice every year; an oath which was faithfully observed; and twice every year the entire forces of Athens poured themselves over this unhappy little state. And nobody ever struck a blow in its defence. Its neighbours, the Corinthians, always ready enough to defend their own territory from Athenian invasion, never stepped a foot beyond their borders to defend the soil of Megara. Nor did the Megarians attempt to defend themselves. The whole country outside the fortified places was given up to the relentless and never-ceasing devastation of the Athenian armies.

It does really seem, as Plutarch remarks (Pericles 30), as if Pericles had some private grudge against the people of Megara; but of course there was a sufficient political reason for these perpetual invasions. It must have been a most humiliating thing for the high-spirited Athenian army to be cooped up within their own walls, and watch the harrying of their farms and homesteads without even making an effort to save them; nor would the successful raids of the Athenian navy around the coasts of the Peloponnese be sufficient to restore their self-respect. The only remedy was to allow them to inflict upon others the sufferings they had experienced themselves. Their northern neighbour was too strong. To invade Boeotia would, as they had often discovered, and were soon to discover again, be a proceeding attended with considerable risk; they must needs therefore throw themselves upon their southern neighbour, and ravage without danger to themselves the little defenceless territory of Megara.

And so this continuous devastation went on, and the Megarians were reduced to the "warst extremities o' clemmin'." So far from being able

*Ἀθηναίων*.—Thuc. ii. 31. We might consider this an example of the ordinary growth of a story. Thucydides, a contemporary, says that the Athenians invaded Megara every year. Plutarch, writing centuries later, says twice a year. Grote's statement, that "for several years of the war the Athenians inflicted this destruction once, and often twice, in the same year," seems intended to reconcile the two accounts. But, in fact, Thucydides himself elsewhere (iv. 66) incidentally remarks that the Athenians invariably invaded Megara twice every year, *Ἀθηναίων δὲ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δις ἐσβαλλόντων πανστρατιῇ εἰς τὴν χώραν*.

to export garlic, salt, and other articles, they had none for their own consumption. Their condition is graphically described in the present play. A needy Megarian comes to deal with Dicaeopolis in the Private Market. All he wants is a bunch of garlic and a little salt, commodities which, until the Megarians fell out with Attica, they used to produce in sufficient quantities not only for their home consumption, but also for exportation. There is nothing of the kind in Megara now, and he has no money wherewith to buy them. So he dresses up his two little daughters as pigs, and swaps them for a small supply of salt and garlic. Comic as the scene is, it is really, as the Scholiast observes, extremely pathetic. The Megarian himself is a miserable and half-starved fellow without any dignity or self-respect, who would gladly sell his wife and mother at the same price.

Secondly, *the Boeotian*. No one can be more unlike the poverty-stricken Megarian who goes out than the jolly well-fed Boeotian who next comes in. Boeotia had suffered little or nothing from the War. She remained within her own borders in security and plenty, enjoying to the full the fish, the fowl, the game, and the cattle, with which the country abounded. There is nothing of the sneak or the mendicant about this hearty marketer. He brings a great abundance of Boeotian commodities (see Peace 1003-5) to the Private Market, and not being really in want of anything takes nothing in return but a worthless article, unknown in Boeotia but only too well known in Athens, to wit, a Common Informer.

The speeches of both the Megarian and the Boeotian are seasoned with the dialects<sup>1</sup> in vogue in their respective countries; but Aristophanes was far too great an artist and too shrewd a dramatist to overload their language with the strictest Doric and Aeolic forms, which would be unfamiliar and might even be unintelligible to his audience, and would spoil the rhythmical cadence of his own verses. In like manner our own Sir Walter Scott and, as a general rule, even Robert Burns merely

<sup>1</sup> Professor Tyrrell and Mr. Billson in their clever versions of the play make the Megarian speak as a Scotchman, and the Boeotian as an Irishman. This has a very lively effect.



interlard their Scotch dialogues and poems with Scotch phrases, and are not extreme to keep to those absolute Scotch forms which render a genuine old Scottish ballad unintelligible to the general reader. Learned men have amused themselves and displayed their own learning and ingenuity by reversing the wise economy of Aristophanes, and introducing everywhere the strictest phraseology of the speaker's dialect; so rendering the speeches harsh and irksome, if not actually unintelligible, to an Athenian audience. It seems to me better to leave the lines as (we have every reason to believe) Aristophanes wrote them.

Thirdly, *Lamachus*. The Megarians and Boeotians may deal in the Private Market, Lamachus may not. And accordingly, when he sends his servant to purchase some of those special dainties, eels and thrushes, he sends in vain. The servant brings the money in his hand, but no sooner does Dicaeopolis learn that his master is Lamachus, the Lamachus of the Gorgon shield and wavy plumes, than he sends him away with a flea in his ear. An eel for Lamachus? Certainly not. Let him wave his plumes over the cheap salt fish which a soldier carries in his knapsack.

But short as is the episode of Lamachus, only ten lines in all, it introduces one subject of the highest importance. For Lamachus requires these dainties, the servant tells us, for the Pitcher-feast, when the great merry-making took place, to which every citizen was expected to bring his own provisions. And this merry-making thus abruptly introduced runs through the entire remainder of the play. Lamachus, on the point of taking part in it, is sent off, much against his will, on an arduous military expedition, whilst Dicaeopolis, with the other Athenians, attends the feast. And the closing scene shows us, on the one hand, Lamachus returning sick and wounded from the War, and, on the other, Dicaeopolis returning in great hilarity from the feast, having won the prize awarded to the man who could drink off his flagon of wine in the quickest time.

In the article, to which reference has already been made, by Bp. Thirlwall in the Philological Museum, we meet with the following remark:—

“It seems clear that there can be no more reason for identifying the Lenaea, the actual epoch of the performance [of the *Acharnians*], with one of the festivals represented in the action than with the other; and hence analogy would incline us to believe that the former festival was equally distinct from each of them. If, however, it were necessary to identify it with either, it would be with the first rather than with the last. For it is long after the speech of Dicaeopolis in which he mentions the Lenaea, and after the marketings which follow his defence, that the herald comes to proclaim the *Choes*.”—Phil. Mus. ii. 292.

In expounding Boeckh's theory Bp. Thirlwall mingles his own arguments with those of its author; and I do not know whether the statement just quoted is due to the German professor or to the English bishop. But whichever wrote it, it does no credit to the writer's perspicacity. The argument drawn from the position which the speech of Dicaeopolis holds in the play I confess myself unable to comprehend; and it seems incredible that the first sentence of the paragraph should have been penned by any person who had read the Comedy with ever so little attention. For, as has already been pointed out, the Rural Dionysia forms part of the Comic fiction on which the whole drama is founded; it flows directly from the *Private Peace*, and has as little claim to actuality as the mission of *Amphitheus*, or the *Private Peace* itself, or the visit to the house of *Euripides*. But the *Pitcher-feast* has no connexion with that fiction; it is indeed first mentioned by the servant of *Lamachus*, the chief opponent of peace; and even he does not think it necessary to inform us that the *Pitcher-feast* is about to take place, he merely asks for thrushes and an eel to take to the feast, as if its existence were already well known to the audience.

I had contemplated the inclusion, in this Introduction, of a few brief remarks in relation to the earlier editions of *Aristophanes*; but it has already embraced such a variety of topics that it seems better to defer those remarks till we reach the place where they originally appeared, viz. the preliminary note in the Appendix to the *Peace*. But it may be permissible here to say a few words about the Latin versions of our poet's Comedies.

The first Latin translation was that of *Andreas Divus*, published without the Greek text at Basle<sup>1</sup> in the year 1539. It was a translation of all the eleven Comedies into Latin prose. No doubt the translator expected by his laborious undertaking to earn the gratitude of all subsequent students of Aristophanes; but his translation has been everywhere received with a chorus of derision and abuse. "Bonus ille *Andreas Divus*," says *Tannegui Le Fevre*, "vix alternos versus *Comici nostri* intellexit, qui nullum *Hellenismi sensum* haberet." His translation, says *Kuster*, "adeo inepta est, et tot vitiis ubique scatet, ut indignam eam iudicaverimus cui in editione nostra locum concederemus." And *Peter Burmann the younger*, "quam partim barbaram et nugacem, partim vitiis innumerabilibus ubique scatentem, merito ut indignam reiecerunt viri eruditi cuius in ulla deinceps editione aliqua haberetur ratio." The translation is certainly full of errors, but these judgements do not err on the side of generosity.

This unfortunate venture was followed, towards the close of the sixteenth century, by two partial translations into Latin verse, both of remarkable excellence. *Florent Chretien*, the tutor of *Henry IV* of France, published the *Wasps*, the *Peace*, and the *Lysistrata* as separate plays. The only original edition which I have seen is that of the *Peace*, which was published at Paris in the year 1589. And in 1597 the *Acharnians*, the *Knights*, the *Clouds*, the *Frogs*, and the *Plutus* were published by *Nicodemus Frischlin* at Frankfort, in one volume, dedicated to the Emperor *Rodolph II*. Each translator gave the Greek text by the side of his translation, and in each version even the most complex choral odes are given in the identical metres of the Greek,

<sup>1</sup> That, at least, is the place of publication, and that the date of my copy. I have seen it stated that it was published at Venice in the year 1538. Whether that statement is a mere mistake, or whether the work was published almost simultaneously in both places, I have no means of ascertaining. Mine cannot be the Venetian edition with a Basle title-page, because on the final page we again have "*Basiliae in aedibus Andreae Cratandri mense Martio, anno 1539.*"

with (especially in the case of Florent Chretien) extraordinary skill and felicity.

But the first complete edition of Aristophanes which contained a Latin translation of all the eleven plays was that of Aemilius Portus in 1607. He gave the verse translations of Florent Chretien and Frischlin, and for the three Comedies which they had left untranslated—the Birds, the Thesmophoriazusae and the Ecclesiazusae—the prose translation of Andreas Divus. This arrangement was continued in the editions known as Scaliger's and Faber's; but in the latter was added the Ecclesiazusae with commentary and Latin prose translation by Le Fevre from whom the edition derives its name. And Andreas Divus was finally shelved by the translation of the Birds by Hemsterhuys and of the Thesmophoriazusae by Kuster. Kuster's own edition (in 1710) contained the eight verse translations by Florent Chretien and Frischlin, and the three prose translations by Le Fevre, Hemsterhuys, and himself. Bergler turned into excellent Latin prose the eight Comedies translated in verse by Florent Chretien and Frischlin; and his edition, published after his death by Burmann, was the first to contain a complete translation of all the eleven Comedies in Latin prose. Brunck revised the whole, and adapted it to his altered text. Brunck's revision of the composite translation by Le Fevre, Hemsterhuys, Kuster, and Bergler has ever since remained what may be termed the Authorized Version. It has itself been revised to make it correspond with the Greek text of more recent editions, but the changes so introduced have been very slight. See the Aristophanes of Didot, Paris 1862.

For the Greek Scholia I have uniformly employed the excellent and comprehensive Dindorf-Didot edition published in Paris in the year 1842. An edition of the Ravenna Scholia with an English translation was published by the late Dr. Rutherford, but the Greek text is very untrustworthy, and the English translation too often misses the Scholiast's meaning. An amusing instance of this will be found in his treatment of the Scholium on line 968 of the present play.

There have been many most admirable translations of the Acharnians

into English verse. It has been translated<sup>1</sup> by Thomas Mitchell, A. D. 1820; the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere, 1840; Benjamin Dann Walsh, 1848; Leonard Hampson Rudd, 1867; Charles James Billson, 1882; and Professor Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, 1883. These versions, in their different styles, are all of remarkable merit. Certainly no further translation was required; and I should not have thought of publishing my own except for the purpose of completing the series. For although there are still four plays—the Clouds, the Wasps, the Peace, and the Lysistrata—to be brought into this edition, yet the translations of all the four have been published, so that this volume will complete the translation of all the extant Comedies of Aristophanes. I was familiar with Frere's version of the Acharnians almost in my boyhood, nearly if not quite as soon as I became acquainted with the Greek original; and doubtless it has always to some extent coloured my conception of the play. That I have always regarded the Odomantians as an army of "scarecrows" must have been because Frere had so described them; but when I substituted that term for the *ἀπεψωλημένοις* of line 161, I had not the slightest recollection that Frere had done the same; and I did not discover, until it was too late to alter it, that I had been an unconscious plagiarist.

In the dedication prefixed to the Editio Princeps of these Comedies A. D. 1498, Aldo Manuzio mentions, as though it were a matter of common notoriety, that Saint Chrysostom is recorded to have set such store by Aristophanes, that twenty-eight of the poet's Comedies were never out of his hands, and formed his pillow when he slept; and that from this source he was thought to have drawn his marvellous eloquence and austerity<sup>2</sup>. It is not known upon what authority Manuzio founded

<sup>1</sup> It seems impossible to reckon Wheelwright's version of the Comedies amongst the poetical versions.

<sup>2</sup> "Hunc item Ioannes Chrysostomus tanti fecisse dicitur, ut duodetriginta comoedias Aristophanis semper haberet in manibus, adeo ut pro pulvillo dormiens uteretur; hinc itaque et eloquentiam et severitatem, quibus est mirabilis, didicisse dicitur."

this statement; but it must have been made, one would suppose, with the concurrence of the eminent Cretan scholar, Marco Musuro, who superintended the preparation of this (the Aldine) edition of the Comedies of Aristophanes. And the particularity of the detail, that the saint's copy consisted of twenty-eight Comedies, makes it probable that the writer was relying on some specific authority, rather than on any general recollection or belief of his own.

Similar statements are found in many subsequent writers. Thus Aemilius Portus, another Cretan scholar, dedicating his edition of Aristophanes (A.D. 1607) to Bisetus, observes that the wit and pleasantness of Aristophanes had impelled John, who from the golden flow of his eloquence was surnamed Chrysostom, to the daily perusal of these Comedies, from which indeed he is said to have derived the greater part of his eloquence and of his vehemence in reproving vice. For as Alexander slept with Homer under his pillow, so was that most excellent theologian accustomed to sleep with the Plays of Aristophanes under his pillow; as we are told by authors worthy of all belief<sup>1</sup>. And he refers to the same story in his Address to his readers. But these and similar notices in the old books are probably based upon Manuzio's statement, and consequently add nothing to its credibility.

Porson, we are told, expressed an opinion that Manuzio may have found the story in some old Greek scholiast, and the same great scholar thought it possible to trace in the language of Saint Chrysostom an apparent imitation of the language of Aristophanes<sup>2</sup>. No one was ever more competent than

<sup>1</sup> "Haec (sc. facundia et in dicendo suavitas incredibilis Aristophanis) Iohannem illum Antiochenum, summorum Theologorum lumen, qui propter aureum eloquentiae flumen Chrysostomi cognomen obtinuit, ad huius poetae quotidianam lectionem impulerunt, ex qua maximam tum facundiae tum vehementiae suae partem in corripiendis vitiis hausisse fertur. Ut Alexander Homeri poema, sic etiam praestantissimus iste Theologus Aristophanem pulvillo subdere solebat, quemadmodum a viris fide dignis memoriae proditum." See also Frischlin's Dedicatory Epistle to the Emperor Rodolph.

<sup>2</sup> "Quod de Ioanne Chrysostomo narrat Aldus, ex Scholiasta quodam derivatum suspicabatur Porsonus; et in Chrysostomi dictione Aristophanis imitationem apparere putabat."—Dobree's *Adversaria* ii. 129.

Person to decide on a question of this kind ; though it seems to me excessively difficult to compare the styles of two compositions so radically different in character as the light badinage of comic dialogue and the earnest exhortations of a Christian preacher. I will only make a few observations on the subject.

1. St. Chrysostom was obviously a man of the most brilliant intellect and the most profound learning. His mind was as familiar with the great classical writers of Pagan antiquity as it was with the whole range of Scriptural and patristic literature.

2. His style is singularly pellucid. His thoughts are always bright and clear, and clothed in the aptest language. There is never any doubt as to his meaning, or any obscurity in his way of expressing it. His language is justly described by a later contemporary of his own (Sozomen, H. E. viii. 2) as *σαφῆς μετὰ λαμπρότητος*. It is like "the pure river of water of life, clear as crystal," which the Apostle saw in his Apocalyptic visions.

3. There are often words and phrases in his writings which recall the words and phrases of Aristophanes. Some of these, but hardly one in a score that I have noticed, are mentioned in the Commentary on the several plays. But I do not myself think that any great stress can be laid on evidence of this kind. Apart from mere accidental coincidences, the phrases of a popular writer work themselves into the popular language and become the common property of all who use that language. We are all of us every day employing the words and phrases of famous men without any suspicion of the source from which they originally came. Moreover a comic writer is quick to catch up phrases already embodied in contemporary speech, and they may have passed down to posterity by many channels other than his writings.

4. St. Chrysostom was one of the purest souls that ever existed, and one of the sternest reprovers of vice ; and may well have been attracted by the kindred elements in the satire of Aristophanes. Indeed he is imagined, as we have seen, to have derived from that source some part at least of his severity, and of his sternness in rebuking vice. And any-

how there is much in the moral tone and elevation of the great poet which would be bracing and refreshing to the great preacher, "a Court's stern martyr-guest<sup>1</sup>" amongst the vices and corruptions of a falling empire. "Men smile," says Mr. Sewell, in his eloquent Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato<sup>2</sup>, "men smile when they hear the anecdote of one of the most venerable Fathers of the Church, who never went to bed without Aristophanes under his pillow. But the noble tone of morals, the elevated taste, the sound political wisdom, the boldness and acuteness of the satire, the grand object, which is seen throughout, of correcting the follies of the day and improving the condition of his country,—all these are features in Aristophanes which, however disguised, as they intentionally are, by coarseness and buffoonery, entitle him to the highest respect from every reader of antiquity." And the "coarseness and buffoonery" are not characteristic of the poet; they were inherent in the very nature of the ancient comic drama, or rather in Athenian life and manners which in Comedy were faithfully mirrored and represented. An Athenian girl could not step out of her father's house without seeing in the "Hermes" beside her father's door the grossest and most immodest of symbols; she could not walk, as the "Queen of the May" in a Dionysian procession, without having the same symbol, the phallus-pole, paraded behind her in the sight of the assembled crowds. There was no escape from this want of reserve and delicacy. It existed everywhere. You could not have walked through a street of Athens, you could not have visited a farm in Attica, without encountering sights and symbols which nobody then regarded, but which would now be absolutely repulsive to every person of ordinary delicacy. And the Old Comedy merely placed before the Athenian people, and alone preserves to ourselves, an accurate representation of their daily life. This was the cause of its "coarseness and buffoonery," which did not in any sense emanate from the mind of Aristophanes. To the poet himself the charge of indelicacy would have been quite incomprehensible. He plumed himself on the

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Newman in the *Lyra Apostolica*.

<sup>2</sup> p. 41.



modesty of his Muse ; his whole career was an attempt to raise Comedy into a loftier and a nobler sphere ; to make it a vehicle for inculcating a higher political and social morality ; to cleanse it from the vulgar surroundings, the *φόρος*, from amongst which it had its beginnings. And there can be no doubt that among the poets of the Old Comedy he was distinguished as the most refined, the most free from all manner of coarseness. And this was the judgement of the ancients themselves. No nobler or purer mind than Plato's ever inhabited an Athenian form ; yet he, with every personal reason for hostility to Aristophanes, could yet say that in that poet's soul the Graces had found a sacred shrine which would never pass away. And akin to Plato's reference to the *Χάριτες* is the special epithet *ὁ χαρλεύς*, by which amongst the later Greek writers, both Christian and Pagan, Aristophanes was perpetually distinguished. A man like St. Chrysostom, of brilliant intellect and wide learning and sympathies, and far more familiar than we can be with the pestilential vapours then slowly disappearing from the earth, "smit by the splendours of the Bethlehem dawn," would have been fully capable of appreciating the position of Aristophanes, and of recognizing the value of the blows he struck in the cause of right and justice, *τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον*. Nor in good truth has it ever been the pure of heart who have objected to Aristophanes on the score of his realistic representation of Attic life. I suppose that in the nineteenth century there was no holier or more Apostolic Bishop than Christopher Wordsworth ; I am sure that there was no scholar who was more familiar with, or more fully appreciated, the Comedies of Aristophanes. I know no work which sheds a clearer or more pleasing light on these Comedies than "Wordsworth's Athens and Attica." It is interesting to remember that Marco Musuro, the editor of the first printed edition of Aristophanes, was subsequently by Pope Leo X made Abp. of Monovasia. See Nichols' "Epistles of Erasmus" i. 31.

I should be well pleased if I have convinced any one of my readers of the truth of the Aldine anecdote ; but I must confess that I have not convinced myself. I should love to think that the "glorious Preacher "

of Antioch and Constantinople was as reverent an admirer as I myself am of the Athenian poet. But the attitude which he invariably assumes towards the old Hellenic learning and towards dramatic performances in general seems quite inconsistent with such devoted attachment on his part to the Coryphaeus of the old Hellenic dramatists.

EASTWOOD, STRAWBERRY HILL,  
*August, 1909.*

ΤΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ ΑΧΑΡΝΕΩΝ.

I<sup>1</sup>.

Ἐκκλησία ὑφέστηκεν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ, καθ' ἣν πολεμοποιούν-  
 τας τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ προφανῶς τὸν δῆμον ἐξαπατῶντας<sup>2</sup> Δικαιοπόλις  
 τις τῶν αὐτουργῶν ἐξελέγχων παρεισάγεται. τούτου δὲ διὰ τινος,  
 Ἀμφιθέου καλουμένου, σπείσαμένου κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς Λάκωσιν, Ἀχαρτικοὶ  
 γέροντες πεπυσμένοι τὸ πρᾶγμα προσέρχονται διώκοντες ἐν Χοροῦ  
 σχήματι· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θύοντα τὸν Δικαιοπόλιν ὀρώντες, ὡς ἐσπείσ-  
 μένον τοῖς πολεμιοτάτοις<sup>3</sup> καταλεύσειν ὀρῶσιν. ὁ δὲ ὑποσχόμενος  
 ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήνου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἀπολογήσεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧτε, ἐὰν<sup>4</sup> μὴ πείσῃ  
 τὰ δίκαια λέγων, τὸν τράχηλον ἀποκοπήσεσθαι, ἔλθων ὡς Εὐριπίδην  
 αἰτεῖ πτωχικὴν στολὴν· καὶ στολισθεὶς τοῖς Τηλέφου βράκωμασι παρῳδεῖ  
 τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον, οὐκ ἀχαρίτως<sup>5</sup> καθαπτόμενος Περικλέους περὶ τοῦ  
 Μεγαρικοῦ<sup>6</sup> ψηφίσματος. παροξυνθέντων δὲ τινων ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> This Argument is found in the Ravenna MS. (R.), and in two of the Parisian MSS. (P. and P<sup>2</sup>.) employed by Brunck. It is given in Aldus and the printed editions generally. It appears in the text exactly as it stands in R., except where otherwise mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξαπατῶντας. R. and all editions before Brunck have ἐξάπτοντας. Brunck introduced ἐξαπατῶντας, whether from his MSS. or from his own conjecture he does not say. It has been universally

adopted.

<sup>3</sup> πολεμιοτάτοις P. Brunck, recentiores. πολεμικωτάτοις R. P<sup>2</sup>. πολέμιοις Aldus, editions before Brunck. For καταλείσειν (vulgo) R. has κατακέλευσιν.

<sup>4</sup> ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐὰν vulgo. ἐφ' ὅτ' ἂν R.

<sup>5</sup> ἀχαρίτως vulgo. ἀχαρίστως R.

<sup>6</sup> περὶ τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ R. Aldus, vulgo. The περὶ is omitted by P. and P<sup>2</sup>., and Brunck, following them in this respect, reads τοῦ τε Μεγαρικοῦ. For ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν just below R. has ἐπὶ τὸ δοκεῖν.

δοκεῖν συνηγορεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἶτα ἐπιφερομένων, ἐνισταμένων δὲ ἐτέρων ὡς τὰ δίκαια αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος, ἐπιφανεῖς Λάμαχος θορυβεῖν πειράται. εἶτα γενομένου διελκυσμοῦ κατενεχθεῖς<sup>1</sup> ὁ Χορὸς ἀπολύει τὸν Δικαιοπόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς<sup>2</sup> διαλέγεται περὶ τῆς τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν. τοῦ δὲ Δικαιοπόλιδος ἄγοντος καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἰρήνην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Μεγαρικὸς τις παιδία ἑαυτοῦ, δισκευασμένα εἰς χοιρίδια, φέρων ἐν σάκκῳ πράσιμα παραγίνεται· μετὰ τοῦτον ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἕτερος, ἐγχέλεις τε καὶ παντοδαπῶν ὀρνίθων γόνον ἀνατιθέμενος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. οἷς ἐπιφανέντων τινῶν συκοφαντῶν συλλαβόμενός τινα<sup>3</sup> ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Δικαιοπόλις καὶ βάλλων εἰς σάκκον, τοῦτον τῷ Βοιωτῷ ἀντίφορτον ἐξάγειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν παραδίδωσι, καὶ προσαγόντων αὐτῷ πλείονων καὶ δεομένων μεταδοῦναι τῶν σπονδῶν, καθυπερηφανεῖ. παροικούντος δὲ αὐτῷ Λαμάχου, καὶ ἐνεστηκυίας τῆς τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῆς, τοῦτον μὲν ἄγγελος παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν<sup>4</sup> ἤκων κελεύει ἐξελθόντα μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων τὰς εἰσβολὰς τηρεῖν· τὸν δὲ Δικαιοπόλιν παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ ἱερέως τις καλῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔρχεται. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὁ μὲν τραυματίας καὶ κακῶς ἀπαλλάττων ἐπανήκει, ὁ δὲ Δικαιοπόλις δεδειπνηκῶς καὶ μεθ' ἑταίρας ἀναλύων.

Τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν εἰς σφόδρα πεπονημένων, καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλούμενον.

<sup>1</sup> κατενεχθεῖς, *overborne*, vulgo. *κατελεγχθεῖς* is suggested by Blaydes and adopted by Van Leeuwen. But there is no discussion between Dicaeopolis and the Chorus after Lamachus makes his appearance; indeed Dicaeopolis may be said to have adroitly constituted himself the champion of the Chorus against Lamachus.

<sup>2</sup> δικαστὰς MSS. and editions. If this is the right reading, the author of the Argument must consider that Dicaeopolis had been pleading the cause of the Lacedaemonians as in a dicastery, the audience being the dicasts; a view

to some extent supported by the words μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει δοκῶ in line 317. It would have been better if, as Elmsley suggests, he had written *θεατὰς* or *ἀκροατὰς*, but I suspect that his meaning is the same.

<sup>3</sup> τινα Aldus vulgo. τινὰς R. P. P<sup>3</sup>. Brunck, Bekker, and a few others. But apart from the circumstance that Nicarchus was the only Informer so treated, the singular τοῦτον which immediately follows shows that we should here read *τινα*.

<sup>4</sup> παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν vulgo. παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν R.

Ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου<sup>1</sup> ἄρχοντος ἐν Ληναίοις διὰ Καλλιστράτου· καὶ πρῶτος ἦν· δεύτερος Κρατῖνος Χειμαζομένοις· οὐ σώζονται. τρίτος Εὐπολις Νουμηνίαις.

II<sup>2</sup>.

## ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ.

Ἐκκλησίας οὔσης παραγίνονται τινες  
 πρέσβεις παρὰ Περσῶν καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκουσ πάλιν,  
 οἱ μὲν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ χρυσοῖον.  
 παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ μετὰ τούτους τινὲς  
 σπονδὰς φέροντες· οὗς Ἀχαρνεῖς οὐδαμῶς  
 εἶασαν, ἀλλ' ἐξέβαλον· ὧν καθάπτεται  
 σκληρῶς ὁ ποιητής. αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμά τε  
 Μεγαρικὸν ἱκανῶς φησι, καὶ τὸν Περικλέα  
 κού τὸν Λάκωνα τῶνδε πάντων αἴτιον,  
 σπονδὰς λύσειν τε τῶν ἐφεστώτων κακῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Εὐθύνου. Εὐθυμένους R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. and all the older editions, but the archonship of Euthymenes was many years before, viz. 437-436 B.C. See Acharnians 67. The archon in 426-425, when the Acharnians was exhibited, was Euthynus, by Diodorus and Athenaeus miscalled Euthydemus. See Clinton's Fasti Hellenici anno 426 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> This Argument, down to and including the words ὁ ποιητής in the seventh line, is found in the Ravenna MS., where it is written as prose. It is not in any of the Parisian MSS. employed by Brunck, but it is given in full by Aldus and the printed editions generally. The Ravenna MS. does not in this case,

as it does in others, prefix the words ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ; but one would suppose that all these doggerel arguments must have been written by one hand, though it may be a libel to attribute them to the famous grammarian.

In line 2, R. omits πάλιν, but it is found in Aldus and all the editions.

In line 6, Aldus and the other editions have ἐξέβαλον. R. has ἐξέβαλλον.

In line 9, κού τὸν Λάκωνα is Bergk's conjecture for οὐκ τῶν Λακῶνων. If the final line is correct it must mean "and he says that Peace is the remedy for the evils now existing."

### CORRIGENDUM.

Page 3, note on line 6. It was probably in his "Book of Demagogues," that is, the tenth Book of his Philippics, that Theopompus described the incident of Cleon being compelled to disgorge the five talents. See the Introduction to the Knights, where the incident is more fully discussed.

### CORRIGENDA IN VOL. V.

Introduction, p. xviii, line 2, for "south-eastern" read "south-western."

Page 76, line 697, for *γελοῖον* read *γέλοισιν*.

Page 198, line 30, for "fetched" read "filched."

# ΑΧΑΡΝΕΙΣ

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## ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ,  
ΚΗΡΥΞ.  
ΑΜΦΙΘΕΟΣ.  
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΣ.  
ΨΕΥΔΑΡΤΑΒΑΣ.  
ΘΕΩΡΟΣ.  
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΧΑΡΝΕΩΝ.  
ΓΥΝΗ *Δικαιοπόλιδος.*  
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ *Δικαιοπόλιδος.*  
ΚΗΦΙΣΟΦΩΝ *θεράπων Εὐριπίδου.*  
ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ.  
ΛΑΜΑΧΟΣ.  
ΜΕΓΑΡΕΥΣ.  
ΚΟΡΑ Α καὶ Β *θυγατέρε τοῦ Μεγαρέως.*  
ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ.  
ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ.  
ΝΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ.  
ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ *Λαμάχου.*  
ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ.  
ΠΑΡΑΝΥΜΦΟΣ.  
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ.

## Α Χ Α Ρ Ν Ε Ι Σ

ΔΙ. Ὅσα δὴ δέδηγμαί τὴν ἔμαντοῦ καρδίαν,  
 ἦσθην δὲ βαιά· πάνυ δὲ βαιά· τέτταρα·  
 ἂ δ' ὠδυνήθην, ψαμμοκοσιογάργα.  
 φέρ' ἴδω, τί δ' ἦσθην ἄξιον χαιρηδόνος ;  
 ἐγῶδ' ἐφ' ᾧ γε τὸ κέαρ εὐφράνθην ἰδὼν,  
 τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις οἷς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν.  
 ταῦθ' ὡς ἐγανώθην, καὶ φιλῶ τοὺς ἱππέας  
 διὰ τοῦτο τοῦργον· ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι.

5

In the background are three houses, the usual number in a Comic Play. The central house is the house of Dicaeopolis; the others are the houses of Euripides and Lamachus respectively. We must not conclude from the juxtaposition of the three houses that their inmates are intended, even for the purposes of the play, to be represented as neighbours. The old Attic Comedy cared nothing for verisimilitudes of this description. The arrangement is merely a device whereby different scenes might be represented without any change in the theatrical scenery. In the foreground is a rough representation of the Athenian Pnyx, with a solitary citizen awaiting the opening of the Assembly. That he is weary and impatient is shown by his attitude and gestures; and finally he gives vent to his irritation in the soliloquy with

which the play commences. The opening lines are full of quaint constructions and words, intended to arrest the attention of the audience not yet interested in the plot itself: though indeed there are many new-fangled words (more than a hundred, Elmsley thinks) scattered throughout the play. The first line is quoted, though without the author's name, by the Emperor Julian, who was fond of displaying his acquaintance with the Comedies of Aristophanes; *εἰκότως*, he says, *δάκνομαί τε καὶ δέδηγμαί τὴν ἔμαντοῦ καρδίαν*.—Oration viii, p. 243 C.

3. *ψαμμοκοσιογάργα*] This is a word compounded by the poet from *ψάμμος sand*, *γάργα heaps*, and *-κόσιοι hundreds* (as in *διακόσιοι*, *τριακόσιοι*, and the like). The Scholiast tells us that the words *ἀριθμῆν θεατὰς ψαμμοκοσίου* were employed by Eupolis in his *Χρυσοῦν γένος*,



## THE ACHARNIANS

DICÆOPOLIS, What heaps of things have bitten me to the heart !

A small few pleased me, very few, just four ;

But those that vexed were sand-dune-hundredfold.

Let's see : what pleased me, worth my gladfulness ?

I know a thing it cheered my heart to see ;

'Twas those five talents vomited up by Cleon.

At that I brightened ; and I love the Knights

For that performance ; 'twas of price to Hellas.

a drama of uncertain date, but in all probability subsequent to the Knights. It is thought too that *χαιρηδών, χαιρηδόνος*, which does not elsewhere occur, is another word coined by the poet, by analogy to *ἀληθδών, ἀληθδόνος*.

6. *οἰς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν*] *The five talents which Cleon disgorged.* Cleon had received this sum from certain of the allies as a bribe to get the amount of their tribute-assessment lowered ; but the fact leaking out, he was compelled, either by the judgement of the dicasteries or (more probably) by the threat to resort to them, to pay over the sum to the public treasury. It is plain that the Knights were active in discovering the bribe and compelling restitution. The incident, which Thucydides does not condescend to notice, is recorded by Theopompus, doubtless in his continuation of the former's History. *παρὰ*

*τῶν νησιωτῶν ἔλαβε πέντε τάλαντα ὁ Κλέων, ἵνα πείσῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κουφίσαι αὐτοὺς τῆς εἰσφορᾶς. ἀισθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀντέλεγον καὶ ἀπήτησαν αὐτόν. μέμνηται Θεόπομπος.*—Scholiast.

8. *ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι*] Cf. *infra* 205. These words, the Scholiast tells us, are taken bodily from the Telephus of Euripides, a Tragedy which provided Aristophanes with an inexhaustible fund of amusement and satire. It is quoted in the first half of this play no less than ten times ; and frequently in the other Comedies down to and including the Frogs. The line from which the present words are borrowed is given by the Scholiast as *κακῶς ὄλοιτ' ἄν ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι*, and is supposed to have been spoken by Achilles in reference to Telephus, who has just made his appearance in the Achæan camp.

ἀλλ' ὠδυνήθην ἕτερον αὖ τραγωδικόν,  
 ὅτε δὴ 'κεχήνη προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον,  
 10 ὁ δ' ἀνείπεν " εἴσαγ', ὦ Θεόγυι, τὸν χορὸν."  
 πῶς τοῦτ' ἔσεισέ μου, δοκεῖς, τὴν καρδίαν ;  
 ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἦσθην, ἡνίκ' ἐπὶ Μόσχῳ ποτέ  
 Δεξίθεος εἰσήλθ' ἀσόμενος Βοιώτιον.  
 15 τῆτες δ' ἀπέθανον καὶ διεστράφην ἰδὼν,  
 ὅτε δὴ παρέκυψε Χαῖρις ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρθιον.

9. τραγωδικόν] This epithet, as the actor uttered it, would seem to indicate a woe of deep and tragic import; but his next words would show that Aristophanes is using it to denote a grievance connected with the Tragedy-competition at the Dionysia. Aeschylus had been dead for more than thirty years at the date of the production of the Acharnians, but his plays enjoyed the privilege, at that time unique, of still competing for the prize. At the festival of which Dicaeopolis is speaking, an old Tragedy by Aeschylus, and a new Tragedy by Theognis, were two of the three dramas competing for the Tragic prize; and while the speaker was looking forward to the enjoyment of one of the sublime productions of the old Warrior-bard, he is disgusted at hearing the Crier call upon Theognis to introduce his frigid play. For Theognis was a dull man, and wrote dull plays; so frigid, that he acquired the nickname of *Χιών*, *Snow*. His excessive frigidity, *ψυχρότης*, is ridiculed *infra* 140, and *Thesm.* 170, where see the Commentary.

11. ὁ δ' ἀνείπεν] Ὁ κήρυξ δηλονότι. Θεόγυις δὲ οὗτος τραγωδίας ποιητής, πάνυ

ψυχρός, εἰς τῶν Τριάκοντα, ὃς καὶ Χιών ἐλέγετο.—Scholiast.

13. ἐπὶ Μόσχῳ] Ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Μόσχον. ἦν δὲ οὗτος φαῦλος κιθαρωδός. ὁ δὲ Δεξίθεος ἄριστος κιθαρωδός.—Scholiast. His disappointment and his pleasure were of a similar character. The one arose from the exchange (by substitution) of Theognis for Aeschylus; the other from the exchange (by succession) of Dexitheus for Moschus. This is the simple, and I think the true, explanation of the passage. Another explanation, also coming down from the time of the Scholiasts, would in my opinion be hardly worthy of notice, had it not received the sanction of Bentley in his Dissertation on Phalaris (*Age of Tragedy*). *τινὲς οὗτος*, says a Scholiast, *ὅτι ὁ νικήσας ἄθλον ἐλάμβανε μόσχον*. So in the *Pastorals* of Longus *ii.* 24 we are told that a Sicilian shepherd ἦσεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ τράφῳ καὶ σύριγγι. But there is no reason to believe that a calf was ever the prize for anything; an allusion to the prize would be here altogether out of place; whilst it is quite in the manner of Aristophanes to set off the praise of one competitor against the censure of another. Theognis

Then I'd a Tragic sorrow, when I looked  
 With open mouth for Aeschylus, and lo,  
 The Crier called, *Bring on your Play, Theognis.*  
 Judge what an icy shock that gave my heart!  
 Next; pleased I was when Moschus left, and in  
 Dexitheus came with his Boeotian song.  
 But O this year I nearly cracked my neck,  
 When in slipped Chaeris for the Orthian Nome.

was more unwelcome because he was substituted for Aeschylus; Dexitheus was more welcome because he succeeded Moschus.

14. Βοιώτιον] Μέλος οὕτω καλούμενον, ἕπερ εἶρε Τέρπανδρος, ὅσπερ καὶ τὸ Φρύγιον.—Scholiast. It was, in fact, one of the famous lyrical nomes of Terpander; and Plutarch (*De Musica*, chap. 4) gives it the first place in his enumeration of the nomes. Sophocles also mentions it, ὅταν τις ᾄδῃ τὸν Βοιώτιον νόμον. *Proverbia Zenobii* (Gaisford, p. 270). And as the proverb collectors tell us that the expression Βοιώτιος νόμος was applied to persons who begin very calmly, and presently proceed with greater vehemence (Zenobius, *ubi supra*; Suidas, s. v. Βοιωτία; Alexandrine Proverbs 77), we may conclude that such was the character of the nome itself. There seems no ground for the suggestion that Aristophanes intended any play on the words *μόσχος* and *βοι-ώτιον*, or that Dicaeopolis was pleased with the Boeotian as being the pastoral strain of Peace, and displeased with the Orthian as being the stirring strain of War.

15. τῆτες] Τοῦτ' ἔπει.—Harpocra-

tion, Photius. Does *διστράφην* mean "I twisted my neck" or "I got a squint?" I certainly think the former. I doubt if *διστράφην*, which means that the speaker himself was distorted, can properly be restricted to a mere squint without the addition of *τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς* or the like. And here "I got a squint" would come with singular bathos after *ἀπέθανον*. The same question arises in *Knights* 175 and *Birds* 177.

16. παρέκνυψε] This word everywhere else in Aristophanes means "peeped in" or "out," but here it seems to mean something more: *came sidling in*. There is probably, as Dr. Merry suggests, a contrast intended between *παρακίπτω* and *ἔρθιον*. Mueller cites from the first *Philippic* (28, p. 46) an instance of *παρακίπτειν* used in the like signification, and followed, as here, by *ἐπι* with an accusative; [τὰ ξενικὰ] *παρακίψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον*. The Orthian nome was another, and perhaps the most celebrated, of Terpander's nomes; a bold and spirit-stirring strain, as of soldiers marching to victory. It is again mentioned in *Knights* 1279; and see *Birds* 489, *Ecl.* 741. Chaeris, who comes sidling in to play it, was a

ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐξ ὄτου γὰρ ῥύπτομαι  
 οὕτως ἐδήχθην ὑπὸ κονίας τὰς ὀφρῦς  
 ὡς νῦν, ὅπότε οὔσης κυρίας ἐκκλησίας  
 ἐωθινῆς ἔρημος ἡ πνύξ αὐτῆ· 20  
 οἱ δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι, κἄνω καὶ κάτω  
 τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμλωμένον·  
 οὐδ' οἱ πρυτάνεις ἤκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφρίαν  
 ἤκοντες, εἶτα δ' ὥστιοῦνται πῶς δοκεῖς  
 ἐλθόντες ἀλλήλοισι περὶ πρώτου ξύλου, 25

wretched Theban piper, described in the Peace and the Birds as in the habit of appearing, uninvited and unwelcome, at sacrificial feasts, in the hope of obtaining some gift. The Theban pipers, infra 866, are called Χαιριδεῖς

βομβαύλιοι.

17. ἐξ ὄτου γὰρ ῥύπτομαι] *Since washing-days began*; that is "from my earliest youth"; a slang expression, to which Swift's lines have been compared:

Well, if ever I saw such another man *since my mother bound up my head.*  
 You, a gentleman? Marry, come up, I wonder where you were bred.

(Letter from Mary the cookmaid to Dr. Sheridan.)

And having thus introduced the idea of *washing*, he proceeds, whilst retaining the word ἐδήχθην from line 1, to substitute for the expected ὑπ' ὀδύνης τὴν καρδίαν the unexpected ὑπὸ κονίας τὰς ὀφρῦς.

19. κυρίας ἐκκλησίας] The question as to the κύριαι ἐκκλησίαι is considered in the Introduction; and it will be sufficient here to set down the conclusion there arrived at. The three fixed and regular Assemblies, held on the 11th, the 20th, and the last day of each month, were in the time of Aristophanes called κύριαι ἐκκλησίαι. They were not *convoked*: they came automatically on the appointed days; and at them the whole business of the empire was transacted. Additional assemblies, *convoked* on any particular emergency,

were called, in contradistinction to the κύριαι, σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι. That the Assemblies, like other public functions at Athens, commenced at daybreak is of course well known. See Thesm. 375, Eccl. 20, 85, 377, &c.

22. μεμλωμένον] The Pnyx, where the ἐκκλησίαι were held, was an elevated plateau of a semicircular shape, a little to the south-west of the Areopagus, a portion of the Agora lying between the two. There is an excellent picture, with plans, of the Pnyx in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii, chap. vii, plate 38; and a good account of it in Col. Leake's *Topography of Athens*, vol. i, App. II. In the Agora, adjoining the Pnyx, there were sure to be citizens loitering about, even in the early morning, and when an

But never yet since first I washed my face  
 Was I so bitten—in my brows with soap,  
 As now, when here's the fixed Assembly Day,  
 And morning come, and no one in the Pnyx.  
 They're in the Agora chattering, up and down  
 Scurrying to dodge the vermeil-tinctured cord.  
 Why even the Prytanes are not here! They'll come  
 Long after time, elbowing each other, jostling  
 For the front bench, streaming down all together

Assembly was about to be held, it was customary to send two Scythian archers (the regular police at Athens) into the Agora to bring these loiterers into the Pnyx. All exits from the Agora, except those leading into the Pnyx, were temporarily blocked up: and the policemen, holding between them a long outstretched rope dripping with ruddle (*rubrica Sinopica*), advanced from the further end of the Agora, driving its occupants before them into the Assembly. If any lingered, they were caught by the rope and so marked with the ruddle; and if they did not attend the Assembly, they made themselves liable to a fine. We can well imagine that much merriment would be caused, as the groups of loiterers dodged about to avoid the rope. See Eccl. 378 and the Commentary there.

23. *πρυτάνεις*] *The Presidents*. The *βουλή* consisted of 500 members, fifty from each of the ten tribes. The fifty *βουλευται* from each tribe took it in turn to be *πρυτάνεις*, and in that capacity presided over all meetings, not only of the *βουλή*, but of the *ἐκκλησία* also. In order to make these ten terms of office

coincide with the twelve months of the year, each term (or *Prytany*, *πρυτανεία*, as it was called) continued for thirty-five or thirty-six days. An Assembly could not be properly constituted until the Presidents arrived; and as on this occasion, if we are to believe Dicaeopolis, they did not arrive till near noon, the Assembly was not opened until hours after its proper time. At the Assembly the Presidents sat beside the bema or orator's pulpit, facing the people, see Eccl. 87 and the note there. And as it cannot be supposed that this little throng of fifty men would have to struggle through a crowded Assembly in order to reach their seats, they doubtless entered from the other end, *descending* from the higher level behind the bema by steps cut in the rock, some of which are still visible, or at least were in Stuart and Revett's time plainly visible, and are clearly represented in their picture and plans mentioned in the preceding note. Hence we see the force of the preposition *κατὰ* in the participle *καταρρέουρες* infra 26. The Prytanes came *streaming down* the steps to the lower level of the Pnyx.

ἄθροιοι καταρρέοντες· εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως  
 ἔσται προτιμῶσ' οὐδέν· ὦ πόλις, πόλις.  
 ἐγὼ δ' αἰὲν πρότιστος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
 νοστῶν κάθημαι· κἄτ' ἐπειδὴν ὦ μόνος,  
 στένω, κέχηνα, σκορδινῶμαι, πέρδομαι, 30  
 ἀπορῶ, γράφω, παρατίλλομαι, λογίζομαι,  
 ἀποβλέπων ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν, εἰρήνης ἐρών,  
 στυγῶν μὲν ἄστνυ, τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν,  
 ὃς οὐδεπώποτ' εἶπεν, ἀνθρακας πρίω,  
 οὐκ ὄξος, οὐκ ἔλαιον, οὐδ' ἦδει πρίω, 35  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔφερε πάντα χῶ πρίων ἀπῆν.  
 νῦν οὖν ἀτεχνῶς ἦκω παρεσκευασμένος  
 βοᾶν, ὑποκρούειν, λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας,  
 ἐάν τις ἄλλο πλὴν περὶ εἰρήνης λέγη.  
 ἀλλ' οἱ πρυτάνεις γὰρ οὐτοὶ μεσημβρινοί. 40  
 οὐκ ἠγόρευον; τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐγὼ λέγον·  
 εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν πᾶς ἀνὴρ ὠστίζεται.

ΚΗΡ.      πᾶριτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν,  
 πᾶριθ', ὡς ἂν ἐντὸς ἦτε τοῦ καθάρματος.

27. ὦ πόλις, πόλις] These words form here an affectionate expostulation with the citizens, just as they do in the well-known lines of Eupolis quoted by the Scholiast on Clouds 587:

ὦ πόλις, πόλις·  
 ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἶ μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς.

30. σκορδινῶμαι] Σκορδινᾶσθαι means to stretch oneself and yawn, as one half awake, μετὰ χάσμεν διατανύεσθαι.— Scholiast on Lucian's Lexiphanes 21. And the same explanation is given, almost in the same words, by all the old grammarians. See also Wasps 642, Frogs 922.

33. στυγῶν κ.τ.λ.] This line, the Scholiast informs us, is borrowed from some Tragic Play; but he does not give us either the name of the author or the title of the play. Its sentiment would be shared by all that great agricultural population who, on the outbreak of the war, were compelled to leave their country homes, and to herd within the walls of the city.

34. ἀνθρακας πρίω] Come, buy my charcoal. The dislike of a countryman for these town-cries is a little touch of nature which always remains the same. Readers of "Lorna Doone" will remember the annoyance of John Ridd,

You can't think how. But as for making Peace  
 They do not care one jot. Oh, City! City!  
 But I am always first of all to come,  
 And here I take my seat; then, all alone,  
 I pass the time complaining, yawning, stretching,  
 I fidget, write, twitch hairs out, do my sums,  
 Gaze fondly country-wards, longing for Peace,  
 Loathing the town, sick for my village-home,  
 Which never cried, *Come, buy my charcoal, or  
 My vinegar, my oil, my anything;*  
 But freely gave us all; no *buy*-word there.  
 So here I'm waiting, thoroughly prepared  
 To riot, wrangle, interrupt the speakers  
 Whene'er they speak of anything but Peace.  
 — But here they come, our noon-day Prytanes!  
 Aye, there they go! I told you how 'twould be;  
 Every one jostling for the foremost place.

CRIER. Move forward all,  
 Move up, within the consecrated line.

on his first visit to London, at finding that if he did but look into a shop-window "the owner or his apprentice boys would rush out and catch hold of me, crying *Buy, buy, buy!* What *dy'e lack?* What *dy'e lack?* *Buy, buy, buy!*" There is a very similar scene in the opening chapter of "The Fortunes of Nigel," but not quite so aptly worded for our present purpose.

36.  $\chi\acute{o}$   $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  ἀπῆν]. It is not quite certain whether  $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  is a substantive, the *saw*, or a participle, the *sawyer*; but either way it is a play on  $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ , the imperative of  $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ , *to buy*. The pun cannot be preserved in English; and

$\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  is generally translated by this *buy-word* or this *grating word* or something of the kind.

43.  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau'$  . . .  $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ] Now the Prytanes have taken their seats, and the Peristiararch is supposed to have carried the sacrificed sucking-pig round the place of meeting for the purpose of purifying the place itself, and the Assembly about to be held therein. And the Crier at once invites the people to come within the line of purification,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  τοῦ καθάρματος. The words which he employs  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau'$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  τὸ  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$  are the recognized formula used for this invitation; they are found

- AM. ἤδη τις εἶπε; KHP. τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; 45  
 AM. ἐγώ. KHP. τίς ὦν; AM. Ἀμφίθεος. KHP. οὐκ ἄνθρωπος;  
 AM. οὐ,  
 ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος Δῆμητρος ἦν  
 καὶ Τριπτολέμου· τούτου δὲ Κελεὸς γίγνεται·  
 γαμῆ δὲ Κελεὸς Φαιναρέτην τήθην ἐμήν,  
 ἐξ ἧς Λυκῖνος ἐγένετ'· ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐγὼ 50  
 ἀθάνατός εἰμ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ θεοὶ  
 σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μόνω.  
 ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ὦν, ὄνδρες, ἐφόδι' οὐκ ἔχω·  
 οὐ γὰρ διδάσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις. KHP. οἱ τοξόται.

under precisely the same circumstances in Eccl. 129; and in an informal shape, as a preliminary to the informal opening of an ἐκκλησία, in Knights 751. And next, again using the recognized formula τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται, he declares the Assembly open, and invites the speakers to commence the debate. And Amphitheus answers ἐγώ, as an orator wishing to address the real Assembly would do. See the Commentary on Knights 751, Thesm. 379, Eccl. 128, 129, 130. The Scholiast refers to Aeschines against Timarchus (p. 4) ἐπειδὴν τὸ καθάριστον περιενεχθῆ . . . μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπερωτᾶ ὁ κῆρυξ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;

45. ἤδη τις εἶπε] But before the Crier has had time to put the question which signifies that the preliminaries are over and the discussion can begin, one enters in a violent hurry, inquiring (apparently of nobody in particular) whether the debates have already commenced. The

Crier, either not hearing or not heeding him, proceeds to put the question. Three matters, we shall find, come before the Assembly: (1) the affair of Amphitheus. This is a mere interruption, which is speedily silenced; (2) the Embassy returning from the Great King, bringing with them, so they say, a Persian noble of the highest rank; and (3) the Embassy returning from Sitalces with troops sent by him to the assistance of Athens.

48. Τριπτολέμου] Both Celeus and Triptolemus were great names in the old legend of "Demeter in search of her daughter." Lucian (de Saltatione 40) combines τὴν Δῆμητρος πλάνην, καὶ Κόρης εὐρεσιν, καὶ Κελεοῦ ξενίαν, καὶ Τριπτολέμου γεωργίαν. Celeus (according to the Homeric Hymn, and Apollodorus i. 5) was the King of Eleusis, whose daughters found Demeter resting by the wayside, wearied out by her search for the Κόρη. And it was on



AMPHITHEUS. Speaking begun? CR. Who will address the meeting?

AM. I. CR. Who are *you*? AM. Amphitheus. CR. Not a man?

AM. No, an immortal. For the first Amphitheus  
Was of Demeter and Triptolemus

The son: his son was Celeus; Celeus married  
Phaenarete, who bare my sire Lycinus.

Hence I'm immortal; and the gods committed  
To me alone the making peace with Sparta.

But, though immortal, I've no journey-money;

The Prytanes won't provide it. CR. Archers, there!

Triptolemus (usually called the son of Celeus, but in the Homeric Hymn treated as an independent prince) that Demeter conferred the knowledge of agriculture which he afterwards taught to mankind. The name Amphitheus is not found in the Homeric Hymn or in the Mythographers, but it probably belonged to the old legend, and the Scholiast here says *ιερεὺς Δήμητρος καὶ Τριπτολέμου ὁ Ἀμφίθεος*. Aristophanes takes these old names out of their proper surroundings, and with them constructs a fictitious pedigree, in imitation, the Scholiast says, of the genealogies which Euripides so often gives us, as, for example, in the opening lines of the *Iph. in Taur.* The names Phaenarete and Lycinus have no connexion with the Demeter-legend. They are merely the poet's inventions.

58. *ἐφόδια*] *Journey-money*. *ἐφόδια λέγεται ἃ ἔχει τις εἰς δαπάνην ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ*.—Scholiast on *Plutus* 1024. Ambassadors were appointed, and their remuneration fixed, in the *ἐκκλησία*; and we may gather from the present passage that

it devolved upon the Prytanes to see that they received it.

54. *οἱ τοξόται*] We have already seen, in the note on 22 *supra*, that the Scythian archers were the regular police at Athens. They, in an Assembly of this kind, were under the command of the Prytanes; and the Prytanes would in ordinary cases have given the order for the removal of Amphitheus; *ἕως ἄν οἱ τοξόται αὐτὸν ἀφελκύσωσιν ἢ ἐξάιρωνται, κελυόντων τῶν πρυτάνεων*.—Plato, *Protagoras*, chap. 10 (p. 319 C). But here the Prytanes are *personae mutae*, and have merely by nod or gesture indicated to the Crier the steps to be taken. That the order really emanated from the Prytanes is shown by the first words of *Dicaeopolis* *ἄνδρες πρυτάνεις, ἀδικεῖτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπάγοντες*. It is noticeable that the order for his removal follows at once on his attack upon the Prytanes. The words *οἱ πρυτάνεις* are hardly out of his mouth when there comes a call for the police. But doubtless, had their conduct been called in question, they could

- ΑΜ. ὦ Τριπτόλεμε καὶ Κελεέ, περιόψεσθέ με ; 55  
 ΔΙ. ἄνδρες πρυτάνεις, ἀδικεῖτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν  
 τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπάγοντες, ὅστις ἡμῖν ἤθελε  
 σπονδὰς ποιῆσαι καὶ κρεμάσαι τὰς ἀσπίδας.
- ΚΗΡ. κάθησο σίγα. ΔΙ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 'γὼ μὲν οὐ,  
 ἦν μὴ περὶ εἰρήνης γε πρυτανεύσητέ μοι. 60
- ΚΗΡ. οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως.  
 ΔΙ. ποίου βασιλέως ; ἄχθομαι 'γὼ πρέσβει  
 καὶ τοῖς ταῶσι τοῖς τ' ἀλαζονεύμασιν.
- ΚΗΡ. σίγα. ΔΙ. βαβαϊὰξ, ὄκβάτανα, τοῦ σχήματος.  
 ΠΡ. ἐπέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, 65  
 μισθὸν φέροντας δύο δραχμὰς τῆς ἡμέρας  
 ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος. ΔΙ. οἴμοι τῶν δραχμῶν.
- ΠΡ. καὶ δῆτ' ἔτρυχόμεθα διὰ τῶν Καῦστρίων  
 πεδίων ὄδοιπλανοῦντες ἐσκηνημένοι,  
 ἐφ' ἄρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι, 70

have justified themselves on the ground that Amphitheus had not, in answer to the Crier's challenge, shown himself to be a genuine Athenian citizen, qualified to address the Assembly.

58. κρεμάσαι τὰς ἀσπίδας] *To hang up our shields*, as no longer required for warlike purposes. Cf. *infra* 279.

61. οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως] This is prose, and probably the actual formula by which envoys and the like were introduced into the Assembly: see *infra* 94. The ejaculation of Dicaeopolis when he hears of the embassy to the King, *ποίου βασιλέως*; is generally, and quite rightly, translated *Great King indeed!* But our interrogative *what* is frequently employed in the same sense as *ποίου*

here. Thus in *Tom Jones* x. 2, where a Mr. Fitzpatrick is complaining of a lady whom he supposes to be his wife, *What wife* (*ποίας δάμαρτος*, Eur. Hel. 567), cries his friend, *do not I know Mrs. Fitzpatrick very well? and don't I see that this lady is none of her?* So in Tennyson's *Holy Grail*, where a monk speaks of the Holy Grail as "the phantom of a cup," *Nay, monk! what phantom?* answered Percivale, *The Cup, the Cup itself.*

64. ὄκβάτανα] The entrance of the envoys, clad in gorgeous Oriental apparel, elicits from Dicaeopolis the exclamation, *O Ecbatana!*, the name of the old capital of the Medes, a synonym at Athens of wealth and

- AM. O help me, Celeus! help, Triptolemus!
- DI. Ye wrong the Assembly, Prytanes, ye do wrong it,  
Haling away a man who only wants  
To give us Peace, and hanging up of shields.
- CR. St! Take your seat. DI. By Apollo, no, not I,  
Unless ye prytanize about the Peace.
- CRIER. O yes! The Ambassadors from the Great King!
- DI. What King! I'm sick to death of embassies,  
And all their peacocks and their impositions.
- CR. Keep silence! DI. Hey!!! Ecbatana, here's a show.
- AMBASSADOR. Ye sent us, envoys to the Great King's Court,  
Receiving each two drachmas daily, when  
Euthymenes was Archon. DI. O me, the drachmas!
- AMB. And weary work we found it, sauntering on,  
Supinely stretched in our luxurious litters  
With awnings o'er us, through Caystrian plains.

voluptuous living. *ἐξίαισι γὰρ οἱ πρόσβεις  
κεκαλλωπισμένοι*, says the Scholiast, *ὡς  
ἀπὸ Ἑκβατάνων*.

65. *ἐπέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς*] The envoys now deliver to the Assembly a report of their proceedings. They were appointed, they say, in the archonship of Euthymenes (437-6 B.C.) at a salary of, for each envoy, two drachmas a day; apparently about the usual salary for an envoy (Boeckh ii. 16) and four times the pay of a dicast. Pleased with their salaries, they took about eleven years to accomplish the journey there and back, which they might easily have done in as many months.

68. *διὰ τῶν Καῦστρίων πεδίων*] This would be the route by which Themis-

stocles went up from Ephesus to the Great King's Court; and it was probably the ordinary route for Hellenic travellers to the same destination. The hardships which they take credit for enduring are really of course unwonted luxuries.

70. *ἐφ' ἀρμάμαξῶν*] The *ἀρμάμαξα* was a sumptuous equipage, a sort of curtained and cushioned litter, in which occasionally great nobles, but more generally the wealthy and luxurious ladies of Asia, were accustomed to travel in state. The noble Coan lady, arrayed in all the pomp and splendour of Persia, whom Pausanias saved from the carnage of Plataea, is described by Hdt. (ix. 76) as lighting down from her *ἀρμάμαξα* for

- ἀπολλύμενοι. ΔΙ. σφάδρα γὰρ ἐσωζόμεν ἐγὼ  
παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξιν ἐν φορυτῶ κατακείμενος ;
- ΠΡ. ξενιζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἐπίνομεν  
ἐξ ὑαλίνων ἐκπωμάτων καὶ χρυσίδων  
ἄκρατον οἶνον ἠδύν. ΔΙ. ὦ Κραναὰ πόλις,  
ἄρ' αἰσθάνει τὸν κατάγελων τῶν πρέσβειων ; 75
- ΠΡ. οἱ βάρβαροι γὰρ ἄνδρας ἠγοῦνται μόνους  
τοὺς πλεῖστα δυναμένους καταφαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν.
- ΔΙ. ἡμεῖς δὲ λαικαστάς τε καὶ καταπύγονας.
- ΠΡ. ἔτι τετάρτῳ δ' ἐς τὰ βασιλεί' ἤλθομεν 80

the purpose of claiming his protection. And it was in an ἀρμάμαξα that Themistocles, passing himself off as a fashionable Ionian lady, travelled safely through Asia Minor on his way to the Great King's Court.—Plutarch, Them. 26. So when the Cilician queen drove with Cyrus to see the army of the Expedition, he went in his ἄρμα, and she in her ἀρμάμαξα.—Xen. Anab. i. 2. And according to one account of the Emperor Gratian's death, Andragathius, an officer of his opponent Maximus, concealed himself in an Imperial ἀρμάμαξα, and was drawn by mules to the place where the Emperor was residing. Gratian, supposing that the litter contained his wife, ran down eagerly to greet her, and was at once dispatched by Andragathius.—Socrates, H. E. v. 11. 8; Sozomen, H. E. vii. 13. 8. To an Athenian the word would convey the idea of the softest and most effeminate luxury.

72. ἔπαλξιν] *The rampart, the battlements. προμαχώνα τῶν τειχῶν.*—Scholiast, Hesychius. ἐπάλξεις· αἱ ἐξοχαὶ ἐπάνω

τῶν τειχῶν.—MS. gloss, quoted by Alberti on Hesychius. Bergler refers to the statement of Thucydides (ii. 13) that at the commencement of the war Athens had 13,000 hoplites for active service, besides 16,000 (older and younger men and μέτοικοι) on garrison duty, οἱ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις, καὶ οἱ παρ' ἔπαλξιν. Of these 16,000 we must suppose Dicaeopolis to have been one; too old, no doubt, for active service. It was his privilege, as the Scholiast says, to sleep ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐπὶ φρυγάνων καὶ καλάμης καὶ συρφετῶν. τὸ οὖν ἐσωζόμεν ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ λέγει. Hesychius explains φορυτὸς to mean φρύγανα, ἄχυρα, καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς αἰρόμενος ὑπὸ ἀνέμου χόρτος φρυγανώδης, συρφετὸς, βόρβορος, ἀκαθαρσία.

73. πρὸς βίαν ἐπίνομεν] The commentators, generally, consider that these words are intended to represent a disagreeable experience, as in the lines, to which Bergler refers, cited by Aethnaeus (x. 31) from a satyrical drama of Sophocles,

τὸ πρὸς βίαν πίνευ . . .  
ἴσον κακὸν πέφυκε τῷ διψῆν βία.

'Twas a bad time. DI. Aye, the good time was mine,  
Stretched in the litter on the ramparts here!

AMB. And oft they feted us, and we perforce  
Out of their gold and crystal cups must drink  
The pure sweet wine. DI. O Cranaan city, mark you  
The insolent airs of these ambassadors?

AMB. For only those are *there* accounted MEN  
Who drink the hardest, and who eat the most.

DI. As *here* the most debauched and dissolute.

AMB. In the fourth year we reached the Great King's Court.

But in truth the word *ἐπίνομεν* is introduced *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. The audience, who from the phrase *πρὸς βίαν* were led to expect some hardship inflicted on the ambassador, find the whole meaning of the sentence changed by the introduction of the word *ἐπίνομεν*: *We were kept to hard* (not "labour" but) *drinking*. Revellers were said *πίνειν πρὸς βίαν*, when anybody who passed the wine without drinking had to pay a penalty, *ἐπιτίμιον*, as, for example, to give the next wine party himself, cf. Alciphron iii. 32. The familiar lines of Alcaeus

*Νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην, καὶ τίνα πρὸς βίαν  
πίνειν, ἐπειδὴ κάθθανε Μύρσιλος*  
(ATHENÆUS x. 35)

have probably no bearing on this custom; since the MSS. have *πονείν*,

and no doubt the true reading is *Νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην καὶ χθόνα πρὸς βίαν παίειν*, *Now is the time to drink and to dance*: which Horace imitated in the 37th ode of his first book—

*Nunc est bibendum; nunc pede libero  
Pulsanda tellus.*

See Schweighæuser's note on the passage of Athenæus. To the Athenian ambassador τὸ *πρὸς βίαν πίνειν* would be hardly less welcome than to travel in the luxurious *ἀρμάμαξα*.

75. ⚡ Κραναὰ πόλις] He calls the Acropolis by this special title, which carried with it a reminiscence of the old heroic times (see the Commentary on Birds 123), for the purpose of contrasting with the unheroic pomp and luxury of these effeminate ambassadors—

this fortress of ancient and high renown,  
This shrine where never a foot profane hath trod,  
This lofty-rocked, inaccessible Cranaan town  
The holy temple of God (Lrs. 480-3).

- ἀλλ' εἰς ἀπόπατον ὄχετο, στρατιὰν λαβὼν,  
 κᾶχεζεν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐπὶ χρυσῶν ὄρων.
- ΔΙ. πόσου δὲ τὸν προκτὸν χρόνον ξυνήγαγεν ;
- ΠΡ. τῇ πανσελήνῳ· κᾶτ' ἀπήλθεν οἴκαδε.  
 εἶτ' ἐξένιξε· παρετίθει δ' ἡμῖν ὄλους  
 ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς. ΔΙ. καὶ τίς εἶδε πώποτε  
 βοῦς κριβανίτας ; τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων.
- ΠΡ. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί' ὄρνιν τριπλάσιον Κλεωνύμου  
 παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν· ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ φένας.
- ΔΙ. ταυτ' ἄρ' ἐφενάκιζες σὺ, δύο δραχμὰς φέρων.
- ΠΡ. καὶ νῦν ἄγοντες ἤκομεν Ψευδαργάβαν,

85

90

82. ἐπὶ χρυσῶν ὄρων] The fable of the "Golden Hills" was widely spread, but their locality was, unfortunately, altogether uncertain. Some placed them in Scythia, others in Persia. Bergler refers to the Stichus of Plautus i. 1. 24 "Persarum montes, qui esse Aurei perhibentur." Thither, when the envoys had reached the royal palace after their wearisome (that is, their most luxurious) journey, they found that the Great King had gone with his army, not, as the Scholiast observes, ἐπὶ πόλεμον, but εἰς ἀπόπατον, to the latrines "ventris exonerandi causa." The Scholiast suggests a play on the double signification of ὄρος, ὄρος γὰρ ἡ ἀμῖς; and doubtless there is such a play, if ὄρος ever possessed that signification. It should be remembered, in this connexion, that the Persian Court was continually moving about. It spent the three months of spring at Susa (Shushan); the two hottest months of summer in Ecbatana; and the remaining seven months of the year at

Babylon, Xen. Cyropaedia viii. 6. 22; though Athenaeus xii. 8 says that part of those seven months was spent at Persepolis.

86. ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς] The κρίβανος was a covered pot, in which barley-loaves were baked (ἄρτος κριβανίτης or κριβανωτός, infra 1123, Plutus 765); the pot containing the loaves being set in the midst of the fire. An ox would of course be very far too large to go into this earthen pot; it could be baked whole only at an open fire or in a κάμινος, a furnace; and there indeed the Persians did, on festive occasions, bake oxen whole. Bergler refers to Hdt. (i. 133) who says that on their birth-days wealthy Persians βούν και ἵππον και κάμηλον και ὄνον προτιθέσθαι, ὄλους ὀπτούς ἐν καμίνουσιν, and to Antiphanes (Ath. iv. 6, p. 130 E) where a Persian, scorning the scanty meals of the Ἕλληνας μικροτράπεζοι, says—

παρὰ δ' ἡμετέροις προγόνοισιν ὄλους  
 βοῦς ὄπτων, σὺς, ἐλάφους, ἄρνας·  
 τὸ τελευταῖον δ' ὁ μάγειρος ὄλον

But he, with all his troops, had gone to sit  
An eight-months' session on the Golden Hills!

DI. Pray, at what time did he conclude his session?

AMB. At the full moon; and so came home again.

Then he too fêted us, and set before us

Whole pot-baked oxen— DI. And who ever heard

Of pot-baked oxen? Out upon your lies!

AMB. And an enormous bird, three times the size

Of our Cleonymus: its name was—Gull.

DI. That's why you gulled us out of all those drachmas!

AMB. And now we bring you Pseudo-Artabas

*τέρας οπτήσας μεγάλῃ βασιλείῃ  
θερμῆν παρέθηκε κάμηλον.*

No doubt both Aristophanes and Antiphanes had in view the statement of Herodotus.

88. *Κλεωνύμου*] Cleonymus was at this time the butt of the Athenian wits for his enormous bulk and his enormous appetite; by and by, after the battle of Delium, he will become better known as a *ρίψασπις*, an *ἀσπιδαποβλής*. He is called a perjurer in *Clouds* 400; and here his connexion with the *φέναξ*-bird is intended to insinuate that he is a quack and a humbug. *φέναξ* is a play on the fabulous bird, well known to the Greeks as to ourselves under the name of the Phoenix. It is usually translated *Gull*, for the purpose of preserving the joke in the next line.

91. *Ψευδαρτάβαν*] In both the name and the office there is possibly a reminiscence of Herodotus. For the last three syllables of the name refer, as the Scholiast observes, to the *ἀρτάβη* described by the historian as a Persian

measure; ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὼν Περσικόν, χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλείον χοίνιξι τριῶν Ἀττικῆσι, i. 192, so that *Ψευδαρτάβας* means "a fellow who will give you false measures," "a cheat." And Herodotus also mentions the great Persian officials entitled "the King's eyes" (i. 114, v. 24), though indeed they are mentioned by ancient writers, both before and after his time. See an admirable note by Thomas Stanley on *Aesch. Persae* 960 in which he shows that they were Satraps in high trust, and not one only, as Dio Chrysostom thought, or two only, as the Scholiast on *Aeschylus* supposed, but a great number, as Xenophon expressly states. And this is in entire accord with our excellent Aristophanic scholia here: οὕτως ἐκάλουν τοὺς σατράπας, δι' ὃν πάντα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπισκοπεῖ. In *Zechariah* iv. 10 seven lighted lamps are typical of "the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth," a metaphor transferred by Milton with singular infelicity to the archangels of

- τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸν. ΔΙ. ἐκκόψειέ γε  
κόραξ πατάξας τὸν γε σὸν τοῦ πρέσβεως.
- ΚΗΡ. ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός. ΔΙ. ὄναξ Ἑράκλεις·  
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἄνθρωπε, ναύφρακτον βλέπεις;  
ἧ περι ἄκραν κάμπτων νεώσοικον σκοπεῖς;  
ἄσχωμ' ἔχεις που περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κάτω;  
95
- ΠΡ. ἄγε δὴ σὺ, βασιλεὺς ἅττα σ' ἀπέπεμψεν φράσον  
λέξοντ' Ἀθηναίοισιν, ὧ Ψευδαρτάβα.
- ΨΕ. ἰαρταμὰν ἔξαρχ' ἀναπισσόναί σάτρα. 100
- ΠΡ. ξυνήκαθ' ὃ λέγει; ΔΙ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω γὰ μὲν οὐ.
- ΠΡ. πέμψειν βασιλέα φησὶν ὑμῖν χρυσίον.  
λέγε δὴ σὺ μείζον καὶ σαφῶς τὸ χρυσίον.
- ΨΕ. οὐ λῆψι χρῦσο, χαυνόπρωκτ' Ἰαουαῦ.

God "who are His eyes, That run through all the heavens, or down to the earth Bear his swift errands"; as if the All-seeing God, like the King of Persia, required messengers to bring him intelligence of what took place beyond the limits of His own sight.

94. ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός] Where, in the actual Assembly, the Persian noble would have been standing while the envoys were delivering their report, I cannot tell; but it is plain that, in the Comedy, he now makes his appearance for the first time; and the Crier introduces him to the Assembly just as he had previously introduced the Ambassadors; supra 61. His mask, to indicate his rank and title, represents one enormous eye; ἔξεισι τερατώδης τις, says the Scholiast, γελοῖως ἐσκευασμένος, καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχων ἓνα ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ προσώπου. He enters, attended by two

eunuchs, in a slow and stately manner, befitting his rank and dignity (ἀξιωματικῶς, as the Scholiast says), and turning his head from side to side, like a ship, Dicaeopolis thinks, cautiously finding its way to the dock. ναύφρακτον βλέπειν is a phrase of the same class as ὀρίγανον βλέπειν and the like.

96. ἧ περι κ.τ.λ.] The MSS. have ἧ περι, which Bothe proposed to change into ἧ περι, and this is done by Ribbeck and Blaydes; "non enim videre licet," says the latter, "quomodo quis interrogare possit ναύφρακτον βλέπεις." I have made the same change for an entirely different reason. The "spying the dock" is not the alternative, but the corollary to "the warship glance." "By the Gods," says Dicaeopolis, "do you give us a warship glance? Can it be that rounding the point, you spy the dock to which you are bound?"



Enter  
Persian Noble

The Great King's Eye. DI. O how I wish some raven  
Would come and strike out yours, the Ambassador's.

CRIER. O yes! the Great King's Eye! DI. O Heracles!  
By Heaven, my man, you wear a war-ship look!  
What! Do you round the point, and spy the docks?  
Is that an oar-pad underneath your eye?

AMB. Now tell the Athenians, Pseudo-Artabas,  
What the Great King commissioned you to say.

PSEUDO-ARTABAS. Ijisti boutti furbiss upde rotti.

AMB. Do you understand? DI. By Apollo, no not I.

AMB. He says the King is going to send you gold.

(To Pseudo.) Be more distinct and clear about the gold.

PSEUD. No getti goldi, nincompoop Iawny.

Apparently it was "the practice of the ancients to paint an eye on each side of the bow of their ships, a practice which still prevails in the coasting craft in the Mediterranean."—Smith of Jordanhill's "Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul," chap. iii. He is commenting on St. Luke's phrase (Acts xxvii. 15) τοῦ πλοίου μὴ δυναμένου ἀποφθαλεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ. Pollux (i. 86) identifies the ὀφθαλμὸς τῆς νεὸς with the πτυχίς, the round plate on which the ship's name was written.

97. ἄσκωμα] A leathern padding fastened round the oar so as to make it completely fill the oarhole, and prevent any inrush of water. ἄσκωματα καλοῦνται καὶ τὰ δέρματα τὰ ἐπιρραπτόμενα ταῖς κόπαις ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰσφέρειν (Blaydes suggests εἰσφέρειν or εἰσρεῖν) τὸ θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ.—Etym. Magn. s. v. ἄσκωματα. Cf. Frogs 364. The eye

in the mask (see the note on 94 supra) was cased in leather, which seems to Dicaeopolis to furnish an additional point of resemblance to a ship.

100. ἰαρταμὸν κ.τ.λ.] There seems to be always some meaning in the jargon which Aristophanes occasionally puts in the mouth of some of his characters, the Persian envoy here, the Triballian in the Birds, and the Scythian archer in the Thesmophoriazusae. And the present jumble is generally supposed to mean *I have just begun to repair what is rotten in the navy or in the state*; though some, with perhaps equal reason, find a reference to Artaxerxes and the Satrapies.

104. οὐ λῆψι χρῆσο] Mitchell refers to a passage in Aeschines against Ctesiphon 239 (pp. 87, 88), where the Great King is said to have written to the Athenians a letter couched in very similar terms

- ΔΙ. οἶμοι κακοδαίμων, ὡς σαφῶς. ΠΡ. τί δαὶ λέγει; 105  
 ΔΙ. ὃ τι; χαννοπρόκτους τοὺς Ἰάονας λέγει,  
 εἰ προσδοκῶσι χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων.  
 ΠΡ. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἀχάνας ὅδε γε χρυσοῦ λέγει.  
 ΔΙ. ποίας ἀχάνας; σὺ μὲν ἀλαζῶν εἶ μέγας.  
 ἀλλ' ἄπιθ'. ἐγὼ δὲ βασανιῶ τοῦτον μόνος. 110  
 ἄγε δὴ σὺ φράσον ἐμοὶ σαφῶς, πρὸς τουτονί,  
 ἵνα μὴ σε βάλω βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν·  
 βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν ἀποπέμψει χρυσίον;  
 (ἀνανεύει.)

to those employed by his representative here. "Before Alexander crossed into Asia," says the orator, "the Great King sent to the Demus a very rude and insolent letter, μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολήν, which wound up with the words ἐγὼ ὑμῖν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μὴ με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε."

108. ἀχάνας] An ἀχάνη is generally considered to have been a Persian measure, equivalent to 45 Attic medimni; but it seems rather to have been, if not originally a Greek word, at all events a Persian word naturalized amongst the Greeks, signifying a *provision-basket* capable of containing that amount of provisions. That it was of considerable size is plain from Plutarch's story that Aratus, when starting on his expedition against Sicyon, took his scaling ladders to pieces, packed them *eis* ἀχάνας, and sent them on in waggons. Plutarch's Aratus, chap. vi. ἀχάνας· σκεῦος *eis* ἐπισιτισμὸν χρήσιμον· παρὰ τὸ χαινειν.—Etymol. Magn. ὅταν μὲν ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσιν εἶπη Ἀριστοφάνης ἀχάνας χρυσοῦ, τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἴσως

Περσικόν· ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν θεωρικὴν κίστην οὕτω κεκλησθαι νομίζουσιν· ἐν δὲ Ἀριστοτέλους Ὀρχομενίων πολιτεία μέτρον ἔστιν Ὀρχομενίων τεττάρακοντα πέντε μεδίμνους χωροῦν Ἀττικούς· οἱ δὲ κιστίδας (vulgo κοιτίδας) τὰς Πυθῶδε ἰόντων.—Pollux x. 164, 165. ἀχάνας· τινὲς μὲν Περσικὰ μέτρα· Φανόδημος δὲ κίστας *eis* ἄς κατετίθεντο τοὺς ἐπισιτισμοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρίας ἰόντες, οἱ *eis* θεοὺς στελλόμενοι.—Hesychius. Περσικὰ μέτρα αἱ ἀχάνας, ἄς καὶ κίστας εἶπόν τινες· *eis* ἄς ἀπετίθεντο ἐπισιτισμοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρίαν στελλόμενοι. λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀχανίδες παρὰ τῷ Κωμικῷ ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσιν.—Eustathius (at Od. ii. 291 and xix. 28). ἀχάνη μέτρον ἔστι Περσικόν. ἐχώρει δὲ μεδίμνους Ἀττικούς μέ ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Ἀριστοτέλης· ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ὅτι κιστίς ἔστιν, *eis* ἣν κατετίθεντο τοὺς ἐπισιτισμοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ τὰς θεωρίας στελλόμενοι.—Scholiast, Suidas.

111. πρὸς τουτονί] *In the presence of, or having regard to, this fist, or this stick, or this scourge; the fist, stick, or scourge being personified for this occasion. This, I think, is the real meaning of the words, which may be compared*

DI. Wow, but that's clear enough! AMB. What does he say?

DI. He says the Ionians must be nincompoops  
If they're expecting any gold from Persia.

AMB. No, no: he spoke of golden income-coupons.

DI. What income-coupons? You're a great big liar!  
You, get away; I'll test the man myself.

(To Pseudo.) Now look at this (*showing his fist*): and answer Yes, or No!  
Or else I'll dye you with a Sardinian dye.

Does the Great King intend to send us gold?

(*Pseudo-Artabas nods dissent.*)

with the *ἐναντίον αὐτῆς ταύτης* of Plato's Phaedrus 12 (p. 236 E). There Phaedrus is pressing Socrates to make a speech; and using an argument which he knows will prove irresistible, he says *I swear to you—by which, let me see, by which of the Gods? shall I say, by this plane-tree? —I swear to you in the face of this plane-tree, ἐναντίον αὐτῆς ταύτης, that if you will not make your speech, never never again will I report to you the speech of anybody else.* Here the Scholiast and most of the early Commentators take *πρὸς τουτονὶ* to be equivalent to *τουτῷ*, so that *ἐμοὶ πρὸς τουτονὶ* is equivalent to *ἐμοὶ τουτῷ*, *to me here*, cf. infra 313, 911, and Plutus 868; but though the Greeks might say either *φράσον ἐμοὶ*, or else *φράσον πρὸς ἐμὲ*, such a combination of the two constructions is to my mind quite inconceivable. Elmsley rightly pointed out that *πρὸς* in this place is equivalent to *coram*, but it is impossible to accept his explanation of *τουτονὶ*, which he says “*vel de legato accipiendum est, vel de altero eunucho qui Pseudartabam comitabatur.*” For the

envoy had, in the preceding line, been ordered off; and the eunuchs were too inconspicuous for one of them to be singled out in this way. Frere was, I think, the first to perceive that the words involve a threat, translating them “*in presence of this fist of mine.*” Some subsequent Commentators have followed him, whilst others have translated *coram hoc baculo* or *coram hac scutica*.

112. *βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν*] *The red dye of Sardis*: here, of course, referring to the colour of blood. The same words are used in Peace 1174 of a soldier's bright red cloke, *φοινικίδ' ὄξειαν πάνν*: where see the Commentary. *βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν. τὸ φοινικῶν διάφορα γὰρ ἦν τὰ ἐν Σάρδεσι βάμματα.*—Hesychius. There is no allusion here, as some have supposed, to the Island of Sardinia.

After 113 and 114. *ἀνανεύει* and *ἐπιτεύει*] These are two stage-directions, *παρεπιγραφαί*, *ἀνανεύει* signifying a nod of dissent, *ἐπιτεύει* a nod of assent. So Lucian (Necyom. 4) says that the philosophers made him believe first one

ἄλλως ἄρ' ἐξαπατώμεθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων ;  
(ἐπινεύει.)

Ἑλληνικόν γ' ἐπένευσαν ἄνδρες οὐτοῖ,  
κούκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐνθένδ' αὐτόθεν. 115

καὶ τοῖν μὲν εὐνούχοιν τὸν ἕτερον τουτονὶ  
ἐγφῶδ' ὅς ἐστι, Κλεισθένης ὁ Σιβυρτίου.  
ὦ θερμόβουλον προκτὸν ἐξυρημένε,  
τοιόνδε γ', ὦ πίθηκε, τὸν πάγων' ἔχων 120  
εὐνούχος ἡμῖν ἦλθες ἐσκευασμένος ;  
ὀδὶ δὲ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν ; οὐ δῆπου Στράτων.

thing and then its exact opposite, so that he became like a dreamer, ἄρτι μὲν ἐπινεύων, ἄρτι δὲ ἀνανεύων ἔμπαλι. So in his treatise *Adversus Indoctum* 5 he says, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀπόκριναι\* μᾶλλον δὲ, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο σοι ἀδύνατον, ἐπίνευσον γοῦν ἢ ἀνανέυσον πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. And then as he puts

In this large town one tiny plot of ground  
Would Plautus beg, that he thereon may found  
Athens (himself; asking no builder's skill).  
Well, will you give it him or not? They will.  
They nod assent [*annuunt*]: that's his without delay.  
Will you give something of your own? Not they.  
They nod dissent [*abnuunt*].

114. ἄλλως.] *With idle words.* ἡλιθίως καὶ ματαιῶς.—Scholiast.

117. τοῖν εὐνούχοιν] The two eunuchs who are in attendance upon Pseudo-Artabas imitate his movements, and join in his nods of assent and dissent, so attracting the attention of Dicaeopolis to themselves. The ἄνδρες οὐτοῖ of line 115 include the three, but now for the moment he leaves Pseudo-Artabas alone, and concentrates his scrutiny on the two attendants. As he gazes upon them, it gradually dawns

his questions he observes εὖ γε\* ἀνένευσας: and again ἀνένευσας καὶ τοῦτο: and then ἐπινεύεις καὶ τοῦτο\* and so on. Cf. *Id. Saturnalia* i. 3. 4. Plautus uses *abnuo* and *annuo* in precisely the same manner at the commencement of his Prologue to the *Truculentus*.

upon him that he has seen these countenances before. One of them he feels sure is "Cleisthenes the son of Sibyrtius," the smooth-faced Athenian satirized for his gross effeminacy in almost every one of these Comedies from the *Acharnians* to the *Frogs* inclusively; and introduced, as a *dramatis persona*, on the stage in the *Thesmophoriazusae*. And almost always when he is mentioned allusion is made to his hairless womanish face; so that he would be well fitted to represent an

Then are our envoys here bamboozling us?

(*He nods assent.*)

These fellows nod in pure Hellenic style;

I do believe they come from hereabouts.

Aye, to be sure; why, one of these two eunuchs

Is Cleisthenes, Sibyrtius's son!

O thou young shaver of the hot-souled rump,

With such a beard, thou monkey, dost thou come

Tricked out amongst us in a eunuch's guise?

And who's this other chap? Not Straton, surely?

Oriental eunuch. Sibyrtius may have been really his father's name, or it may be a satire. Elmsley, bearing in mind that there existed about this time at Athens a *παλαιστρα* *Σιβυρτίου* (Plutarch Alcib. 3), thinks that this soft effeminate milk-sop may be called, for the sake of contrast, the son of a sturdy, robust athlete. And this would be quite in the poet's manner.

119. *ὁ θερμόβουλον κ.τ.λ.*] Cleisthenes being thus opportunely discovered, Dicaeopolis hurls against him two lines which he parodies, the first from Euripides, the second from Archilochus. The Scholiast says that the words *ὁ θερμόβουλον σπλάγχνον* are to be found in the *Medea* of Euripides. This is a mistake, but Elmsley thinks that they may come from the "Peliades," another Euripidean Play, in which also *Medea* makes her appearance. It seems to me that *σπλάγχνον* is probably inaccurate, and that in the Tragedy *Medea* may have been addressed as *ὁ θερμόβουλον πρᾶγος ἐξευρημένη*, a quaint phrase which might readily have become a current jest,

so that the Aristophanic parody would at once be understood and appreciated by the audience. The parodied line of Archilochus was *τοιάνδε δ', ὃ πίθηκε, τὴν πυγὴν ἔχων*. Here, again, the substituted *πῶγων* is a joke against Cleisthenes, who had no *πῶγων* at all.

122. *οὐ δῆπου Στράτων*] *Surely not Straton*. Of Straton we know nothing except that he and Cleisthenes were kindred spirits, and are in *Knights* 1374, as here, bracketed together as beardless effeminates. The Scholiast here says of him *καὶ οὗτος κωμωδεῖται ὡς λωβώμενος τὸ γένειον καὶ λειαινὼν τὸ σῶμα, ὡς Κλεισθένης· ὃς φησιν αὐτὸς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν ταῖς Ὀλκάσι "παῖδες ἀγένειοι, Στράτων."* Some would complete the quotation from the *Holcades* by adding (as the commencement of a new line) *καὶ Κλεισθένης*, or by reading in the same line *Κλεισθένης τε καὶ Στράτων*, and either conjecture may be correct. Mueller gravely argues that Dicaeopolis must have been mistaken, since "si Eunuchi pro Atheniensibus habendi essent, stultitia eorum, qua legatos aperte

KHP. *σίγα, κάθιζε.*

τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ βουλή καλεῖ  
εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον. ΔΙ. ταῦτα δῆτ' οὐκ ἀγχόνη; 125  
κάπειτ' ἐγὼ δῆτ' ἐνθαδὶ στρατεύομαι,  
τοὺς δὲ ξενίζειν οὐδέποτε ἴσχει γ' ἡ θύρα.  
ἀλλ' ἐργάσομαί τι δεινὸν ἔργον καὶ μέγα.  
ἀλλ' Ἀμφίθεός μοι ποῦ 'στιν; ΑΜ. οὔτοσὶ πάρα.

ΔΙ. ἐμοὶ σὺ ταυτασὶ λαβὼν ὀκτῶ δραχμὰς 130  
σπονδὰς ποιῆσαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μόνῳ  
καὶ τοῖσι παιδίοισι καὶ τῇ πλάτιδι·  
ὑμεῖς δὲ πρεσβεύεσθε καὶ κεχῆνετε.

KHP. *προσίτω Θέωρος ὁ παρὰ Σιτάλκους. ΘΕΩ. ὀδί.*

produnt, miranda esset." "Nos Eunu-  
chum revera Persam fuisse existi-  
mamus," he adds. This is hardly the  
way to treat the humour of a Comic  
Poet.

125. *πρυτανεῖον*] The Prytanéum, the  
Stadthaus or Town Hall, of Athens  
stood a little distance to the north  
(the NNE.) of the Acropolis. There  
the city was "At Home" and received  
her guests. Every day a banquet was  
set out in the Great Hall, at which the  
State herself, as it were, entertained  
her principal officials, ambassadors and  
others whom she delighted to honour.  
This is the famous *σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ*,  
so frequently mentioned in these  
Comedies, and which has been so fully  
discussed in the Commentary on other  
plays (Peace 1084, Frogs 764, &c.) that  
it is needless to enter into any detailed  
account of it here. Here the invitation,  
though specially addressed to the Great

King's Eye, seems from the comment  
of Dicaeopolis to have included the  
Athenian ambassadors. And that this  
was the invariable rule is plain from  
Demosthenes, De F. L. 35 (p. 350) to  
which Mitchell refers. There the orator,  
speaking of the return of the Second  
Embassy to Philip, says *ἢ βουλή οὐτ'  
ἐπήγεσε τοῦτους οὔτ' εἰς τὸ Πρυτανεῖον  
ἤξιώσε καλέσαι. καίτοι τοῦτ', ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν  
ἡ πόλις, οὐδεὶς πώποτε φήσει παθεῖν οὐδένας  
πρέσβεις, ἀλλ' οὗτοι πεπόνθασιν.* Here,  
as there, the invitation is given, it will  
be observed, in the name of the *βουλή*.

126. *στρατεύομαι*] This is the reading  
of all the MSS. except the Ravenna,  
and of all editors before Brunck. The  
Ravenna reads *στραγεύομαι*, and Brunck  
introduced, from Clouds 131, *στρα-  
γεύομαι*, a reading which is followed  
by all subsequent editors. Yet *στρα-  
τεύομαι* seems required by the sense.  
Dicaeopolis is contrasting the merry-

CRIER. St! Take your seat! O yes!

The Council ask the Great King's Eye to dinner  
At the Town Hall. DI. Now is not that a throtttler?  
Here must I drudge at soldiering; while these rogues,  
The Town-Hall door is never closed to *them*.  
Now then, I'll do a great and startling deed.

Amphitheus! Where's Amphitheus? AM. Here am I.

DI. Here be eight drachmas; take them; and with all

The Lacedaemonians make a private peace  
For me, my wife and children: none besides.

(*To the Prytanes and citizens.*) Stick to your embassies and befoolings, you.

CRIER. O yes! Theorus from Sitalces! THEORUS. Here!

making of the envoys with his own hard lot in time of war; just as *infra* 1143-9 his own merrymaking in time of peace is contrasted with the hard lot of Lamachus in time of war. *He* has to be lying *παρὰ τὴν ἑπαλξιν ἐν φοριτῷ*; *they* are feasting in the Town Hall: its door is never closed to *them*. The contrast is entirely lost by the substitution of *στραγγεύομαι*; nor is there any real analogy between this passage and the line in the *Clouds*.

130. *δραχμάς*] An envoy's salary for four days. See *supra* 66. We have heard, *supra* 52, that Amphitheus was the divinely appointed agent *σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμῖους μόνῳ*, but was unable to accomplish his task because he could not obtain any journey money from the Prytanes. That, of course, was for a *public* Peace, but now Dicaeopolis gives him the money out of his private purse to enable him to make his *private* Peace. He gives him his commission

in the very words used *supra* 52, though giving to *μόνῳ* an altogether different application.

133. *κεχῆνέτε*] *Ἐξαπατᾶσθε, ἐνεοί ἐστε.*—Scholiast, Suidas, s.v. During this little colloquy with Amphitheus, the envoys returning from the Persian Court, with Pseudo-Artabas and his eunuchs, leave the stage; and now another embassy is ushered in. This time it is an envoy returning from Sitalces, the King of the Odrysians, the details of whose widely-extended power, and of the expedition which he undertook in pursuance of his treaty with Athens, will be found in the Second Book of Thucydides. Probably in the early stages of the war frequent embassies passed between the two states. One such is mentioned in Thuc. ii. 67. Theorus, described two lines below as an *ἄλαζον*, is doubtless the same man who is called a perjurer in the *Clouds* and a parasite of Cleon in the *Wasps*.

- ΔΙ. ἕτερος ἀλαζῶν οὗτος εἰσκηρύττεται. 135
- ΘΕΩ. χρόνον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἤμεν ἐν Θράκῃ πολὺν,
- ΔΙ. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μισθὸν γε μὴ 'φερες πολὺν.
- ΘΕΩ. εἰ μὴ κατένιψε χιόνι τὴν Θράκην ὄλην,  
καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔπηξ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον  
ὄτ' ἐνθαδὶ Θεόγνις ἠγωνίζετο. 140
- τοῦτον μετὰ Σιτάλους ἔπινον τὸν χρόνον  
καὶ δῆτα φιλαθήναιος ἦν ὑπερφυῶς,  
ὑμῶν τ' ἔραστῆς ἦν ἀληθῆς, ὥστε καὶ  
ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἔγραψ', Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί.  
ὁ δ' υἱὸς, δὴν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπεποιήμεθα, 145  
ἦρα φαγεῖν ἀλλᾶντας ἐξ Ἀπατουρίων,  
καὶ τὸν πατέρ' ἠντιβόλει βοηθεῖν τῇ πάτρᾳ·

136. οὐκ ἂν ἤμεν] Where Theorus is apologizing for the protracted stay of himself and his suite in Thrace, he naturally employs the plural number; but when he goes on to describe his personal drinking-bout with Sitalces at which his suite would not be present, he as naturally employs the singular. I should not have thought it necessary to point out the reason for the change from plural to singular, had not some critics, failing to see it, taken upon themselves to alter the text. Thus Meineke (in his V. A.) "Non sine offensione est quod Theorus de se uno numero plurali utitur, cum in sequentibus et ipse Theorus et Dicaeopolis singulari utatur. . . . Credo scripsisse Aristophanem [οὐκ ἂν] ἢ μὰ Δί'."

140. Θεόγνις] Theognis, who is supposed to have been, twenty-one years later, one of the Thirty Tyrants, is in these Comedies known only as the most

frigid of all frigid poets; so that he acquired the nickname of Χιών, *Snow*. Theorus observes, as a curious coincidence, that while the Athenian Mission were suffering from the fall of snow in Thrace, the Athenians at home were themselves suffering from the performance of a tragedy by *Snow* (Theognis) in their own theatre. See supra 11; *Theom.* 170, and the Commentary there.

141. ἔπινον] The Thracians were notorious for hard drinking; and doubtless ambassadors had brought home wondrous tales of the prowess of Sitalces and his Court in this respect, and of their own efforts not to be outdone. Hence the allusion to this long drinking-bout.

144. Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί] As a lover "that abuses our young plants with carving" his mistress's name "upon their barks." So *Δῆμος καλὸς, κημὸς καλὸς* in *Wasps* 97-9; where see the Commentary.



- DI. O here's another humbug introduced.  
 THE. We should not, sirs, have tarried long in Thrace—  
 DI. But for the salary you kept on drawing.  
 THE. But for the storms, which covered Thrace with snow  
 And froze the rivers. 'Twas about the season  
 At which Theognis was performing here.  
 I all that time was drinking with Sitalces;  
 A most prodigious Athens-lover he,  
 Yea such a true admirer, he would scribble  
 On every wall *My beautiful Athenians!*  
 His son, our newly-made Athenian, longed  
 To taste his Apaturian sausages,  
 And bade his father help his fatherland.

145. ὁ δ' υἱός] Thucydides, who is perpetually explaining the historical allusions to be found in these Comedies, tells us (ii. 29) that in the first year of the War the Athenians entered into an alliance with Sitalces the Thracian king, and made his son Sadoc an Athenian citizen. And later on in the same book (ii. 67) we find them persuading Sadoc, τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον, to arrest certain Peloponnesian emissaries passing through Thrace on their way to the Great King's Court, lest by obtaining the assistance of Persia against Athens they might, so far as in them lay, be injuring his (Sadoc's) own city: ὅπως μὴ, διαβάντες ὡς βασιλείᾳ, τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν τὸ μέρος βλάβωσιν. There, as here, we find Sadoc using his influence in favour of Athens, there called τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν, here called his πατρίαν.

146. Ἀπατουρίων] Ἐορτῆς ἐπισήμιον δημοσιεύου, ἀγομένης παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸν Πυρρανεψιδῶνα μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.

καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην Δόρπειαν, ἐπειδὴ φράτορες ὀψίας συνελθόντες] εἰωχοῦντο τὴν δὲ δευτέραν Ἀναρρυσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναρρύειν, τοῦ θύειν ἔθρον δὲ Διὸς Φρατρίῳ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν δὲ τρίτην Κουρεῶτιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς κούρους καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐγγράφειν εἰς τὰς φρατρίας. ἐν ἣ ἔγγραφη ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ὁ υἱὸς Σιτάλκου.—Scholiast. Probably the decree making the Thracian prince an Athenian citizen would dispense in his case with the necessity of a personal enrolment into his phratry, and would entitle him at once to a seat at the Apaturian banquet. The allusion to ἀλλᾶντες is merely comic, and perhaps indicates that the poet's mind was already busy with the ἀλλαιτοπόλης as a fitting antagonist for the βυρσοπόλης. See Knights 143 and the note there. In Thesm. 558 (where see the note) Mnesilochus accuses the Athenian women of purloining meat from the Apaturian supper-table.

- ὁ δ' ἄμοσε σπένδων βοηθήσειν, ἔχων  
στρατιὰν τοσαύτην ὥστ' Ἀθηναίους ἐρεῖν,  
ὅσον τὸ χρῆμα παρνόπων προσέρχεται. 150
- ΔΙ. κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, εἴ τι τούτων πείθομαι  
ὧν εἶπας ἐνταυθοῖ σὺ, πλὴν τῶν παρνόπων.
- ΘΕΩ. καὶ νῦν ὅπερ μαχιμώτατον Θρακῶν ἔθνος  
ἔπεμψεν ὑμῖν. ΔΙ. τοῦτο μέντ' ἤδη σαφές.
- ΚΗΡ. οἱ Θραῖκες ἴτε δεῦρ', οὓς Θέωρος ἤγαγεν. 155
- ΔΙ. τουτὶ τί ἐστι τὸ κακόν; ΘΕΩ. Ὀδομάντων στρατός.
- ΔΙ. ποίων Ὀδομάντων; εἶπέ μοι, τουτὶ τί ἦν;  
τίς τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὸ πέος ἀποτεθρίακεν;
- ΘΕΩ. τούτοις ἐάν τις δύο δραχμὰς μισθὸν διδῶ,  
καταπελτάσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὄλην. 160

150. *παρνόπων*] Sitalces likens his army to locusts on two grounds: (1) their prodigious number, and (2) the havoc and destruction which they work. "A great people and a strong," says the Prophet Joel, "the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." The Prophet is describing an invasion of locusts, and in Pusey's "Minor Prophets" very many passages are collected to show the numbers in which they come and the devastation which they work. "These creatures do not come in legions," says Beauplan, "but in whole clouds, five or six leagues in length, and two or three in breadth. All the air is full and darkened when they fly." And "Everywhere, where their legions march," says Volney, "verdure disappears; trees and plants stripped of leaves, and reduced to their branches and stalks, substitute in the twinkling

of an eye the dreary spectacle of winter for the rich scenes of spring." Sitalces therefore means that his levies will be as numerous and terrible to their foes as an army of locusts. Dicaeopolis fears that they will be equally voracious and terrible to their friends.

156. *Ὀδομάντων στρατός*] The Odo-mantians, a Thracian tribe mentioned by Hdt. (v. 16, vii. 112), Thucydides (ii. 101, v. 6), and other writers, dwelt on the Thracian side of the river Strymon, nearly equidistant from its source and its outfall. They were not, however, one of the tribes which followed Sitalces on his great expedition; indeed, they were alarmed lest it should prove to be directed against themselves. They were in fact an independent tribe, and to satirize them on the Athenian stage would give no offence to Sitalces. They enter, a little crowd of scarecrows, wearing the *σκούτιον αἰδοῖον* described in

And *he*, with deep libations, vowed to help us  
 With such an host that every one would say  
*Heavens! what a swarm of locusts comes this way!*

DI. Hang me, if I believe a single word

Of all that speech, except about the locusts.

THE. And here he sends you the most warlike tribe

Of all in Thrace. DI. Come, here's proof positive.

CRIER. The Thracians whom Theorus brought, come forward!

DI. What the plague's this? THE. The Odomantian host. .

DI. The Odomantians, pho! Hallo, look here.

Are Odomantians all equipped like this?

THE. Give them two drachmas each a day, and these

Will targeteer Boeotia all to bits.

Clouds 538, 539, "phallum glande nudata gerentes," as Mueller expresses it.

158. ἀποτεθρίακεν] Ἀποπεφύλλακεν. ἡ δὲ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν συκοφύλλων.—Hesychius. The allusion is to the *glans nudata* mentioned in the preceding note. There is a similar allusion in the participle ἀπεψωλημένους three lines below; for ψωλός, though generally, and perhaps conveniently translated *circumcised*, has never, in Aristophanes, any connexion with the rite of circumcision.

159. δύο δραχμάς] The Thracian peltasts, mentioned in Thuc. vii. 27, received a drachma a day, δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανεν, and even this entailed an intolerable burden on the Athenian treasury. Two drachmas was an extortionate pay: it was the salary of an Athenian ambassador, supra 66, and four times the pay of a dicast.

160. καταπελάτουνται] For the army

which Sitalces was to send to assist the Athenians was composed of peltasts and cavalry; πέμψειν στρατιὰν Θρακίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἰππέων τε καὶ πελταστῶν.—Thuc. ii. 29. *Peltasts* was the usual name given to Thracian infantry, from the little round πέλη (targe or target) which they were accustomed to carry. The targe and dart were the distinctive weapons of the Thracian, as the bow and arrow of the Scythian. ἕτερος δ' αὖ Θραξ, πέλην σείων κάκοντιον.—Lys. 563. Elmsley refers to Xen. Mem. iii. 9. 2 δῆλον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι Σκύθαι καὶ Θράκες οὐκ ἂν τολμήσειαν ἀσπίδας καὶ δόρατα λαβόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις διαμάχεσθαι· φανερόν δὲ ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐτ' ἂν Θραξὶν ἐν πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις, οὔτε Σκύθαις ἐν τόξοις, ἐθέλοιεν ἂν διαγωνίζεσθαι. It is to be observed that the Thracian auxiliaries in this play are intended to harry Boeotia; and that is precisely what the Thracian auxiliaries mentioned in the preceding

- ΔΙ. τοισδὶ δύο δραχμὰς τοῖς ἀπεψωλημένοις ;  
 ὑποστένοι μένταν ὁ θρανίτης λεώς,  
 ὁ σωσίπολις. οἴμοι τάλας, ἀπόλλυμαι,  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὰ σκόροδα πορθοῦμενος.  
 οὐ καταβαλεῖτε τὰ σκόροδ' ; ΘΕΩ. ᾧ μόχθηρε σὺ, 165  
 οὐ μὴ πρόσει τούτοισιν ἐσκοροδισμένοις ;
- ΔΙ. ταυτὶ περιείδεθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις πάσχοντά με  
 ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ταυθ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων ;  
 ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύω μὴ ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν  
 τοῖς Θραξὶ περὶ μισθοῦ· λέγω δ' ὑμῖν ὅτι 170  
 διοσημία 'στὶ καὶ ρανὶς βέβληκέ με.
- ΚΗΡ. τοὺς Θρακάς ἀπιέναι, παρεῖναι δ' εἰς ἔννην.  
 οἱ γὰρ πρυτάνεις λύουσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
- ΔΙ. οἴμοι τάλας, μυττωτὸν ὄσον ἀπώλεσα.  
 ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος ὀδί. 175

note attempted to do some dozen years later. The story of their raid into Boeotia, of their massacre of the people of Mycalessus, and their subsequent defeat by the Thebans is graphically told in the Seventh Book of Thucydides.

162. ὁ θρανίτης λεώς] The *θρανίται* were the sailors who in an Athenian trireme sat on the highest benches and pulled the longest and heaviest oars. They were therefore the pick of the Athenian seamen; but all the rowers seem to have received the same pay, a drachma a day (see the Commentary on Knights 1367), half the amount demanded for these Odomantian scarecrows; and if the *θρανίτης* received anything further, it was only as a gratuity, *ἐπίδοσις*, from the trierarchs, and not as part of his regular pay; τοῖς *θρανίταις*

μόνοις ἐπίδοσις ἐποιοῦντο οἱ τριηράρχαι, οὐχὶ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐρέταις.—Scholiast on Thuc. vi. 31.

164. τὰ σκόροδα] For citizens attending an *ἐκκλησία* would bring with them garlic, onions, olives, bread, and the like, to stay their hunger if the proceedings were prolonged. See Eccl. 307.

166. ἐσκοροδισμένοις] The metaphor is from cock-fighting. Cocks were supposed to fight better, if primed with garlic (Knights 494); and these Odomantians, it is suggested, by munching Dicaeopolis's garlic would become more pugnacious than ever.

171. διοσημία] *A sign from Zeus, a portent.* Thunder, tempest, an earthquake, or other convulsion of nature would at once put a stop to an Assembly; see

DI. Two drachmas for THESE scarecrows! Oh, our tars,  
Our noble tars, the safeguard of our state,  
Well may they groan at this. O! Murder! O!  
These Odomantian thieves have sacked my garlic.  
Put down the garlic! drop it! THE. You rapscaillon,  
How dare you touch them, when they're garlic-primed.

DI. O will you let them, Prytanes, use me thus,  
Barbarians too, in this my fatherland?  
But stop! I warn you not to hold the Assembly  
About the Thracians' pay. I tell you there's  
A portent come; I felt a drop of rain!

CRIER. The Thracians are to go, and two days hence  
Come here again. The Assembly is dissolved.

DI. O me, the salad I have lost this day!  
But here's Amphitheus, back from Lacedaemon.

the note on Eccl. 791; but that a single drop of rain would do so, is of course a comic jest. The Prytanes, however, accept that view and forthwith adjourn the Assembly.

172. *εἰς ἔνθη*] *The day after to-morrow.* τὸ μετὰ τὴν αὐρίον.—Hesychius. *εἰς τρίτην.* --Scholiast, Harpocration, Suidas. See Eccl. 796. *εἰς τρίτην* is in accordance with the Greek idiom which, in a calculation of dates, reckons the day (or month or year) from which you start as well as that with which you conclude. See Introduction to Thesm. p. xxxv, and the notes on Knights 793, Plutus 584. We retain the Greek idiom in our Creeds; *And the third day He rose again from the dead; ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.* In our English idiom it was the *second* day. Although in the

next line we have the word *λύουσι*, it seems clear that the Assembly was *adjourned* rather than *dissolved*. The business was not postponed till the next regular Assembly; the Thracians were to come again in two days. For the present, however, the meeting is at an end. The Prytanes, the Crier, the Odomantians, and Theorus leave the stage, and Dicaeopolis is for the moment alone. However, he is immediately joined by Amphitheus, whom he had sent to Lacedaemon, 132 supra.

174. *μυττωτός*] He means that he has lost his garlic which was one of the chief ingredients in the salad known as a *μυττωτός*. It was composed of leek, garlic, cheese, honey, oil, and egg. See the Commentary on Knights 771 and on Peace 242-52.

- χαῖρ', Ἀμφίθεε. AM. μήπω, πρὶν ἂν γε στῶ τρέχων·  
 δεῖ γάρ με φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν Ἀχαρνέας.
- ΔΙ. τί δ' ἔστιν; AM. ἐγὼ μὲν δευρὸ σοι σπονδάς φέρων  
 ἔσπευδον· οἱ δ' ὄσφροντο πρεσβυταί τινες  
 Ἀχαρτικοὶ, στιπτοὶ γέροντες, πρίνινοι, 180  
 ἀτεράμονες, Μαραθωνομάχαι, σφενδάμνιοι.  
 ἔπειτ' ἀνέκραγον πάντες, “ὦ μιαρῶτατε,  
 σπονδάς φέρεις, τῶν ἀμπελίων τετμημένων;”  
 κὰς τοὺς τρίβωνας ξυνελέγοντο τῶν λίθων·  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον κάβῶν. 185
- ΔΙ. οἱ δ' οὖν βοῶντων· ἀλλὰ τὰς σπονδάς φέρεις;  
 AM. ἔγωγέ φημι, τρία γε ταυτὶ γεύματα.

176. μήπω] Like the Megarian, infra 832, he takes χαῖρε, not as a mere greeting, but in its literal sense of *Rejoice*, and says that he cannot do that until he has escaped from the pursuing Acharnians. He makes as though he would run past Dicaeopolis, but the latter stays him.

179. ὄσφροντο] Ἀντὶ τοῦ ἥσθοντο εἶπε τὸ ὄσφροντο, ὅτι δι' οἴνου εἰσὶν αἱ σπονδαί, ὡς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα δῆλον.—Scholiast. But this is perhaps too ingenious; the σπονδαί are not yet treated as wine-samples; and ὄσφραϊνομαι is frequently used in a metaphorical sense, as in Lys. 619 καὶ μάλιστα ὄσφραϊνομαι τῆς Ἰππίου τυραννίδος.

180. Ἀχαρτικοί] These are the Chorus of the play. Their town, Acharnae, one of the largest and most important demes of Attica, was situated a short distance to the south of Mount Parnes; and its inhabitants mainly occupied themselves with the manufacture and

sale of charcoal, for which the forests of evergreen oak (πρίνος), maple (σφένδαμνος), and other trees wherewith the sides of the mountain were clothed, afforded abundant material. Several of the epithets applied to them here refer to this their special business. πρίνινοι and σφενδάμνιοι, *tough as holm-oak and maple*, require no explanation. Cf. infra 668, Wasps 383, 877. στιπτοί, *hard, tight, literally trodden down*, from στείβω, is probably used here, as the Oxford Lexicographers say, “with allusion to ἄνθρακες στιπτοί, a kind of *hard charcoal* mentioned by Theophrastus *De igne* 37.” ἀτεράμονες (the opposite to τέρην, *soft, tender*) means *stubborn, inflexible*, not to be softened or turned from their purpose; λίαν σκληροί, *μητρίοι*, as the Scholiast says. But beyond all this they came of the true Μαραθωνομάχαι breed; they were the sons, and the equals, of the Acharnians, who some sixty-five years ago had done

Well met, Amphitheus! AM. Not till I've done running.

I needs must flee the Acharnians, clean away.

DI. What mean you? AM. I was bringing back in haste

The treaties, when some veterans smelt them out,

Acharnians, men of Marathon, hard in grain

As their own oak and maple, rough and tough;

And all at once they cried, *O villain, dare you* ; *Budden at*

*Bring treaties when our vineyards are cut down?*

Then in their lappets up they gathered stones;

I fled away: they followed roaring after.

DI. So let them roar. But have you got the treaties?

AM. O yes, I have. Three samples; here they are.

yeoman service at Marathon in rescuing Hellas from Persia, and Europe from the domination of Asia.

183. τῶν ἀμπελιῶν τετμημένων] This is the burden of their song throughout, that the vines which they loved so well have been ruthlessly destroyed. The diminutive ἀμπελιῶν seems to me far more in accordance alike with the comic rhythm and with the language of regret than the ἀμπελιῶν of the MSS. and editions. And see 512 infra. Thucydides (ii. 19-23) tells us that Archidamus, in his first invasion of Attica, made Acharnae the head quarters of his work of devastation, and there χρόνον πολὺν ἐμμείναντες ἔτεμον. And this he did in the hope that the Acharnians, forming so large a portion of the Athenian army, would not sit still in patience ὡς αὐτῶν ἢ γῆ ἐτέμνετο, but would demand that the whole army should be led out to fight a pitched battle with the in-

vaders. His plan would unquestionably have been crowned with success but for the sagacity and influence of Pericles.

187. γεύματα] *Tastes, samples.* The vine-growers of Chios, Thasos, and other wine-producing countries, when they brought their wines to the Athenian market, would send up samples to the Δεῖγμα in Peiraeus (see the Commentary on Knights 979) to be there tested and (if approved) purchased by the Athenian wine-merchants. There would doubtless be bottles of a special size or shape employed for these samples. Amphitheus is bringing from Sparta three of these sample-bottles, containing three specimens of Peace which Sparta is willing to offer, a Peace for five, or for ten, or for thirty years. Dicaeopolis tastes them all. The five years' and the ten years' treaties he unhesitatingly rejects, as being, in neither case, a real Peace but merely a breathing-space,

- αὔται μὲν εἰσι πεντέτεϊς. γεῦσαι λαβῶν.
- ΔΙ. αἰβοῖ. ΑΜ. τί ἔστιν; ΔΙ. οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν μ', ὅτι  
 ὄξουσι πίττης καὶ παρασκευῆς νεῶν. 190
- ΑΜ. σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ τασθὶ τὰς δεκέτεϊς γεῦσαι λαβῶν.
- ΔΙ. ὄξουσι χαῦται πρέσβων ἐς τὰς πόλεις  
 ὀξύτατον, ὥσπερ διατριβῆς τῶν ξυμμάχων.
- ΑΜ. ἀλλ' αὐταῖτ' σπονδαὶ τριακοντούτιδες  
 κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. ΔΙ. ὦ Διουσία,  
 αὔται μὲν ὄξουσ' ἀμβροσίας καὶ νέκταρος,  
 καὶ μὴ 'πιτηρεῖν Σιτί' ἡμερῶν τριῶν,  
 κὰν τῷ στόματι λέγουσι, Βαῖν' ὅπη θέλεις. 195

enabling the combatants to collect or increase their strength for the renewal of the struggle. See the remarks of Archidamus, Thuc. i. 82. The third sample, the thirty years' treaty, exactly suits his palate. In the original, the representation of the treaties as samples of wine is facilitated by the fact that *σπονδαὶ* signifies not only a *treaty*, but also *libations of wine*. Indeed the former signification is derived from the latter.

190. ὄξουσι πίττης] Κοινὸν ἐπὶ οἴνου καὶ νεὼς τὸ πίσεως ὄξειν. ἔστι γὰρ πισσιζων οἶνος.—Scholiast. Though, in each case, the objection is taken to the duration of the *treaty*, yet in neither is the allusion to *wine* altogether forgotten. There is a similar mention of the usage of pitch in connexion with ships and with wine in a passage of Plutarch to which Mueller refers; τῷ Ποσειδῶνι φαίη τις ἂν τὴν πίτυν προσήκειν διὰ τὰς ναυπηγίας. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆ καὶ τὰ ἀδελφὰ δένδρα, πεῦκαι καὶ στρόβιλοι, τῶν τε ξύλων παρέχει τὰ πλοῦ-  
 μάτα, πίττης τε καὶ ῥήτινης ἀλοιφήν, ἥς

ἂεν τῶν συμπαγόντων ὄφελος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ. τῷ δὲ Διουσίῳ τὴν πίτυν ἀνιέρωσαν, ὡς ἐφηδύουσαν τὸν οἶνον· κατὰ γὰρ τὰ πιτυώδη χωρία λέγουσιν ἠδὲν οἶνον τὴν ἄμπελον φέρειν . . . τῇ τε γὰρ πίττῃ πάντες ἐξαλείφουσι τὰ ἀγγεῖα, καὶ τῆς ῥήτινης ὑπομυγνύουσι πολλοὶ τῷ οἴνῳ. . . ἐκ δὲ τῆς περὶ Βιένναν Γαλατίας ὁ πισσίτης οἶνος κατακομίζεται, διαφερόντως τιμώμενος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον εὐωδῖαν τινὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οἶνον εὐποτον παρίστησι ταχέως ἐξαιρούντα τῇ θερμότητι τοῦ οἴνου τὸ νεκρὸν καὶ ὑδατῶδες.—Quaest. Conviv. v. 3. 1. Dicaeopolis does not seem to appreciate the *εὐωδῖαν* imparted by the *πίττα* to the wine; but of course he is thinking only of its use in the dockyard. It need hardly be added that the ancients attached the greatest importance to the fragrance of their wines.

193. ὀξύτατον] This is the only word in the second objection which has any allusion to wine. ὄξουσι ὀξύτατον, *they have a most vinegary smell*, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς



These are the *five-year* treaties; take and taste them.

DI. Pheugh! AM. What's the matter? DI. I don't like the things,  
They smell of tar and naval preparations.

AM. Then taste the *ten-year* samples; here they are.

DI. These smell of embassies to all the states,  
Urgent, as if the Allies are hanging back.

AM. Then here are treaties both by land and sea  
For *thirty* years. DI. O Feast of Dionysus!  
These have a smell of nectar and ambrosia,  
And *never mind about the three days' rations*,  
And in your mouth they say, *Go where you please*.

τοῦ τραπέντος οἴνου εἰς ὄξος, as the Scholiast says. The words which follow, ὥσπερ διατριβῆς τῶν ξυμμάχων, are somewhat obscure; but if the text is accurate I think that they must mean "as of delay on the part of our allies."

196. ἀμβροσίας κ.τ.λ.] This is the real thing. Before the thirty years have expired a new generation will have arisen which has always lived in peace with Sparta. This has no acid smell, no smell of sour vinegar; it has the fragrance of nectar and ambrosia, the food of Immortal Gods. It will be remembered that the Peace of Nicias, concluded four years later, was for FIFTY years.

197. Σιτί' ἡμερῶν τριῶν] *Three days' rations*. This was the stock of provisions which soldiers and sailors summoned out for a special expedition were required to provide and carry with them for their own use. Such a summons would be very unwelcome to peace-loving citizens; and so the Chorus of Farmers in the Peace express their

delight at receiving the summons of Trygaeus, οὐ γὰρ ἦν "ἔχοντας ἡκεῖν σιτί' ἡμερῶν τριῶν." See the Commentary there. And here I think, with Dr. Merry, that ἐπιτηρεῖν means "to be on the look out for" (not the rations, but) "the summons to provide the three days' rations." This seems to be the amount of provisions which soldiers have always been considered capable of taking with them. Thus, when the Spaniards started on their perilous march across the shallows to the Isle of Duive-land, each soldier carried "rations for three days in a bag suspended at his neck."—Motley's Dutch Republic iii. 35. So, in a recent expedition of our Indian troops against the Zakkas in the Bazar Valley District, the telegrams in the newspapers of Feb. 17, 1908 tell us that "the troops started off across the passes at dawn after three days' emergency rations had been issued"; and again that "Major-Gen. Sir J. Willcocks left yesterday morning. All the troops carried three days' rations."

ταύτας δέχομαι καὶ σπένδομαι κάκτιομαι,  
χαίρειν κελεύων πολλά τοὺς Ἀχαρνεάς· 200  
ἐγὼ δὲ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖς  
ἄξω τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς εἰσιῶν Διονύσια.

ΑΜ. ἐγὼ δὲ φευξοῦμαί γε τοὺς Ἀχαρνεάς.

ΧΟ. τῆδε πᾶς ἔπον, δίωκε, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνου  
τῶν ὀδοιπόρων ἀπάντων· τῇ πόλει γὰρ ἄξιον 205  
ξυλλαβεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον. ἀλλά μοι μνηύσατε,  
εἴ τις οἶδ' ὅποι τέτραπται γῆς ὁ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρων.

ἐκπέφευγ', οἴχεται φροῦδος. οἴμοι τάλας τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν· [στρ.  
οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' ἐμῆς γε νεότητος, ὅτ' ἐγὼ φέρων ἀνθράκων φορτίον  
ἠκολούθουν Φαῦλλῳ τρέχων, ὧδε φαύλως ἂν ὁ 215

199. σπένδομαι] He uses the present tense because, as he speaks, he is actually pouring out the libation; but he does not drain the sample-bottle at the moment, and therefore he uses the future of that operation, ἐκπίομαι.

202. τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια] The Dionysia τὰ μικρὰ, τὰ ἐν ἀγροῖς were to the country villages what the Dionysia τὰ μεγάλα, τὰ ἐν ἄστει were to the capital itself. The Rural Dionysia were celebrated in December all over Attica, excepting only in Athens. The Great Dionysia were celebrated in March, and in Athens alone. Nevertheless we must not be misled into fancying any change of scene here. The scene remains unchanged throughout the play. Dicaeopolis now enters into his (town) house to celebrate the Rural Dionysia, and emerges again to find the Acharnians already on the war-

path. It is true that he talks of revisiting his deme, but that is all make-believe. His deme, Cholleidae, was some twelve miles away, and he would have been safe from the Acharnians there.

204. ΧΟ. τῆδε πᾶς ἔπον] No sooner has Dicaeopolis entered into his house, than the twenty-four old Acharnians, who form the Chorus, come running into the orchestra in eager pursuit of Amphitheus; and as they come, they are singing their Parodos or entrance-song. The Parodos is divided into two systems, each composed of four trochaic tetrameters followed by five cretico-paeonic lines, of which two are hexameters, one a pentameter, and two tetrameters. And then the whole is wound up with six additional trochaic tetrameters.

206. μνηύσατε] The speaker appeals to the spectators to tell him in which

These do I welcome, these I pour, and drain,  
Nor care a hang about your old Acharnians.  
But I, released from War and War's alarms,  
Will hold, within, the Rural Dionysia.

AM. And I will flee those peppery old Acharnians.

CHORUS. Here's the trail; pursue, pursue him; follow, follow, every man;  
Question whosoever meets you whitherwards the fellow ran.  
Much it boots the state to catch him! (To the audience.) O inform  
me, if ye know,

Where the man who bears the treaties managed from my sight to go.

Fled and gone! Disappears! O this weary weight of years!

O were I Now as spry As in youthful days gone by,

When I stuck Like a man To Phayllus as he ran,

And achieved Second place In the race,

direction Amphitheus fled away. This Cistellaria having lost the casket, alike  
was a common trick in later Comedies. appeal to the spectators to tell them  
So Euclio in the Aulularia having lost which way the thief has gone:  
the crock of gold, and Halisca in the

Obsecro vos ego (says Euclio), mihi auxilio  
Oro, obtestor, sitis, et hominem demonstraretis quis eam abstulerit, &c.  
Aulularia iv. 9. 4.

Mi homines (says Halisca),  
Mi spectatores, facite indicium si quis  
Vidit, quis eam abstulerit, quisve  
Sustulerit, et utrum hac an illac iter institerit.  
Cistellaria iv. 2. 8.

214. ἡκολούθουν] *Pressed hard upon, kept pace with, Phayllus.* Compare St. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, chap. 3 οὗτε γὰρ ἐγὼ οὗτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύνανται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου. The old Acharnian, like the Homeric Nestor to whom the Scholiast compares him,

loves to brag of the prowess he displayed in his youth. *Now* he is feeble and slow; *then* he ran a good race even with τὸν δρομέα Φάυλλον (Wasps 1206) the Olympian victor, the celebrated runner and leaper. The Scholiast says ὁ Φάυλλος δρομὸς ἀριστος, Ὀλυμπιονίκης, ὀπλιτοδρόμος (see on Birds 292) περιώ-

σπονδοφόρος οὔτος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε διωκόμενος  
ἐξέφυγεν οὐδ' ἂν ἐλαφρῶς ἂν ἀπεπλίξατο.

νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ στερρὸν ἤδη τοῦμὸν ἀντικνήμιον  
καὶ παλαιῶ Λακρατείδῃ τὸ σκέλος βαρύνεται, 220  
οἴχεται. διωκτέος δέ· μὴ γὰρ ἐγχάνῃ ποτὲ  
μηδέ περ γέροντας ὄντας ἐκφυγὼν Ἀχαρνεάς.

ὅστις, ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ καὶ θεοὶ, τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖσιν ἐσπίεσατο, [ἀντ.  
οἷσι παρ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμος ἐχθοδοπὸς αὔξεται τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίων·  
κούκ ἀνήσω πρὶν ἂν σχοῖνος αὐτοῖσιν ἀντεμπαγῶ 230  
ὄξυς, ὀδυνηρὸς, \* \* \* ἐπίκωπος, ἵνα  
μήποτε πατῶσιν ἔτι τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμπέλους.

νυμος, ὃν ἐκάλουσιν Ὀδόμετρον. ἦν δὲ καὶ πένταθλος. ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τοιούτου

πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φάυλλος,  
δίσκουσεν δ' ἑκατὸν, πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων.

The adverb φαύλως later in the line is  
a play on the name of Phayllus.

218. ἀπεπλίξατο] The Scholiast refers

αἱ δ' ἄνα λίπον ποταμοῖο βέεθρα,  
αἱ δ' εὖ μὲν τρώων, εὖ δὲ πλίσσοντο πόδεσσιν.

220. Λακρατείδῃ] In the Knights, when  
the Chorus come charging down into  
the orchestra, two of them are addressed  
as "Simon" and "Panaetius" (242),  
and the Scholiast tells us that these  
were the real names of the ἵππαρχοι,  
the leaders of the Knights. And so  
here it seems reasonable to infer that  
Lacrateides was the real name of some  
prominent leader among the Acharnian  
people. And I cannot but suspect,  
though this of course is the merest  
conjecture, that this is the Lacrateides  
who was one of the reputed accusers of  
Pericles (Plutarch, Pericles 35). Some  
say, Plutarch tells us, that the actual

to Odyssey vi. 318 where Nausicaa is in  
the car, driving her mules homewards,

accuser was Cleon: others that it was  
Simmias; but Heracleides Ponticus  
states that it was Lacrateides. One of  
the grounds, we know, on which Cleon  
attacked the great statesman was his  
refusal to offer battle to the Spartan  
army when it was ravaging Acharnae  
and the neighbouring demes (Pericles  
33); and if the Lacrateides of Plutarch  
be indeed the Lacrateides of Acharnae  
here mentioned, that may well have  
been the cause of his grudge also  
against the policy of Pericles.

225. ἐσπίεσατο] It was necessary for  
the poet's purpose that the Chorus  
should pass from the mere carrier of

Though a great Charcoal freight I was bearing on my head,—  
 Not so light From my sight Had this treaty-bearer fled,  
 Nor escaped With such ease From the chase.

Now because my joints have stiffened, and my shins are young  
 no more,

And the legs of Lacrateides by old age are burdened sore,  
 He's escaped us! But we'll follow: but he shall not boast that he  
 Got away from us Acharnians, howsoever old we be.

Who has dared Father Zeus! Gods of heaven! to make a truce,  
 Who has pledged Faith with those Who are evermore my foes;  
 Upon whom War I make For my ruined vineyard's sake;  
 And I ne'er From the strife Will give o'er,  
 No, I ne'er Will forbear, Till I pierce them in return,  
 Like a reed, Sharply barbed Dagger-pointed, and they learn  
 Not to tread Down my vines Any more.

the treaty (ὁ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρων, ὁ σπονδοφόρος) to the man who made it (ὅς ἐσπέισατο). The transition is made in the present line; Amphiteus altogether drops out of the play; and henceforth the Chorus and Dicaeopolis are the only parties to the dispute.

229. σχοῖνος] This is no doubt, as Mitchell points out, the *Schoenus mucronatus*, which is common on all the coasts of the Mediterranean. Its English name, the *Dagger-pointed Bog-rush*, makes one realize how extremely unpleasant it would be for a Lacedaemonian trampling down the Acharnian vines to feel one of its spikes running into his foot. Some grammarians, however, would connect σχοῖνος with σκόλοψ in the sense not of a stake in a palisade, but of a sort of calthrop with sharp spikes, thrown about to protect fruit-

trees and crops from the incursion of men and horses. εἰώθασι γὰρ σκόλοπας τινὰς ἐγκρύπτειν ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ εὐχερῶς κακουργῆ. ἐπειδὴ οὖν προεῖπε, σκόλοψ καὶ σχοῖνος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμπαγῶ, εἰκότως ἐπήνεγκε τοῦτο, ἵνα μηκέτι πατῶσι τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμπέλους.—Scholiast. And so Suidas s.v. σκόλοψ; whilst Pollux x. 131 enumerates amongst τὰ γεωργικὰ σκεύη, σχοῖνος καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀκανθώδη τοῖς καρποῖς ἐπὶ φρουρὰν περιβάλλεται. Hence Hermann, there being a foot, pæon or cretic, wanting in this system, proposed to insert the words καὶ σκόλοψ between ἀντεμπαγῶ and ὄξυς.

231. ἐπίκοπος] *Up to the hilt*, that is, as far as the spike will go. The Scholiast absurdly says διὰ νεῶς, καὶ ναυτικὸς ὦν ἐπίω αὐτοῖς, but such a meaning would here be altogether out of place.

ἀλλὰ δεῖ ζητεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βλέπειν Βαλλήναδε  
καὶ διώκειν γῆν πρὸ γῆς, ἕως ἂν εὐρεθῆ ποτέ·  
ὡς ἐγὼ βάλλων ἐκείνον οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήμην λίθοις.

235

ΔΙ. εὐφημεῖτε, εὐφημεῖτε.

ΧΟ. σίγα πᾶς. ἠκούσατ', ἄνδρες, ἄρα τῆς εὐφημίας ;  
οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν ὃν ζητοῦμεν. ἀλλὰ δεῦρο πᾶς  
ἐκποδῶν· θύσων γὰρ ἀνῆρ, ὡς ἔοικ', ἐξέρχεται.

240

ΔΙ. εὐφημεῖτε, εὐφημεῖτε.

προῖτω 's τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον ἢ κανηφόρος·  
ὁ Ξανθίας τὸν φαλλὸν ὀρθὸν στησάτω.

ΜΗ. κατάθου τὸ κανοῦν, ᾧ θύγατερ, ἵν' ἀπαρξώμεθα.

234. Βαλλήναδε βλέπειν] *To have a stone-throwing look*, with a play on Pallene, or Pellene, an Attic deme famous in history, though its locality is now uncertain. It seems to have been on the road from Marathon to Athens, and nearer the latter than the former place, Hdt. i. 62; Leake's Athens, ii. 44-7; Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, ch. 30. Leake places it at the northern extremity of Hymettus. Wordsworth would identify it with the modern village of Pellikò, not very far from Acharnae, which would no doubt, as he says, make the reference to it here very natural and appropriate. The Βαλλ- into which the first syllable is changed looks forward to the βάλλων of 236 and the βάλλε of 281.

235. γῆν πρὸ γῆς] *From land to land*, a peculiar, but by no means uncommon, phrase. It is employed by Aeschylus in the Prometheus (line 700), where Io says μάστιγι θεῖα γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι, and Br. Blomfield cites Lucian's

Alex. 46; Alciphron ii. 2; Aristides ii, p. 320; Cicero, ad Att. xiv. 20; and Suidas s.vv. διαξάινειν, ἴτω, and πρὸ γῆς.

237. εὐφημεῖτε] The voice of Dicaeopolis is heard within his house, exhorting those present *favere lingua*, to abstain from all profane and worldly language. This exhortation was the regular introduction to a religious service, and the Chorus, hearing it, are confident that they have found not indeed τὸν σπονδοφόρον but the ἄνδρα ὃς ἐσπέισατο.

242. κανηφόρος] Dicaeopolis comes out of the house, and at once proceeds to range the procession which formed the principal feature of the Rural Dionysia. Of course these village processions would always be insignificant compared with the great and stately procession which wended its way through the streets of Athens at the celebration of the City festivals. And here it is not even a village procession: it is confined to a single household of four

Now 'tis ours to seek the fellow, and Pelténe-wards to look,  
And from land to land to chase him, till we bring the rogue to  
book.

Never shall I tire of pelting, pelting him to death with stones.

DI. (*Within.*) Keep ye all the holy silence!

CHOR. Hush! we've got him. Heard ye, comrades, "silence" called in  
solemn tones?

This is he, the man we're seeking. Stand aside, and in a trice  
He, methinks, will stand before us, coming out to sacrifice!

DI. (*Coming out.*) Keep ye all the holy silence!

Now, Basket-bearer, go you on in front,

You, Xanthias, hold the phallus-pole erect.

WIFE. Set down the Basket, girl: and we'll begin.

persons, Dicaeopolis, his daughter, and two slaves; all the other villagers being still at war with Sparta. The daughter walks in front, representing the lovely and virtuous maiden who bore the Sacred Basket; a privilege so great that to be a *Κανηφόρος* in the Athenian procession was the crown of a Maiden's life (*Lys.* 646), and deserved to be recorded on a statue.—Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, chap. xvii ad fin. And see the *Commentary on Birds* 1551 and also on *Eecl.* 730, where the expression *καλή καλῶς* is again applied to the *κανηφόρος*. Immediately behind this spotless virgin walked the two slaves, holding the phallus-pole erect. And when we remember what the phallus-pole was—*φαλλός· ξύλον ἐπίμηκες, ἔχον ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ σκύτινον αἰδοῖον ἐξηρητημένον*—we may well be horrified at what appears to us the most appalling immodesty. But it did not appear so to the Athenians. It was, to borrow

the words of Cardinal Newman, "the very orthodoxy of the myriads who had lived and died" in Athens. See introduction to *Eecl.* pp. xxix, xxx. The procession is wound up by Dicaeopolis, who walks behind the two slaves, singing the Phallus song; the song from which Comedy itself was developed; Aristotle, *Poetics* iv. 15. It seems to have been addressed to the phallus, for *Φαλλῆς* is merely the phallus personified. The Wife is to represent the spectators who, no doubt, in the real ceremony would occupy every coign of vantage from which to witness the show.

244. τὸ κανοῦν . . . ἢ ἀπαρξόμεθα] Ἦν ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα τὰ κανᾶ, ἐφ' ὧν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀπάντων ἐτίθεσαν.—Scholiast. The wife's share in this little conversation appears to be continued in the MSS. to Dicaeopolis. It is given to the Wife in Aldus and most printed editions.

- ΘΥ. ὦ μήτερ, ἀνάδος δεῦρο τὴν ἐτνήρυσιν, 245  
 ἴν' ἔτνος καταχέω τούλατῆρος τουτουί.
- ΔΙ. καὶ μὴν καλόν γ' ἔστ'. ὦ Διόνυσε δέσποτα,  
 κεχαρισμένως σοι τήνδε τὴν πομπὴν ἐμὲ  
 πέμψαντα καὶ θύσαντα μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν  
 ἀγαγεῖν τυχηρῶς τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονύσια, 250  
 στρατιᾶς ἀπαλλαχθέντα· τὰς σπονδὰς δέ μοι  
 καλῶς ξυνευκεῖν τὰς τριακοντούτιδας.
- ΜΗ. ἄγ', ὦ θύγατερ, ὅπως τὸ κανοῦν καλῆ καλῶς  
 οἴσεις, βλέπουσα θυμβροφάγον. ὡς μακάριος  
 ὅστις σ' ὀπίσει, κάκποιήσεται γαλᾶς 255  
 σοῦ μηδὲν ἤττους βδεῖν, ἐπειδὰν ὄρθρος ᾖ.  
 πρὸ ββαινε, κὰν τῶ χλω φυλάττεσθαι σφόδρα  
 μὴ τις λαθῶν σου περιτράγη τὰ χρυσία.
- ΔΙ. ὦ Ξανθία, σφῶν δ' ἐστὶν ὄρθος ἐκτέος  
 ὁ φαλλὸς ἐξόπισθε τῆς κανηφόρου· 260

246. ἐλατῆρος] A flat cake. See Knights 1182. ἐλατήρ ἐστι πλακουτῶδες πέμμα πλατῦ, ἔνθεν καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία, παρὰ τὸ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐλαύνεσθαι εἰς πλάτος. ἔστι δὲ ἄρτος πλατῦς, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἔτνος ἐτίθεισαν καὶ προσῆγον τῷ βωμῷ. ἐλατήρ δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλατῦ.—Scholiast.

254. θυμβροφάγον] *Demure*, δριμύ.—Photius. And so the Scholiast and Suidas, though they also give other meanings. And Theophrastus, speaking of plants, ὅσα δριμύτητά τινα ἔχει δήλην κατὰ τὴν γείσειν, adds ὧν καὶ ἡ θύμβρα.—De Causis iii. 1. 4. θύμβρα is supposed to be what we call *savory*.

255. ὀπίσει] *Shall wed*. ὀπίω is an Epic word, employed by both Homer and Hesiod. "Happy the man whom favourable stars allot thee for his lovely bedfellow." γαλᾶς, *kittens*, is

substituted for *children*; γαλᾶς ἀντὶ τοῦ παῖδας δριμυτάτους. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σχῆμα καλεῖται παρὰ προσδοκίαν· ἔδει γὰρ ἐκφάναι, ἐκποιήσεται παῖδας νεανίας.—Scholiast. The γαλῆ was in my opinion a real cat, very similar to, though not (I suppose) identical with, our domestic cat. Professor Rolleston's identification of the γαλῆ with the *white-breasted marten* cat, and the ἴκτις with the *yellow-breasted marten* cat (Rolleston's Papers and Addresses, p. 499), can hardly, I think, be sustained. Without entering fully into the question, I may observe (1) that so far are the γαλῆ and the ἴκτις from being differentiated by the colouring of their breasts that one point of resemblance between them is stated to be the similar whiteness of both their breasts.—Aristotle, Hist. An.



DAUGHTER. O mother, hand me here the gravy-spoon.

To ladle out the gravy o'er the cake.

DI. 'Tis well. Lord Dionysus, grant me now

To show the show and make the sacrifice

As thou would'st have me, I and all my house ;

Then keep with joy the Rural Dionysia ;

No more of soldiering now. And may this Peace

Of thirty summers answer to my hopes.

WIFE. O daughter, bear the Basket sweetly, sweet,

With savory-eating look. Happy the man,

Whoe'er he is, who weds thee and begets

Kittens as fair and saucy as thyself.

Move on ! but heed lest any in the crowd

Should nibble off, unseen, thy bits of gold.

DI. O Xanthias, walk behind the Basket-bearer,

Holding, you two, the phallus-pole erect.

ix. 6. 5. (2) The *ἕκτισ* is *τιθασὸν σφόδρα* (Aristotle ubi supra), the yellow-breasted marten is quite irreclaimable. (3) Many efforts have been made to domesticate the white-breasted marten, but with very limited success : whereas the use of the definite article *ἡ γαλῆ*, not *γαλῆ τις*, "*the* cat must have stolen it" (Peace 1151, Thesm. 559), points to the presence in the house of some special *γαλῆ*, which must presumably have been domesticated there ; and (4) the comparison of the *ἕκτισ* with a little Maltese terrier (Aristotle ubi supra) would be absurd if the *ἕκτισ* were a marten, and most natural if it were a cat ; and there really is a considerable resemblance between a Maltese terrier and an Angola cat. Here, it may be said, there is a

twofold *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. The wife should have said "children as lovely as thyself," but for "children" she substituted "kittens," and for "as lovely as thyself" she substitutes *σοῦ μηδὲν ἥττους βδεῖν*.

258. *χρυσία*] *Trinkets of gold*. For the noble maiden who bore the Basket would naturally be arrayed in all her finery, and wear her costliest ornaments. Hence in the *Lysistrata* (1189 seq.) the Chorus say—

Gorgeous robes and golden trinkets,  
Shawls and mantles rich and rare,  
I will lend to all who need them,  
Lend for youths to wear,  
Or if any comrade's daughter  
Would the Basket bear.

ἐγὼ δ' ἀκολουθῶν ἄσομαι τὸ φαλλικόν·  
σὺ δ', ὦ γύναι, θεῶ μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. πρόβα.

Φαλῆς, ἑταῖρε Βακχίου,  
ξύγκωμε, νυκτοπεριπλάνη-  
τε, μοιχὲ, παιδεραστὰ, 265  
ἕκτω σ' ἔτει προσεῖπον ἐς  
τὸν δῆμον ἑλθὼν ἄσμενος,  
σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος ἑμαν-  
τῷ, πραγμάτων τε καὶ μαχῶν  
καὶ Λαμάχων ἀπαλλαγείς. 270

πολλῷ γάρ ἐσθ' ἥδιον, ὦ  
Φαλῆς, Φαλῆς, κλέπτουσαν εὐρ-  
όνθ' ὠρικὴν ὑληφόρον  
τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θραῦτταν ἐκ  
τοῦ φελλέως, μέσην λαβόντ',

263. Φαλῆς] Now follows the Phallic song of nineteen iambic lines; eighteen dimeters (all complete except the third which is catalectic), and one trimeter, winding up the song. It comprises two stanzas, one of eight lines, and one of seven, concluding with an invitation to Phales in four lines. Phales is called ἑταῖρε Βακχίου, *comrade of Bacchus*, *τερπνοτέρα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτη μετὰ Διονύσου*, as Lucian says (*Amores* 12); οἴνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις, Eur. *Bacchae* 773. And as to the ξύγκωμε νυκτοπεριπλάνητε, Meleager (*Anthology* 102) addresses Night herself as κόμων σύμπλανε, *fellow-wanderer with the revellers*.

266. ἕκτω ἔτει] See infra 890. This date is usually dealt with in a very

short and summary way. "The War commenced in 431 B.C. The play was acted in 425 B.C. Therefore it was acted in the sixth year of the War." But that is not the way in which Aristophanes made his calculation. He reckons by the archonship or Attic year. The war commenced by the invasion of Attica in July or August, shortly after the commencement of the archonship of Euthydemus, and the play was acted in the archonship of Euthynus. There are only four archons between these two; so that *we* should have called this the *fifth* year of the War. But Aristophanes is counting, in his calculation, both the archonship from which the period started and also

And I'll bring up the rear, and sing the hymn :  
Wife, watch me from the roof. Now then, proceed.

(*Singing.*) O Phales, comrade revel-roaming  
Of Bacchus, wanderer of the gloaming,  
Of wives and boys the naughty lover,  
Here in my home I gladly greet ye,  
Six weary years of absence over ;  
For I have made a private treaty  
And said goodbye to toils and fusses,  
And fights, and fighting Lamachuses.

Far happier 'tis to me and sweeter,  
O Phales, Phales, some soft glade in,  
To woo the saucy, arch, deceiving,  
Young Thratta (Strymodore his maiden),  
As from my woodland fells I meet her  
Descending with my fagots laden,

that with which it terminated (see the Commentary on 172 supra), so that to him it is the *sixth* year. I have left *six* in the translation.

269. μαχῶν καὶ Λαμάχων] This is the first mention of the gallant soldier whom in his lifetime Aristophanes was accustomed to satirize as the representative of the war party, but of whom after his death he always speaks in terms of well-deserved admiration.—Thesm. 841, Frogs 1039. It was partly, perhaps, his name, so suitable to his warlike spirit, so readily lending itself to jests about fighting and battles (as here, *infra* 1071, Peace 1293), that made the poet adopt him as the personification of War.

273. ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως] Φελλεῖς is a

generic name for rough rocky crags on which only goats can find pasturage. See Clouds 71. In Alciphron iii. 21 a goodwife complains that a wolf has carried off her finest she-goat from the fells ; τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν τῶν αἰγῶν ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως ἀρπάσας οἴχεται· καὶ ὁ μὲν δειπνεῖ ἀγαθὴν αἶγα καὶ εὐγάλακτον, ἐγὼ δὲ δάκρυα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπολείβω. In Attica, however, there were certain rocky heights to which the name was specifically applied. φελλέα· τὰ πετρώδη καὶ αἰγίστοα χωρία φελλέας ἐκάλου· ἦν δὲ ὁ Φελλεὺς τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὕτω καλούμενος, τραχὺς· αἱ δὲ αἶγες πρὸς τὰ τραχύτερα καὶ ὀρειότερα διάγουσιν.—Harrocraton, Suidas. So also Hesychius s. v. φελλός. Here it seems to mean merely the wooded uplands of the speaker's farm.

- ἄραντα, καταβαλόντα, κατα- 275  
 γιγαρτίσ' ὧ Φαλῆς, Φαλῆς.  
 ἔαν μεθ' ἡμῶν ξυμπίης,  
 ἕκ κραιπάλης ἔωθεν εἰρ-  
 ἡνης ροφήσεις τρύβλιον.  
 ἦ δ' ἄσπις ἐν τῷ φεψάλῳ κρεμήσεται.
- ΧΟ. οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτος. 280  
 βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε,  
 παῖε πᾶς τὸν μιάρῶν.  
 οὐ βαλεῖς, οὐ βαλεῖς;
- ΔΙ. Ἑράκλεις, τουτὶ τί ἐστι; τὴν χύτραν συντρίψετε. [στρ.  
 ΧΟ. σὲ μὲν οὖν καταλεύσομεν, ὧ μιὰρὰ κεφαλή. 285  
 ΔΙ. ἀντὶ ποίας αἰτίας, ὧ χαρνέων γεραίτατοι;  
 ΧΟ. τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾶς; ἀναίσχυντος εἶ καὶ βδελυρὸς,  
 ὧ προδότα τῆς πατρίδος, ὅστις ἡμῶν μόνος 290  
 σπεισάμενος εἶτα δύνασαι πρὸς ἔμ' ἀποβλέπειν.  
 ΔΙ. ἀντὶ δ' ὧν ἐσπεισάμην οὐκ ἴστε γ'· ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε.  
 ΧΟ. σοῦ γ' ἀκούσωμεν, ἀπολεῖ· κατὰ σε χάσομεν τοῖς λίθοις. 295  
 ΔΙ. μηδαμῶς, πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσητ'· ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ', ὧ γαθοί.  
 ΧΟ. οὐκ ἀνασχῆσομαι· μηδὲ λέγε μοι σὺ λόγον·  
 ὧς μεμίσηκά σε Κλέωνος ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὃν ἐ- 300

275. καταγιγαρτίσαι] The word of course means, as the Scholiast says, *συνουσίασαι*, but Dicaeopolis, a country farmer, uses a rustic metaphor. *γιγαρτα* are *grapestones*, *grapes*, Peace 684, and *καταγιγαρτίσειν* is to *ripte the vineyard*.

277. ἐκ κραιπάλης] *After the night's debauch. ἀπὸ χθιζῆς οἰνοποσίας.*—Scholiast.

279. ἐν τῷ φεψάλῳ] Ἐν τῷ *καπνείῳ*, says the Scholiast, referring to *Odyssey xvi.* 288, *φέψαλοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ σπινθήρες.* Cf.

*infra* 668, *Wasps* 227. As Dicaeopolis concludes his song, he is suddenly startled by the clatter of stones falling everywhere about him, which the old Acharnians of whom Amphitheus had told him are hurling at him from the orchestra. The daughter and the two slaves at once disappear into the house.

281. βάλλε κ.τ.λ.] The poet may have in view a passage in the *Rhesus*, 675-85, where the Trojan guards, recognizing the presence of a stranger (really

And catch her up, and ill entreat her,  
And make her pay the fine for thieving.

O Phales, Phales, come and sup,  
And in the morn, to brace you up,  
Of Peace you'll quaff a jovial cup ;  
And mid the chimney sparks our useless shield we'll hang.

CHOR. That's the man who made the treaty ;  
There he stands Full in view ;  
Pelt him, pelt him, pelt him, pelt him,  
Pelt him you ! Pelt him you !

DI. Heracles ! what ails the fellows ? Hang it all, ye'll smash the pot !

CHOR. It is *you* we will smash with our stones, you detestable head.

DI. O most worshipful Acharnians, why ? what reason have ye got ?

CHOR. Dare you ask ? Traitor base ! Dare you look me in the face ?  
You who make, You alone, Private treaties of your own !  
Shameless heart ! Shameless hand ! Traitor to your fatherland !

DI. But ye know not why I did it : hear me now the facts declare.

CHOR. Hear you ? No ! You're to die ; 'Neath a stony cairn to lie !

DI. Not, O not until ye've heard me ; worthy sirs, forbear, forbear !

CHOR. No delay ! Thee to slay We'll immediately begin.  
No debate ! Thee we hate Worse than Cleon's self, whose skin

Odysseus) in their midst, suddenly cry out *βάλλε, βάλλε, βάλλε, βάλλε*, and some lines below *παίε πᾶς*. The exclamation *οὐ βαλεῖς* ; may possibly mean that some members of the Chorus are not so eager as others ; as if "the little rift within the lute," which is presently to create a complete discord (infra 560), were already beginning to show itself.

285. *σὲ μὲν οὖν*] The metre of this line, as of its antistrophical line infra 336 (*ἀπολεῖς ἄρ' κ.τ.λ.*), is anapaestic tri-

meter brachycatalectic, sometimes called Pindaric. See Gaisford's last note on the eighth chapter of Hephaestion. In other words, the line consists of five anapaests. For similar lines see *Birds* 456 and 544. So vituperative a phrase as *ὃ μὲν κεφαλὴ* was sure to find a place in the vocabulary of Demosthenes. In his speech against Meidias he twice salutes his opponents with these very words : 175, 246 (pp. 559 and 577).

- γὰ τεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεῦσι καττύματα.  
 σοῦ δ' ἐγὼ λόγους λέγοντος οὐκ ἀκούσομαι μακροῦς,  
 ὅστις ἐσπέισω Λάκωσιν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρήσομαι.
- ΔΙ. ὄγαθοί, τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας ἐκποδῶν εἴσατε, 305  
 τῶν δ' ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατ', εἰ καλῶς ἐσπεισάμην.
- ΧΟ. πῶς δέ γ' ἂν καλῶς λέγοις ἂν, εἴπερ ἐσπέισω γ' ἅπαξ  
 οἷσιν οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτε πίστις οὔθ' ὄρκος μένει;
- ΔΙ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας, οἷς ἄγαν ἐγκείμεθα,  
 οὐχ ἀπάντων ὄντας ἡμῖν αἰτίους τῶν πραγμάτων. 310
- ΧΟ. οὐχ ἀπάντων, ὦ πανούργε; ταῦτα δὴ τολμᾶς λέγειν  
 ἐμφανῶς ἤδη πρὸς ἡμᾶς; εἴτ' ἐγὼ σοῦ φείσομαι;
- ΔΙ. οὐχ ἀπάντων, οὐχ ἀπάντων· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ λέγων ὀδὶ  
 πόλλ' ἂν ἀποφῆναιμ' ἐκείνους ἔσθ' ἃ κἀδικουμένους.
- ΧΟ. τοῦτο τοῦπος δεινὸν ἤδη καὶ ταραξικάρδιον, 315  
 εἰ σὺ τολμήσεις ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων ἡμῖν λέγειν.
- ΔΙ. κἄν γε μὴ λέγω δίκαια, μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει δοκῶ,

301. τοῖσιν ἱππεῦσι] This threat was carried into effect in the next year's ἱππείαις. But there is no allusion here to the name of that play. The Knights were at this moment the successful antagonists of Cleon; and it is in that capacity that they are to receive his "cobblings"; an allusion to his trade in leather.

308. βωμὸς κ.τ.λ.] These are the solemnities with some or all of which persons entering into a compact were accustomed to plight their troth to its due observance; (1) βωμὸς, the altar, the victim slain, so invariable a concomitant to a treaty that such terms as σπονδὰς τέμνειν, *icere foedus* were synonyms for "making Peace"; (2)

ὄρκος, the oath which accompanied the sacrifice, as in the third *Piäd*; and (3) πίστις, the *hand-clasp*; for though πίστις may be used of any kind of pledge, yet as Porson on Eur. *Medea* 21 (βοᾷ μὲν ὄρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶς Πίστιν μεγίστην) truly says "*manuum coniunctio πίστις eximie dicebatur.*" Here the Scholiast says αἱ συνθῆκαι διὰ τριῶν τελοῦνται, λόγων, ἔργων, χειρῶν. λόγων μὲν, οἷον δι' ὄρκου. ἔργων δὲ, διὰ τῶν ἐν βωμοῖς θυσίων. χειρῶν δὲ, ἐπεὶ δὴ αἱ πίστεις διὰ τῶν δεξιῶν γίνονται. καὶ Ὅμηρος (*Iliad* ii. 341); "καὶ δεξιά ἦς ἐπέτιθμεν." Homer indeed in that passage mentions all three solemnities, the *sacrifice*, the *oath*, and the *hand-clasp*,

πῇ δὴ συνθεσίου τε καὶ ὄρκια βήσεται ἡμῖν,  
 σπονδαὶ τ' ἄκρητοι, καὶ δεξιά ἦς ἐπέτιθμεν;

I'll erelong Cut to shoes For the worthy Knights to use.  
But from *you*, who made a treaty with the false Laconian crew,  
I will hear no long orations, I will surely punish you.

DI. Worthy fellows, for the moment those Laconians pretermitted;  
'Tis a question of my treaty, was I right in making it.

CHOR. Right to make it! when with Sparta no engagement sacred stands,  
Not the altar, not the oath-pledge, not the faith of clasped right  
hands!

DI. Yet I know that these our foemen, who our bitter wrath excite,  
Were not always wrong entirely, nor ourselves entirely right.

CHOR. Not entirely, shameless rascal? Do you such opinions dare  
Openly to flaunt before me? Shall I then a traitor spare?

DI. Not entirely, not entirely! I can prove by reasons strong  
That in many points the Spartans at our hands have suffered  
wrong.

CHOR. This is quite a heart-perplexing, terrible affair indeed,  
If you mean that you will venture for our enemies to plead.

DI. Aye, and if I plead not truly, or the people doubt display,

for, as the Homeric Scholiast explains, by *σπονδαὶ ἄκριτοι* the poet means *αἱ δι' ἀκράτου οἴνου γινόμεναι θυσίαι*. And see Eustathius there. And all three solemnities are mentioned again in Iph. in Aul. 57-60. So Pausanias viii. 7. 4 says of Philip of Macedon, *στρατηγὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἂν τις φρονῶν ὀρθὰ καλέσειεν αὐτόν ὅς γε καὶ ὈΡΚΟΥΣ θεῶν κατεπάτησεν ἀεὶ, καὶ ΣΠΟΝΔΑΣ ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐψεύσατο, ΠΙΣΤΙΝ τε ἠτίμασε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων*. So Eusebius (H. E. x. 8. 2) says that Licinius declared war against Constantine the Great *οὐχ ὀρκωμοσιῶν, οὐχ αἵματος, οὐ συνθηκῶν μνήμην ἐν διανοίᾳ λαβών*. See also Aristotle, Rhetoric i. 14. 5 and Polity of Athens xviii. 6. As

to the charges of perfidy against Sparta, the Scholiast refers to Eur. Androm. 445, and Kuster to Lys. 629. They are merely the charges which in every war each combatant brings against the other.

317. *κἂν γε μὴ κ.τ.λ.*] He is willing to make his speech with his head over a chopping-block, so that if his speech is unacceptable to the audience they may chop off his head. But he is *not* willing to use such ill-omened words about himself, and accordingly he omits all reference to the death-penalty, so in reality making his speech nonsensical. For, taken literally, it can only mean that he will make his speech in this

- ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήνου ἑελήσω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων λέγειν.
- ΧΟ. εἶπέ μοι, τί φειδόμεσθα τῶν λίθων, ᾧ δημόται,  
μὴ οὐ καταξάινειν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐς φοινικίδα ; 320
- ΔΙ. οἶον αὖ μέλας τις ὑμῖν θυμάλωψ ἐπέξεσεν.  
οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ', οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ' ἔτεδν, ᾧχαρνηγίδαι ;
- ΧΟ. οὐκ ἀκουσόμεσθα δῆτα. ΔΙ. δεινά τᾶρα πείσομαι.
- ΧΟ. ἐξολοίμην, ἣν ἀκούσω. ΔΙ. μηδαμῶς, ᾧχαρνηκοί.
- ΧΟ. ὡς τεθνήξων ἴσθι νυνί. ΔΙ. δῆξομᾶρ' ὑμᾶς ἐγώ. 325  
ἀνταποκτενῶ γὰρ ὑμῶν τῶν φίλων τοὺς φιλτάτους·  
ὡς ἔχω γ' ὑμῶν ὀμήρους, οὓς ἀποσφάξω λαβῶν.
- ΧΟ. εἶπέ μοι, τί τοῦτ' ἀπειλεῖ τοῦπος, ἄνδρες δημόται,  
τοῖς Ἀχαρνηκοῖσιν ἡμῖν ; μῶν ἔχει του παιδίον

attitude, if at its conclusion it prove unsatisfactory to the audience; which is absurd. But his meaning would be well understood by the audience, and indeed the action proceeds just as if he had expressed it in full. For other instances of unwillingness to use words of ill omen about oneself or one's friends see infra 334, Lys. 38. πλῆθος, a common designation of the people at large, here signifies the audience.

318. ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήνου] Ἐπιξήνον is a butcher's wooden chopping-block, ὁ μαγειρικός κορμὸς ἐφ' οὗ τὰ κρέα συγκόπτονται.—Scholiast. Observe that in the play the preposition is always ὑπὲρ, not ἐπί. And it is incredible that Dicaeopolis makes his elaborate speech with his head on the chopping-block; he probably faces the Chorus (and the audience) with the block, like a desk, before him, and merely leans over it as he speaks.

320. μὴ οὐ καταξάινει] Μὴ οὐχὶ λίθοις

αὐτὸν αἰμάσσειν ὥστε φοινικῶν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τὸ σῶμα.—Scholiast. καταξάινειν, which properly means *to card wool*, that is to divide it by a sort of iron comb, seems to have been specially employed to denote the laceration and tearing of the flesh by stoning. Porson thinks that there is an allusion here to Ajax 728 τὸ μὴ οὐ πέτροισι πᾶς καταξανθεῖς θανείν. And Mitchell quotes Eur. Suppl. 503 πέτροις καταξανθέντες ὀστέων ῥαφάς. They will card Dicaeopolis ἐς φοινικίδα, literally *into a scarlet robe*, that is "into a bloody and lacerated mass" like the *Phoenicium* (or *punicium*) *corium* of Plautus, Pseudolus i. 2. 92; Rudens iv. 3. 61. But the word has a deeper meaning here, which, though the Scholiast perceives, the commentators have mostly ignored. The φοινικίς, or scarlet coat, was the Spartan military uniform. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησὶ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείᾳ, says the Scholiast, χρῆσθαι Λακεδαιμονίους φοι-



On a chopping-block I'm willing, whilst I speak, my head to lay.

CHOR. Why so slack, my fellow-burghers? Let us stone the naughty varlet,

Let us scarify and shred him to an uniform of scarlet.

DI. What a red and dangerous ember sparkled up within you then!

Won't you hear me, won't you hear me, good Acharnians, worthy men?

CHOR. Never, never, will we hear you. DI. That will cause me bitter woe.

CHOR. If I do, perdition seize me! DI. O Acharnians, say not so.

CHOR. Know that you must die this instant. DI. Then I'll make you suffer too.

For my safety I've a hostage, one that's very dear to you.

Now I'll bring him out and slay him; you shall see your darling's end.

CHOR. O Acharnian fellow-burghers, what can words like these portend To our noble band of brethren? Think you that the man can hold

νικίδι, πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι τὸ τῆς χροᾶς ἀνδρικόν, τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι τὸ τοῦ χρώματος αἱματώδες τῆς τοῦ αἵματος ῥύσεως ἐθίζει καταφρονεῖν. So in the Lysistrata the frightened Spartan envoy is described as ὠχρὸς ἐν φοινικίδι, *His coat was scarlet but his cheeks were white.* Cf. Xenophon, de Rep. Lac. xi. 3; Agesilaus ii. 7; Plutarch, Laconian Institutes 24; Aelian, V. H. vi. 6; Photius s. vv. ἐς φοινικίδας καταξάναι. And here the Chorus mean He is a Spartan in heart, let us stone him till he wears the scarlet uniform of a Spartan.

321. μέλας] Meaning probably not *black* but *blood-red*. See the Commentary on Plutus 806. And as to θυμάλωψ see Thesm. 729 and the note

there. The Scholiast explains the word by ὁ ἀπολελειμμένος τῆς θύψεως ἄνθραξ, ὁ ἡμίκαυτος· ξύλον καὲν, σπινθήρ, ἢ διακεκαυμένος ἄνθραξ. χαριέντως δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ ἀνθρακεῖς εἰσιν οἱ Ἀχαρνεῖς.

327. ἀποσφάξω λαβών] After uttering these terrible words Dicaeopolis goes into the house, leaving the Chorus in a state of alarm and perplexity. He returns three lines later, carrying in one hand a hamper full of charcoal, and in the other a drawn sword with which he proposes to terminate the existence of both hamper and charcoal. The ensuing scene, the Scholiast tells us, is parodied from the Telephus of Euripides. There is a somewhat similar parody in the Thesmophoriazusae.

- τῶν παρόντων ἔνδον εἶρξας ; ἢ πὶ τῷ θρασύνεται ; 330
- ΔΙ. βάλλετ', εἰ βούλεσθ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ τουτοῖν διαφθερῶ.  
εἴσομαι δ' ὑμῶν τάχ' ὅστις ἀνθράκων τι κήδεται.
- ΧΟ. ὡς ἀπωλόμεσθ'. ὁ λάρκος δημότης ὄδ' ἔστ' ἐμός.  
ἀλλὰ μὴ δράσης ὃ μέλλεις· μηδαμῶς, ὦ μηδαμῶς.
- ΔΙ. ὡς ἀποκτενῶ, κέκραχθ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἀκούσομαι. [ἀντ.
- ΧΟ. ἀπολείς ἄρ' ὀμήλικα τόνδε φιλανθρακέα ; 336
- ΔΙ. οὐδ' ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως ἠκούσατε.
- ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ νυνὶ λέγ', εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, τὸν τε Λακε-  
δαίμονιον αὐτὸν ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ σου 'στὶ φίλος·  
ὡς τότε τὸ λαρκίδιον οὐ προδώσω ποτέ. 340
- ΔΙ. τοὺς λίθους νῦν μοι χαμᾶζε πρῶτον ἐξεράσατε.
- ΧΟ. οὐτοί σοι χαμαὶ, καὶ σὺ κατάθου πάλιν τὸ ξίφος.
- ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ 'ν τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐγκάθηνται που λίθοι.
- ΧΟ. ἐκσέσεισται χαμᾶζ'. οὐχ ὄρας σειόμενον ;  
ἀλλὰ μή μοι πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ κατάθου τὸ βέλος. 345  
ὡς ὅδε γε σειστὸς ἅμα τῇ στροφῇ γίγνεται.
- ΔΙ. ἐμέλλετ' ἄρ' ἅπαντες ἀνασείειν βοήν,

333. λάρκος] *A hamper for carrying charcoal.* φορμὸς εἰς δὲν ἄνθρακας ἐνέβαλλον.—Harprocraton. The Scholiast on 326 defines it as κόφινος ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἄνθρακας φέρουσι, δὲν βούλεται ξίφει διαχρήσασθαι, and here as πλέγμα τι κοφινῶδες ἢ ψιαθῶδες, ἐν ᾧ φέρουσι τοὺς ἄνθρακας. In the translation it is called a "scuttle," which though a very different article, yet is with us, as λάρκος with the Greeks, inseparably associated with coal.

334. δράσης ὃ μέλλεις] They do not say *don't kill it*; they will not put into words such an intolerable idea; they prefer to say *don't do what is in your mind*. See on 317 supra.

336. ὀμήλικα τόνδε] Ἦτοι τὸν λάρκον, ἢ

ἐμέ.—Scholiast. Beyond all question he means himself. The Chorus in the orchestra could hardly speak of the λάρκος on the stage as τόνδε; and the epithet φιλανθρακέα, as applied to the λάρκος, would be merely insipid; while if applied to the man, it explains why his life is bound up with the life of the λάρκος. He is such a charcoal-lover that if they slay the charcoal (infra 343) they will slay him also. He cannot survive the charcoal which he loves so well.

338. ἀλλὰ νυνὶ] Ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτῷ λέγειν, ἵνα μόνον ἀφῆ τὸν λάρκον.—Scholiast.

347. ἀνασείειν βοήν] *To shake (or lift) up a cry.* In Alciphron iii. 71 Phila-

- Any child of ours in durance? What can make him wax so bold?
- DI. Now then pelt me; here's the hostage! I will slay and will not spare.
- I shall speedily discover which of you for charcoal care.
- CHOR. Heaven preserve us! 'tis a scuttle, 'tis my fellow-burgher true!  
Never do the thing you mention: never do, O never do!
- DI. Cry aloud! I'm going to slay him; I shall neither hear nor heed.
- CHOR. You will slay then this charcoal-adorer, its equal in years!
- DI. Aye, for when I craved a hearing you refused to hear me plead.
- CHOR. Ah! but now! Now you may! Whatsoever suits you say.  
Say you love, Say you prize, Our detested enemies.  
Ne'er will I Faithless prove To the scuttle which I love.
- DI. Well then first, the stones you gathered, throw them out upon the ground.
- CHOR. Out they go! All my hoard! Prithee, lay aside the sword.
- DI. But I fear that in your lappets other missiles may be found.
- CHOR. All are gone! Every one! See my garment shaken wide!  
Don't evade Promise made. Lay, O lay the sword aside.  
Here's my robe Shaken out, As I twist and twirl about.
- DI. You would then, would you, shake your cries aloft,

porus, writing to ask a friend to support him on his first appearance upon the stage, says *σὺ δ' ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων ΕΠΙΣΕΙΕ τοὺς κρότους* so as to drown all dissentient noises. *ἐπισείω* means to launch their cheers on the actor, *ἀνασείω* to raise them up aloft. Here Dicaeopolis employs the peculiar word *ἀνασείω*, because the preceding speech of the Chorus is full of shakes, *ἐκσέσεισται, σειόμενον, σειστός*. The infinitive is rightly in the present tense. The rules which govern the matter are as follows; (1) *where ἔμελλον refers to an*

*intention which is subsequently carried into effect, the infinitive which follows is in the future tense, Clouds 1301, Wasps 460, Frogs 268; (2) where the intention goes, or has gone, no further, the infinitive is in the present tense, Ach. 347, Knights 267. And the reason is plain. In the first case the intention has, in the second it has not, a future. The meaning of the line is so exceedingly clear and satisfactory that it cannot be necessary to encumber the Commentary with the wild vagaries of modern critics.*

- ὀλίγου τ' ἀπέθανον ἄνθρακες Παρνήσιοι,  
καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν δημοτῶν.  
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους δὲ τῆς μαρίλης μοι συχνήν  
ὁ λάρκος ἐνετίλησεν ὥσπερ σηπία. 350  
δεινὸν γὰρ οὕτως ὀμφακίαν πεφυκένας  
τὸν θυμὸν ἀνδρῶν ὥστε βάλλειν καὶ βοᾶν  
ἐθέλειν τ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἴσον ἴσῳ φέρον,  
ἐμοῦ θέλοντος ὑπὲρ ἐπίξηνου λέγειν 355  
ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄπανθ' ὅσ' ἂν λέγω·  
καίτοι φιλῶ γε τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγώ.
- ΧΟ. τί οὖν οὐ λέγεις, ἐπίξηνον ἐξενεγκῶν θύραξ', 360 [στρ.  
ὁ τι ποτ', ὦ σχέτλιε, τὸ μέγα τοῦτ' ἔχεις;  
πάνυ γὰρ ἐμέ γε πόθος ὁ τι φρονεῖς ἔχει.  
ἀλλ' ἤπερ αὐτὸς τὴν δίκην διωρίσω,  
θεὸς δεῦρο τοῦπίξηνον ἐγχείρει λέγειν. 365
- ΔΙ. ἰδοὺ θεᾶσθε, τὸ μὲν ἐπίξηνον τοδὶ,  
ὁ δ' ἀνήρ ὁ λέξων οὐτοσὶ τυννουτοσί.  
ἀμέλει μὰ τὸν Δ' οὐκ ἐνασπιδώσομαι,

348. Παρνήσιοι] From Mount Parnes, the mountain which rose immediately at the back of Acharnae, and from whose wooded sides the inhabitants of that town were accustomed to obtain the timber for their charcoal.

349. τὴν ἀτοπίαν] *The extraordinary perverseness.*

350. τῆς μαρίλης] *Μαρίλη* is the *black dust* of the charcoal, whence the name *Μαριλάδης* infra 609. ἡ ἐξ ἀνθράκων τέφρα μαρίλη λέγεται. μαρίλης οὖν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθράκων σποδιᾶς ἐπαφήκεν ὁ λάρκος ὑπὸ ἀγωνίας, ὥσπερ ἡ σηπία τὸ μέλαν θηρώμεναι γὰρ αἱ σηπία ἐπαφίωσιν

ἐκ τοῦ προσόντος αὐταῖς μέλανος, τὰρᾶττειν βουλόμεναι τὸν παρ' αὐταῖς τόπον, ἵνα μὴ καταφανεῖς ὄσι τοῖς θηρώσιν.—Scholiast.

352. ὀμφακίαν] *Sour*, literally, *wine made from unripe grapes*. ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠμῶν καὶ σκληρῶν. μεταφορικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμφάκων οὕτως δὲ αἱ σταφυλαὶ δριμυταῖα οὔσαι καὶ οὔπω πέπειροι καλοῦνται.—Scholiast. The “sour grapes” of the fox in the fable are, in the original, ὀμφακες. Photius s.v. says “ὀμφακα” πᾶν τὸ αὐστηρὸν λέγουσιν. Dicaeopolis is philosophizing on the strange sourness of men’s hearts.

354. ἴσον ἴσῳ φέρον] The expression is properly used of wine mingled with

And this Parnesian charcoal all but died,  
 Slain by the madness of its fellow-burghers.  
 And in its fright this scuttle, cuttle-wise,  
 Voided its inky blackness on my clothes.  
 Alas that men should carry hearts as sour  
 As unripe grapes, to pelt and roar, nor hear  
 A tempered statement mingled half and half ;  
 Not though I'm willing o'er a chopping-block  
 To say my say for Lacedaemon's folk.  
 And yet I love, be sure, my own dear life.

CHOR. O why not bring the block out of doors without delay,  
 And speak the mighty speech which you think will win the day ?  
 For really I've a longing to hear what you will say !  
 So in the fashion you yourself prescribed,  
 Place here the chopping-block and start your speech.

DI. Well look and see, the chopping-block is here,  
 And I'm to speak, poor little friendless I.  
 Still never mind ; I won't enshield myself,

an equal quantity of water. See Plutus 1132 and the Commentary there. Athenaeus has a chapter (x. 37, pp. 430, 431) on this half-and-half mixture, and cites various passages in which it is mentioned. The participle *φέρων* means that the wine will admit an equal quantity of water without injury to its flavour. Cf. Knights 1188. Here the phrase is transferred to a speech which will hold an equal balance, and be temperate and just in its statements; *ἀντὶ τοῦ δίκαιον καὶ ἐξ ἴσου, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κερναμένου οἴνου πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ ἴσον.*—Scholiast.

362. *πόθος*] *λείπει τὸ μαθεῖν.*—Scholiast.

366. *τὸ μὲν ἐπίξηνον τοδὶ*] Dicaeopolis, who while the Chorus were speaking, had re-entered his house, now emerges with the chopping-block, which he places in the required position on the stage.

368. *οὐκ ἐνασπιδώσομαι*] The old grammarians explain this expression by "I will not arm myself," "I will make no preparation for the fray." But modern scholars mostly take it to mean "I will not skulk behind my shield," "I will go forward openly and speak my mind without fear or favour." And this

λέξω δ' ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἃ μοι δοκεῖ.  
καίτοι δέδοικα πολλά· τούς τε γὰρ τρόπους 370  
τούς τῶν ἀγροίκων οἶδα χαίροντας σφόδρα  
ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς εὐλογῇ καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
ἀνὴρ ἀλαζόν καὶ δίκαια κᾶδिका·  
κάνταῦθα λανθάνουσ' ἀπεμπολώμενοι·  
τῶν τ' αὖ γερόντων οἶδα τὰς ψυχὰς ὅτι 375  
οὐδὲν βλέπουσιν ἄλλο πλὴν ψήφω δακεῖν·  
αὐτός τ' ἔμαντον ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἄπαθον  
ἐπίσταμαι διὰ τὴν πέρυσι κωμωδίαν.  
εἰσελκύσας γάρ μ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
διέβαλλε καὶ ψευδῆ κατεγλώττιζέ μου 380  
κάκυκλοβόρει κᾶπλυνεν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου πάνυ

seems the meaning most suited to the context. Though Dicaeopolis is referring only to his own (metaphorical) shield, yet possibly the best illustration of the word is the battle-scene in the eighth Iliad, where Teucer, covered by the shield of Aias, glances round the hostile ranks, steps out and discharges his unerring arrow, and immediately takes refuge again behind the protection of that mighty shield. Dicaeopolis will not do that: he will go boldly forward, and (to use a present-day vulgarism) face the music.

370. δέδοικα πολλά] Dicaeopolis perceives danger-signals from three different quarters, viz. (1) from the country people, (2) from the old dicasts, and (3) from Cleon. The country folk, driven from their rural cares and avocations into the bustling metropolis, can only gape with wonderment at the clever speeches of the demagogues,

and, won by their praise and flattery, become eager supporters of the War. They do not see that the orators are merely using them for their own purposes or, as the poet expresses it both here and in Peace 633, that they are being bought and sold. The whole passage in the Peace (632-7) is like a commentary on the present lines. The country people are being bought and sold, because it is they who are being ruined, while the orators flourish, by the War; and yet they are deluded, by the speeches of these very orators, into becoming the mainstay of the War party. It would indeed have been impossible for the elderly countrymen to have survived the destruction of all their possessions, had not Pericles instituted the dicastic fee, obtainable by all over thirty years of age. Younger men would be earning a livelihood as soldiers or sailors.

I'll speak my mind for Lacedaemon's folk,  
 And yet I fear; for well I know the moods  
 Of our good country people, how they love <sup>(1)</sup>  
 To hear the City and themselves be-praised  
 By some intriguing humbug, right or wrong,  
 Nor ever dream they are being bought and sold.  
 And well I know the minds of those old men <sup>21</sup>  
 Looking for nothing but a verdict-bite.  
 Aye and I know what I myself endured <sup>31</sup>  
 At Cleon's hands for last year's Comedy.  
 How to the Council-house he haled me off,  
 And slanged, and lied, and slandered, and betongued me,  
 Roaring Cycloborus-wise; till I well nigh

375. *γερότων*] Any citizen over thirty years of age was qualified to become a *dicast*; but the office was generally sought by the older citizens; and the dicasts are constantly spoken of as *γέροντες*, *πρεσβύτεροι*, and the like, Knights 977, Wasps 224, &c. These old dicasts are always looking out, that is longing (*βλέποντες*, cf. Wasps 847 *τιμῶν βλέπω*), for the opportunity of giving a sharp verdict-bite.

378. *τὴν πέρουσι κωμῳδίαν*] That is, the Babylonians; the second Comedy produced by Aristophanes. It was exhibited at the Great Dionysia, B.C. 426, and contained an attack upon Cleon, to which the demagogue replied by taking proceedings against the poet before the Council of 500. Those proceedings are thrice alluded to in the present play, here and *infra* 502 and 630; and in each place the action of Cleon is described by the word *δέσασσε*, the word

perpetually used in the Knights and elsewhere to designate the slanderous accusations brought by Cleon against all who presumed to oppose him. See Knights 7 and the Commentary there. A slight notice of the Babylonians and of the litigation which followed it will be found in the Introduction to this play.

381. *κἀκυκλοβόρει*] The verb *κυκλοβόρῶ* is fashioned by the poet from Cycloborus, the noisy little torrent which, in the winter months, went brawling over its stones through the midst of Athens. *Κυκλόβωρος ποταμὸς ἐν Ἀθῆναις χεῖμαρρος, ἄγαν ἤχων*, says the Scholiast here; *ποταμὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐκ αἰεὶ οὐδὲ διὰ παντὸς ῥέων, ἀλλὰ χεῖμαρρος. φησὶν οὖν, τραχείαν φωνὴν ἔχων, καθάπερ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπειδὴν ῥέῃ*.—Scholiast on Knights 137. There, again, Cleon is described as *Κυκλοβόρου φωνὴν ἔχων*. Seemingly there were some notes in

ἀπωλόμην μολυνοπραγμονούμενος.  
 νῦν οὖν με πρῶτον πρὶν λέγειν ἑάσατε  
 ἐνσκευάσασθαι μ' οἶον ἀθλιώτατον.

- ΧΟ. τί ταῦτα στρέφει τεχνάζεις τε καὶ πορίζεις τριβάς; [ἀντ.  
 λαβὲ δ' ἑμοῦ γ' ἔνεκα παρ' Ἱερωνύμου  
 σκοτοδασυπυκνότηριχά τιν' Ἄϊδος κυνῆν· 390  
 εἶτ' ἐξάνοιγε μηχανὰς τὰς Σισύφου,  
 ὡς σκῆψιν ἀγῶν οὗτος οὐκ εἰσδέξεται.
- ΔΙ. ὦρα ἴσθιν ἄρα μοι καρτερὰν ψυχὴν λαβεῖν,  
 καὶ μοι βαδιστέ' ἐστὶν ὡς Εὐριπίδην.  
 παῖ παῖ. ΚΗ. τίς οὗτος; ΔΙ. ἔνδον ἔστ' Εὐριπίδης; 395

the high-pitched and truculent voice of the demagogue which irresistibly reminded his hearers of a brawling torrent, for in the Parabasis of the Wasps and Peace his voice is again likened to the φωνὴ χαράδρας ἄεθρον τεροκυίας.—πλύνειν is very commonly used of *deluging* a person with abuse; cf. Plutus 1061. I will merely cite a couple of instances from St. Chrysostom. David, he says, had seen Shimei μυρίοις αὐτὸν ἀνείδεισι πλύνοντα.—Hom. ix in Matth. p. 132 B. μυρίοις πλύνοντες σκώμμασιν.—Id. lviii, p. 592 E.

384. ἐνσκευάσασθαι] This line must, I think, have been borrowed from the Telephus of Euripides, where the wounded Mysian is disguising himself as a beggar, to gain entrance into the camp of the Achaeans. This makes it a fitting prelude to the ensuing scene and accounts for its reappearance, infra 436. The scene with the λάρκος, the interview with Euripides, and the speech to the audience are all full

of the Telephus. The story of the Euripidean Play is told in the Commentary on Frogs 855.

390. Ἄϊδος κυνῆν] The "helmet of Hades," that is, of "Invisibility," was as familiar in the old Greek legends as is the "Cap of Darkness" in our own fairy tales. It is mentioned by Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar, and frequently by later poets. It rendered its wearer invisible, even to immortal Gods. Athene, descending to the assistance of Diomed, dons the helmet of Hades, that Ares might not be aware of her presence. But what has Hieronymus to do with this? He was a poet, the son of Xenophontes, noted for the untidy mop of his shaggy and unkempt hair which well nigh concealed his countenance. In Clouds 349 he is described as a "wild and hairy man." Here Aristophanes, whether originating the jest, or merely availing himself of a popular joke upon the man, takes his wilderness of hair as equivalent



Was done to death, bemiryslushified.  
 Now therefore suffer me, before I start,  
 To dress me up the loathliest way I can.

CHOR. O why keep putting off with that shilly-shally air?  
 Hieronymus may lend you, for anything I care,  
 The shaggy "Cap of Darkness" from his tangle-matted hair.  
 Then open all the wiles of Sisyphus,  
 Since this encounter will not brook delay.

DI. Now must my heart be strong, and I depart  
 To find Euripides. Boy! Ho there, boy!

CEPHISOPHON, Who calls me? DI. Is Euripides within?

to the helmet of Hades. The long epithet applies only to the natural overgrowth of Hieronymus; the helmet which Athene donned was, we are told by Eustathius and others, in the nature of a very dense cloud, *νέφος τι πυκνότατον*.—Sisyphus, "the craftiest of all mankind" (Iliad vi. 153), is to us best known, not for his tricks and treacheries, but for the punishment which awaited them in the unseen world. There he was doomed to push to the top of a lofty hill an enormous stone, which invariably, as it neared the top, rolled back to the bottom again.

392. *σκήψω*] *Excuse; plea for evasion*, not meeting the case on its merits. It is really a legal term: cf. Eccl. 1027, Plutus 904.

394. *ὦς Εὐριπίδην*] Wanting a set of beggarly rags, where should Dicaeopolis turn but to the poet who is elsewhere described as a *πρωχοποιός*, a *ράκισουρραπτάδης*, and is here presented to us as a veritable old-clothes-man? He has

not far to go, for fortunately one of the houses in the background now turns out to be the house of Euripides. See the opening note of this Commentary.

395. ΚΗΦΙΣΟΦΩΝ] Whether we call the speaker *Κηφισοφῶν* or *θεράπων* there is no doubt that Cephisophon is the person represented. The Ravenna Scholiast, like the other Scholiasts, is clear on the point. "Cephisophon answers the door," he says on this line; and on *τρισμακάρι*, five lines below, "Dicaeopolis says this in admiration of Cephisophon's remarks." And doubtless Marco Musuro, in settling the Aldine text, found the name *Κηφισοφῶν* in the MSS. he consulted; and accordingly the name is read in every edition before Elmsley. Elmsley was the first to introduce *θεράπων*, observing "Cephisophontem Euripidis servum non fuisse vel ex eius nomine satis constat." But even if this were so, I should heartily agree with Fritzsche who, in note 15 to his "De Aristophanis Thesmo-

ΚΗ. οὐκ ἔνδον, ἔνδον ἐστὶν, εἰ γνώμην ἔχεις.

ΔΙ. πῶς ἔνδον, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον; ΚΗ. ὀρθῶς, ᾧ γέρον.

ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω ξυλλέγων ἐπύλλια

οὐκ ἔνδον, αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ

τραγωδίαν. ΔΙ. ᾧ τρισμακάρι' Εὐριπίδῃ,

400

ὄθ' ὁ δοῦλος οὕτωςι σοφῶς ὑποκρίνεται.

ἐκκάλεσον αὐτόν. ΚΗ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον. ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ὅμως.

οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμ', ἀλλὰ κόψω τὴν θύραν,

Εὐριπίδῃ, Εὐριπίδιον,

phoriazusis secundis Commentatio," says "Mire fallitur Elmsleius. Non fuit servus Euripidis Cephisophon, sed servus inducitur ab Aristophane cui libera fuit quidvis fingendi potestas, ut Comico." But, in fact, from the Greek Life of Euripides, discovered after the publication of Elmsley's Acharnians, it appears that Cephisophon was originally a slave, though promoted for his intelligence to be the friend and associate of his master. There is a deplorable tendency nowadays to strike out of the *dramatis personae* proper names, and substitute such general words as *θεράπων*, *οἰκέτης*, *θυρωρός*, *κηδεστής*, and the like. This practice, besides doing away with much of the picturesqueness of the drama, places the modern reader at a great and unnecessary disadvantage as compared with an ancient spectator. For on the stage the mask would to some extent be fashioned into a resemblance of the individual represented: and the actor would doubtless imitate any special tricks of speech or manner which would serve to identify the original; whereas the reader is destitute

of all these helps to the right understanding of the Comedy.

396. οὐκ ἔνδον, ἔνδον ἐστὶν] These little apparent contradictions are quite in the manner of Euripides, and commentators have collected a host of examples from his extant plays. I will give one or two of them. ἔστιν τε κοῦκ ἔτ' ἔστιν.—Alcestis 521. τεθνᾶσι κοῦ τεθνᾶσιν.—Hel. 138. Ἄργεῖος οὐκ Ἄργεῖος.—Or. 904. οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐκὼν.—Iph. in Taur. 512.—εἰ γνώμην ἔχεις, *if you have sense enough to understand me.* ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰ φρόνιμος εἶ καὶ συνετός.—Scholiast.

398. ἐπύλλια] The same contemptuous diminutive is applied to the writings of Euripides in Peace 532, Frogs 942. In the latter passage Dr. Merry acutely suggests a play on ἐρπύλλια, and something of the kind may be intended here.

399. ἀναβάδην] In such phrases as ἀναβάδην καθίζειν, ἀναβάδην καθήμενος, the adverb usually means *with the feet up*. See Plutus 1123 and the Commentary there. But Aristophanes is never averse to using words in a new and unexpected signification, and in no Comedy does

CE. Within and not within, if you conceive me.  
 DI. Within and not within? CE. 'Tis even so.  
 His mind, without, is culling flowers of song,  
 But he, within, is sitting up aloft  
 Writing a Play. DI. O lucky, lucky Poet,  
 Whose very servant says such clever things!  
 But call him. CE. But it can't be done. DI. But still . . . !  
 For go I won't. I'll hammer at the door.  
 Euripides, my sweet one!

he do this so habitually as in the Acharnians. And it seems to me clear that he is here employing *ἀναβάδην* and *καταβάδην* in the (unusual) sense of *up aloft* and *down below*; the *καταβάδην* of 411 corresponding to the *καταβαίνειν* of 409.

401. *ἰποκρίνεται*] All the MSS., except the Ravenna, have *ἀπεκρίνατο*, and so all editions down to and including Brunck's. And I strongly suspect that *ἰποκρίνεται*, the reading of the Ravenna MS., is merely the equivalent of *ἀποκρίνεται*, *answers*. That is the sense which it bears in Homer and Herodotus, and once in Thucydides (vii. 44). *ἰποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἀποκρίνεσθαι οἱ παλαιοὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐβδόμη. καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες οὕτως.*—Photius. Etym. Magn. s.v. *ἰποκριτής*; and so all the grammarians. Elmsley however, and recent scholars generally, take it to mean *interprets*, as in Wasps 53, *οὕτως ἰποκρινόμενον σοφῶς ἀνείρατα*. But the cleverness of Cephisophon seems to consist in his giving such an ingenious *answer*, *οὐκ ἔνδον, ἔνδον ἐστίν*, rather than in *interpreting* his own enigmatic utterance.

402. *ἀλλ' ὄμως*] The omission of the

verb (in this case *ἐκκάλεσον*) turns these words into a sort of mute supplication. Cf. infra 408. Dicaeopolis is making fun of Euripides, with whom this was a favourite phrase; Hec. 843, Medea 501, Iph. in Aul. 904, Electra 753. And no doubt the *attamen* in Terence, Andria iv. 2. 28, 30 represents the same phrase. See also inf. 956.

404. *Εὐριπίδιον*] Diminutives of this kind have nothing to do with size, they are merely used *ἰποκοριστικῶς*. *Εὐριπίδιον* means not "my little Euripides" but my *darling* Euripides: just as *βοιδίον*, infra 1036, means my *precious* yoke of oxen; *βοιωτίδιον*, infra 872, my *dearest* Boeotian; and *λαμαχίππιον*, infra 1206, my *sweet* Lamachippus. Bentley observed that the two fragmentary lines, *Εὐριπίδη, Εὐριπίδιον, . . . ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή*, if joined, make one complete senarius; and Hermann observes that the same may be said of the two fragmentary lines in Frogs 664-6, *Πόσειδον, ἤληθσέν τις . . . ἀλὸς ἐν βένθεσιν*. Whether this is merely accidental, or whether the poet's ear required a balance to the original irregularity, it is now impossible to say.

- ὑπάκουσον, εἴπερ πάποτ' ἀνθρώπων τινί  
 Δικαίηπολις καλεῖ σε Χολλείδης, ἐγώ. 405
- ΕΥ. ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή.  
 ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήθητ'. ΕΥ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον. ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ὄμως.  
 ΕΥ. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήσομαι καταβαίνειν δ' οὐ σχολή.  
 ΔΙ. Εὐριπίδη, ΕΥ. τί λέλακας; ΔΙ. ἀναβάδην ποιεῖς, 410  
 ἐξὸν καταβάδην· οὐκ ἐτὸς χωλοὺς ποιεῖς.  
 ἀτὰρ τί τὰ ράκι' ἐκ τραγοῦδιαις ἔχεις,  
 ἐσθῆτ' ἔλεεινήν; οὐκ ἐτὸς πτωχοὺς ποιεῖς.  
 ἀλλ' ἀντιβολῶ πρὸς τῶν γονάτων σ', Εὐριπίδη,  
 δός μοι ράκιόν τι τοῦ παλαιοῦ δράματος. 415  
 δεῖ γάρ με λέξαι τῷ χορῷ ῥῆσιν μακράν·  
 αὕτη δὲ θάνατον, ἣν κακῶς λέξω, φέρει.  
 ΕΥ. τὰ ποῖα τρύχη; μῶν ἐν οἷς Οἰνεὺς ὀδῖ

406. Χολλείδης] This deme is supposed to have been situated near the south-eastern extremity of the Hymettian range, about twelve miles from Athens. The evidence is not very strong, consisting merely of an inscription, 'Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Φηραῖος καὶ Χολλείδης ταῖς Νύμφαις ἑκοδόμησε, found in a grotto dedicated to the Nymphs in that locality; but no other place has put in a claim. See Leake's Topography of Athens, ii. 57; Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, chap. 25. In answer to the old Choleidian's clamorous summons the voice of Euripides is heard from the upper chamber within the house. He does not become visible until after line 409.

408. ἐκκυκλήθητ'] *Be wheeled out; show yourself by means of the eccyclema.* By this well-known theatrical machinery the front wall of the house turned as if

on a pivot, disclosing what was within, and bringing out a portion of the interior attached to the wall. Some observations on the eccyclema will be found in the Introduction.

409. καταβαίνειν] *To come down* from the upper story; as καταβαίω, καταβαίνεις in Thesm. 482, 483, and καταδραμοῦσα in Eccl. 961. After this line the ἐκκύκλημα begins to work; the house opens, and Euripides is brought out in the upper chamber, engaged upon a Tragic Play. Somewhere, probably in the lower story, are various heaps of ragged clothes.

410. τί λέλακας;] Euripides, now visible to the whole theatre in his elevated and, apparently, perilous position, naturally speaks in stilted and tragic style. The words τί λέλακας; *what shrillest thou?* are what he would use

O if you ever hearkened, hearken now.

'Tis I, Cholleidian Dicaeopolis.

EURIPIDES. But I've no time.

DI. But pivot. EUR. But it can't be done. DI. But still . . .!

EUR. Well then, I'll pivot, but I can't come down.

DI. Euripides! EUR. Aye. DI. Why do you write up there, *τίνα γὰρ ἔγραψας*

And not down here? That's why you make lame heroes.

And wherefore sit you robed in tragic rags,

A pitiful garb? That's why you make them beggars.

But by your knees, Euripides, I pray,

Lend me some rags from that old Play of yours ;

For to the Chorus I to-day must speak

A lengthy speech ; and if I fail, 'tis DEATH.

EUR. Rags! Rags! what rags? Mean you the rags wherein

in his Tragedy, but are very far removed from the language of ordinary life. See the note on Plutus 39.

411. οὐκ ἐτός] *Not without cause.* I understand now, he means, why your heroes are lame, since you bring them into being on such a dangerous height.

412. ῥάκι' ἐκ τραγωδίας] Euripides is clad in rags, such as his own Tragic heroes were accustomed to wear; and Dicaeopolis insinuates that rags are his favourite costume, and that he dresses his heroes in rags in order that from their cast-off clothes he may obtain a plentiful supply for his own use. "Haud frustra est quod pauperes fingis, scilicet ut laceris Tragicorum herorum pannis ipse amirari possis."

415. τοῦ παλαιοῦ δράματος] Τοῦ Τηλέφου. —Scholiast. The Telephus was acted in the archonship of Glaucines at the

commencement of the year 438 B.C., thirteen years before the exhibition of the Acharnians. We learn from an Argument to the Alcestis that at the Tragic competition of that year the prize was awarded to Sophocles; and that Euripides was placed second with the Cretan women, the Alcmæon (τῶ δὲ διὰ Ψωφίδος), the Telephus, and the Alcestis.

416. ῥῆσιν μακράν] He hopes by this to commend himself to Euripides, who was very partial to long speeches: ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ τοὺς προλόγους μακρολογούντας εἰσάγει Εὐριπίδης, as the Scholiast remarks.

418. Οἰνεύς] Euripides mentions the names of seven plays, in each of which the hero, or heroine, is introduced in a squalid or beggarly garb. In his "Oeneus" Diomed, returning from the

- ὁ δύσποτμος γέραιος ἠγωνίζετο ;
- ΔΙ. οὐκ Οἰνέως ἦν, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἀθλιωτέρου. 420
- ΕΥ. τὰ τοῦ τυφλοῦ Φοίνικος ; ΔΙ. οὐ Φοίνικος, οὐ,  
ἀλλ' ἕτερος ἦν Φοίνικος ἀθλιώτερος.
- ΕΥ. ποίας ποθ' ἀνὴρ λακίδας αἰτεῖται πέπλων ;  
ἀλλ' ἦ Φιλοκτῆτου τὰ τοῦ πτωχοῦ λέγεις ;
- ΔΙ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τούτου πολὺ πολὺ πτωχιστέρου. 425
- ΕΥ. ἀλλ' ἦ τὰ δυσπινῆ θέλεις πεπλώματα  
ἃ Βελλεροφόντης εἶχ' ὁ χωλὸς οὔτοσι ;

successful expedition of the Epigoni against Thebes, finds his grandfather Oeneus (whom he had left King of Calydon) wandering about in rags, deserted by all his comrades, οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσίν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί; see Frogs 72 and the note there. He has been de-

prived of his throne by his nephews, the sons of Agrius, who have treated him with the utmost contumely, even making his uncrowned head a mark for their cottabus-throws. An eyewitness, probably a domestic still faithful to his former lord, tells the tale.

And oft with arrowy wine-drops would they strike  
The old man's head; and I was set to crown  
The victor, and award the cottabus-prize. ΑΠΗ. xv. 3.

It may be that the words ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή, 407 supra, are meant to recall a line in

the same play, where Oeneus says .

σχολὴ μὲν οὐχί, τῷ δὲ δυστυχοῦντί πως  
τερπνὸν τὸ λέξαι, κάποικλαύσασθαι πάλιν. STOBÆUS 113. 1.

As Euripides says ὁδὶ he points, I suppose, to the rags which Oeneus wore.

421. Φοίνικος] This is the Phoenix of Homer who, in the Ninth Iliad, recounts the misdeeds of his youth without any shame or compunction. But Euripides followed another legend, according to which Phoenix did nothing amiss, but was a Joseph, falsely accused by a Potiphar's wife in the shape of his father Amyntor's concubine or second wife. I think that Euripides must have considered her a second wife, and that the line cited from this Tragedy in

Thesm. 413 δέσποινα γὰρ γέροντι νυμφίῳ γυνὴ has reference to the strong influence she exercised over Amyntor, urging him to take vengeance on her presumptuous stepson. Phoenix, blinded by his father, fled (doubtless robed in rags) to the court of Peleus, who received him and entrusted him with the education of his son Achilles.

423. λακίδας πέπλων] Λακίδας τὰ διερωγότα ἱμάτια.—Scholiast. The phrase is probably taken direct from Euripides who, in Troades 497, has τρυχηρὰ πέπλων λακίσματα in exactly the same sense.

This poor old Oeneus came upon the stage ?

DI. Not Oeneus, no ; a wretcheder man than he.

EUR. Those that blind Phoenix wore ? DI. Not Phoenix, no ;  
Some other man still wretcheder than Phoenix.

EUR. What shreds of raiment can the fellow mean ?

Can it be those of beggarly Philoctetes ?

DI. One far, far, far, more beggarly than he.

EUR. Can it be then the loathly gaberdine

Wherein the lame Bellerophon was clad ?

424. Φιλοκτήτου] The Philoctetes was exhibited in the year 431 B.C. in the archonship of Pythodorus. The other competitors for the Tragic prize on that occasion were Euphoriion and Sophocles. The result is given in one of the Arguments to the Medea ; πρώτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης, Μῆδεια, Φιλοκτῆτης, Δίκτυς, Θεριστὰὶ σάτυροι. A considerable portion of the earlier scenes is turned into prose by Dio Chrysostom, Orations 52 and 59. It commences with a soliloquy of Odysseus, who has just landed at Lemnos, and is complaining that his reputation of being the cleverest and most resourceful of the Greeks is continually involving him in the most hazardous enterprises. He well knows that Philoctetes, if by any chance he recognized him, would immediately kill him ; but Athene had promised to change his appearance and his voice so that he should escape recognition. Presently he perceives Philoctetes approaching, and exclaims ὦ τοῦ χαλεποῦ καὶ δεινοῦ ὀράματος, τό τε γὰρ εἶδος ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου φοβερόν, ἢ τε στολὴ ἀήθης·

δοραὶ θηρίων καλύπτουσιν αὐτόν. And in the dialogue which ensues Philoctetes explains that all his raiment has by age fallen to pieces, and that he is obliged to get his clothing as well as his food, γλίσχρωσ καὶ μολίσι, by the aid of his bow and arrows.

427. Βελλεροφόντης] The "Bellerophon" of Euripides does not seem to have touched upon that hero's relations with Proetus and Sthenoboea. They formed the subject of the "Sthenoboea." In the "Bellerophon" he is attempting to ride the winged Pegasus to heaven ; but the horse, maddened by a gadfly which Zeus had sent for the purpose, grew unmanageable, and threw its rider, who is brought on the stage lamed and dilapidated. It is from this scene that the line κυλίνδετ' (οἱ κομίζετ') εἶσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα (Knights 1249) is borrowed. And the whole idea of the flight to Heaven is burlesqued in Peace 75-172 ; and the final warning of the daughters—

ἐκεῖνο τῆρει μὴ σφαλεῖς καταρρηῆς  
ἐντεῦθεν, εἶτα χαλὸς ἐν Εὐριπίδῃ  
λόγον παράσχευς, καὶ τραγωδία γένη,

- ΔΙ. οὐ Βελλεροφόντης· ἀλλὰ κάκεινος μὲν ἦν  
 χωλὸς, προσαϊτῶν, στωμύλος, δεινὸς λέγειν.
- ΕΥ. οἶδ' ἄνδρα, Μυσὸν Τηλέφον. ΔΙ. ναί, Τηλέφον· 430  
 τούτου δὸς ἀντιβολῶ σέ μοι τὰ σπάργανα.
- ΕΥ. ᾧ παῖ, δὸς αὐτῷ Τηλέφου ρακῶματα.  
 κείται δ' ἄνωθεν τῶν Θυεστείων ρακῶν,  
 μεταξὺ τῶν Ἴουῦς. ΚΗ. ἰδοῦ, ταυτὶ λαβέ.
- ΔΙ. ᾧ Ζεῦ διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχῆ, 435  
 ἐνσκευάσασθαί μ' ὄλον ἀθλιώτατον.  
 Εὐριπίδη, ᾗ πειδῆπερ ἔχαρίσω ταδί,  
 κάκεινά μοι δὸς τάκλόουθα τῶν ρακῶν,  
 τὸ πιλίδιον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸ Μύσιον.  
 δεῖ γάρ με δόξαι πτωχὸν εἶναι τήμερον, 440

refers to the dismal appearance of Bellerophon in the Tragedy after his fall from Pegasus. See also Wasps 757.

431. σπάργανα] Properly an infant's swaddling-clothes, but here used derisively of the beggarly wraps in which the lame Telephus was swathed in the Tragedy.

433. Θυεστείων ρακῶν] Ἦτοι τὰ τῶν Κρησσῶν ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θυέστου.—Scholiast. In endeavouring to ascertain the particular rags for which Dicaeopolis was asking, Euripides has already named five ragged heroes; and now, in indicating where those particular rags are to be found, he mentions two further names, those of Thyestes and Ino. Each of these two lives was full of tragedy, but in neither case is it quite certain where the rags come in. Thyestes appeared in two plays of Euripides, one called the "Thyestes" after the hero, and the other the

"Cretan women" after the Chorus of the play. And the Scholiast does not know to which of the two Aristophanes is here referring. But probably he was represented as in great poverty and distress after his expulsion by Atreus from Mycenae. The legend of Ino and Athamas is told in a variety of forms; in that which Euripides seems to have followed she was his first wife, and roaming as a Bacchanal over the mountains disappeared for so long a period that she was given up for lost. Athamas therefore married a second wife; but presently learning that Ino was still alive, and feeling that he loved her best, he brought her back, and introduced her into the house in the guise of a maidservant. Here, probably, Euripides found his opportunity for clothing her in rags and tatters. This judicious proceeding on the part of Athamas led naturally to



- DI. Bellerophon? no; yet mine too limped and begged,  
 A terrible chap to talk. EUR. I know the man.  
 The Mysian Telephus. DI. Telephus it is!  
 Lend me, I pray, that hero's swaddling-clothes.
- EUR. Boy, fetch him out the rags of Telephus.  
 They lie above the Thyesteian rags,  
 'Twixt those and Ino's. CE. (*To Di.*) Take them; here they are.
- DI. (*Holding up the tattered garment against the light.*)  
 Lord Zeus, whose eyes can pierce through everywhere,  
 Let me be dressed the loathliest way I can.  
 Euripides, you have freely given the rags,  
 Now give, I pray you, what pertains to these,  
 The Mysian cap to set upon my head.  
 For I've to-day to act a beggar's part,

a series of catastrophes, involving the death of both his wives and of their respective children.

435. *ὁ Ζεῦ διόπτα*] Dicaeopolis holds the garment up, and as the light streams through its innumerable holes, he apostrophizes Zeus as the Lord of the sky, who looks down upon, and looks through, every thing (and especially through the tatters of Telephus's beggarly raiment).

436. *ἐνοσκεύασσασθαι*] On its previous occurrence, supra 384, the infinitive was governed by *ἔασατε*. Here it is governed by *δὸς* or *ποίησον* understood.

439. *πλίδιον*] This was a loose felt cap with flaps coming over the ears; τὸ νῦν καλούμενον *καμηλαύκιον*, says the Scholiast, who was probably a Byzantine living between the fifth and ninth centuries of our era, when a cap of this kind was commonly called a *καμη-*

*λαυκίς* or *καμηλαύκιον*. Thus when Illus, the famous Master of the Offices to the Emperor Zeno, lost the tip of his right ear by the sword of a would-be assassin, he ever after wore a *καμηλαύκιον* to conceal the disfigurement from the public (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 88 A, ed. Goar, where see Goar's note). Dicaeopolis gets the cap, but the plural *κάκεια* in the preceding verse shows that his requirements will go beyond that.

440. *δεῖ γάρ με δόξαι*] This and the following line, according to the Scholiast, are borrowed without change from the Telephus. The present line, it will be observed, does not conform to Porson's well-known canon about the final cretic. The description which follows is merely a skit upon the futility of Tragic disguises. Dicaeopolis has no intention of disguising himself from the Chorus.

- εἶναι μὲν ὅσπερ εἰμὶ, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μή·  
 τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς εἰδέναι μ' ὅς εἶμ' ἐγὼ,  
 τοὺς δ' αὖ χορευτὰς ἡλιθίους παρεστάναι,  
 ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὺς ῥηματίοις σκιμαλίσω.
- ΕΥ. δάσω· πυκνῇ γὰρ λεπτὰ μηχανᾶ φρενί. 445
- ΔΙ. εὐδαιμονοίης, Τηλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ.  
 εὖ γ'· οἷον ἤδη ῥηματίων ἐμπίπλαμαι.  
 ἀτὰρ δέομαί γε πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου.
- ΕΥ. τουτὶ λαβὼν ἄπελθε λαῖνον σταθμῶν.
- ΔΙ. ὦ θύμ', ὄρας γὰρ ὡς ἀπωθοῦμαι δόμων,  
 450  
 πολλῶν δεόμενος σκευαρίων· νῦν δὲ γενοῦ  
 γλίσχος προσαιτῶν λιπαρῶν τ'. Εὐριπίδη,  
 δός μοι σπυρίδιον διακεκαυμένον λύχνω.
- ΕΥ. τί δ', ὦ τάλας, σε τοῦδ' ἔχει πλέκους χρέος ;
- ΔΙ. χρέος μὲν οὐδὲν, βούλομαι δ' ὅμως λαβεῖν. 455
- ΕΥ. λυπηρὸς ἴσθ' ὦν κάποχώρησον δόμων.
- ΔΙ. φεῦ· εὐδαιμονοίης, ὥσπερ ἢ μήτηρ ποτέ.

444. ῥηματίοις] *Smart little phraselets.* The diminutive is used again of the language of Euripides, infra 447, Peace 534; whilst in the Frogs (821, 824, 828, 881) ῥήματα is specially appropriated to the language of Aeschylus. Cf. also ἐπύλλια supra 398.—σκιμαλίζω the Scholiasts explain as meaning τῷ μικρῷ δακτύλῳ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀποπειρᾶσθαι εἰ ὥστοκοῦσιν. Cf. Peace 549.

445. πυκνῇ φρενί] The language is Euripidean (Iph. in Aul. 67), though whether it occurred in the Telephus we are not told. πυκνός is *subtle, crafty*. Cf. Knights 1132, Birds 430, Thesm. 438, Eccl. 571.

446. εὐδαιμονοίης] This line, the

Scholiast informs us, is borrowed from the Telephus, where it stood καλῶς ἔχοιμι, Τηλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ. There it was probably spoken by the disguised Telephus himself, who intended his hearers to imagine that he was really wishing ill, when in truth he was wishing all good luck, to Telephus. Here of course Dicaeopolis has the converse intention. In Eur. Hel. 1405 Helen, wishing ill to her persecutor Theoclymenus, and all good things to her disguised husband (*this stranger*), says to the former, θεοὶ δὲ σοὶ τε δοῖεν οἱ' ἐγὼ θέλω | καὶ τῷ ξένῳ τῷδ'.

447. εὖ γ' κ.τ.λ.] The old countryman had hitherto been an utter stranger to

To be myself, yet not to seem myself ;  
 The audience there will know me who I am,  
 Whilst all the Chorus stand like idiots by,  
 The while I fillip them with cunning words.

EUR. Take it ; you subtly plan ingenious schemes.

DI. To thee, good luck ; to Telephus—what I wish him !

Yah ! why I'm full of cunning words already.

But now, methinks, I need a beggar's staff.

EUR. Take this, and get thee from the marble halls.

DI. O Soul, thou seest me from the mansion thrust,  
 Still wanting many a boon. Now in thy prayer

Be close and instant. Give, Euripides,

A little basket with a hole burnt through it.

EUR. What need you, hapless one, of this poor wicker ?

DI. No need perchance ; but O I want it so.

EUR. Know that you're wearisome, and get you gone.

DI. Alas ! Heaven bless you, as it blessed your mother.

the subtle turns of thought and language in which the dramatic heroes of Euripides were accustomed to indulge ; but no sooner is he clothed in the rags and tatters of Telephus than he finds himself, to his surprise and delight, endowed with all that hero's power of expression, and able to bandy subtleties on equal terms with the great Master himself.

453. *σπυρίδιον*] Probably, in all his requests, Dicaeopolis is only asking for the articles with which Telephus was really equipped in the Tragedy. That he carried a *σπυρίδιον* we know from the statement, to which Kuster refers, in Diogenes Laertius vi. 87, that Crates became a Cynic *θεασάμενος ἐν τῷ τραγῳδίῳ Τήλεφον σπυρίδιον ἔχοντα καὶ τὰλλα λυγρόν.*

454. *πλέκους*] The Scholiast is doubtless right in saying that this is a parody of the Telephus ; and I think that the parody must extend beyond the line he quotes, *τί δ', ὦ τάλας, σὺ τῷδε πείθεσθαι θέλεις* ; It seems to me probable that in the Tragedy both this and the following line form part of the dialogue in which Telephus is seeking to obtain possession of the infant Orestes ; and that here, as in Peace 528 (another parody of the Telephus), Aristophanes is substituting the word *πλέκος* for the *τέκος* of Euripides.

455. *χρέος μὲν οὐδέν*] It is not merely a question of need ; "our barest beggars Are in the poorest thing superfluous," as King Lear says.

- ΕΥ. ἄπελθε νῦν μοι. ΔΙ. μάλλά μοι δὸς ἐν μόνον,  
κοτυλίσκιον τὸ χεῖλος ἀποκεκρουσμένον.
- ΕΥ. φθείρου λαβὼν τόδ'· ἴσθι δ' ὀχληρὸς ὦν δόμοις. 460
- ΔΙ. οὔπω μὰ Δί' οἴσθ' οἱ' αὐτὸς ἐργάζει κακά.  
ἀλλ', ὦ γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδη, τουτὶ μόνον,  
δὸς μοι χυτρίδιον σπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον.
- ΕΥ. ἄνθρωπ', ἀφαιρήσει με τὴν τραγῳδίαν.  
ἄπελθε ταυτηνὴ λαβών. ΔΙ. ἀπέρχομαι. 465  
καίτοι τί δράσω; δεῖ γὰρ ἐνδὸς, οὐ μὴ τυχῶν  
ἀπόλωλ'. ἄκουσον, ὦ γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδη·  
τουτὶ λαβὼν ἄπειμι κοῦ πρόσειμ' ἔτι  
εἰς τὸ σπυρίδιον ἰσχνά μοι φυλλεῖα δός.
- ΕΥ. ἀπολείς μ'. ἰδοῦ σοι. φροῦδά μοι τὰ δράματα. 470
- ΔΙ. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ', ἀλλ' ἄπειμι. καὶ γὰρ εἰμ' ἄγαν  
ὀχληρὸς, οὐ δοκῶν με κοιράνους στυγεῖν.  
οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὡς ἀπόλωλ'. ἐπελαθόμεν  
ἐν ᾧπέρ ἐστι πάντα μοι τὰ πράγματα.  
Εὐριπίδιον, ὦ φιλτάτιον καὶ γλυκύτατον, 475  
κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, εἴ τί σ' αἰτήσαιμ' ἔτι,  
πλὴν ἐν μόνον, τουτὶ μόνον, τουτὶ μόνον,  
σκάνδικά μοι δὸς, μητρόθεν δεδεγμένον.

460. ἴσθι δ' ὀχληρὸς ὦν] This imitation of Euripidean phraseology did not deter Euripides from repeating the same phrase some fourteen years afterwards in *Helen* 452, where the old woman who keeps the palace-door says to Menelaus, another of the poet's ragged heroes, ὀχληρὸς ἴσθ' ὦν, καὶ τάχ' ὠσθήσει βία. For φθείρου, *go and be hanged*, see *Plutus* 598, 610.

461. οἱ' αὐτὸς ἐργάζει κακά] The exact point of this reproach is far from clear, but I think that Dicaeopolis means

"You are angry with me for asking for these trumpery articles, but it has never occurred to you how deeply you degrade Tragedy by introducing them into your plays." I suspect, as Mueller and Dr. Merry have done before me, that this line, like so many others, is borrowed from the *Telephus*; and probably the point was more clearly brought out in the Tragedy. See, however, the Commentary on 480 *infra*.

465. ταυτηνί] Τὴν χύτραν δηλονότι.—Scholiast. "quod e praecedente χυτρίδιον

- EUR. Leave me in peace. DI. Just one thing more, but one,  
A little tankard with a broken rim.
- EUR. Here. Now be off. You trouble us; begone.
- DI. You know not yet what ill you do yourself.  
Sweet, dear Euripides, but one thing more,  
Give me a little pitcher, plugged with sponge.
- EUR. Fellow, you're taking the whole Tragedy.  
Here, take it and begone. DI. I'm going now.  
And yet! there's one thing more, which if I get not  
I'm ruined. Sweetest, best Euripides,  
With this I'll go, and never come again;  
Give me some withered leaves to fill my basket.
- EUR. You'll slay me! Here! My Plays are disappearing.
- DI. Enough! I go. Too troublesome by far  
Am I, not witting that the chieftains hate me!  
Good Heavens! I'm ruined. I had clean forgotten  
The thing whereon my whole success depends.  
My own Euripides, my best and sweetest,  
Perdition seize me if I ask aught else  
Save this one thing, this only, only this,  
Give me some chervil, borrowing from your mother.

adsumendum."—Brunck. The line, with *τουτονι* substituted for *ταυτηνι*, is repeated in *Birds* 948, where Peisthetaerus is getting rid of the Pindaric poet.

472. ἀχληρός, οὐ δοκῶν κ.τ.λ.] Τοῦτο πεπαρόδηται ἐξ Οἰνείως Εὐριπίδου. ὁ δὲ Σύμμαχος καὶ ἐκ Τηλέφου φησὶν αὐτό.—Scholiast. "Satis probabilis est haec Symmachi opinio, nam tota fere haec scena ludicra imitatione e Telepho Euripidis expressa est; cf. Script. Argum. Ach., Δικαίπολις ἐλθὼν ὡς Εὐριπίδην πτωχικὴν στολὴν αἰτεῖ, καὶ στολισθεὶς τοῖς

Τηλέφου βακώμασι παρωδεῖ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον."—Wagner (on "Telephus" Frag. 21). To me, however, the circumstance that the line would naturally be expected to come from the Telephus renders it more probable that Symmachus should have erroneously assigned it to that play, than that the Scholiast, with the opinion of Symmachus before him, should have wrongly ascribed it to the Oeneus.

478. σκάνδικα] *Chervil*; certainly the kind which we call *Sweet Cicely* or *Great*

- ΕΥ. ἀνὴρ ὑβρίζει· κλείε πηκτὰ δωμάτων.  
 ΔΙ. ὦ θύμ', ἀνευ σκάνδικος ἐμπορευτέα. 480  
 ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιῇ τάχα,  
 μέλλων ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρῶν λέγειν;  
 πρόβαινε νυν, ὦ θυμέ· γραμμὴ δ' αὐτή.  
 ἔστηκας; οὐκ εἶ καταπιῶν Εὐριπίδην;  
 ἐπήνεσ'· ἄγε νυν, ὦ τάλαινα καρδιά, 485  
 ἀπελθ' ἐκέισε, κᾶτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκεῖ  
 παράσχεις, εἰποῦσ' ἄττ' ἂν αὐτῇ σοι δοκῆ.  
 τόλμησον, ἴθι, χῶρησον, ἄγαμαι καρδίας.

*Chervil*; and probably including also that which is called *Venus's Comb*. Great *Chervil*, though supposed to possess some medicinal qualities (Pliny, N. H. xxii. 33, to which Kuster refers, and Parkinson, cited by Miller and Martyn, s.v. *Scandix*), was commonly considered a worthless weed, and Pliny, ubi supra, says (I give the passage in Holland's translation): "This is the herb which Aristophanes the Comedian twitted the Tragicall Poet Euripides by, objecting to him merrily by way of a scoffe that his mother who was a gardener used to sit in the market and sel never a good wort or potherb indeed (*olus legitimum*), but made her markets only of *Scandix*." The last two words of the line appear, as Elmsley pointed out, to be borrowed from Aesch. Cho. 737, where the old nurse, speaking of her "dear Orestes," says ὃν ἐξέθρεψα μητρόθεν δεδεγμένη.

479. πηκτὰ δωμάτων] The language betokens a parody; and the passage parodied, though apparently unknown to the Scholiast, has fortunately been preserved by Pollux (x. 27), τῷ δὲ κλείσαι

ἴσον καὶ τὸ πακτοῦν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπακτοῦν τὰς θύρας ἐστίν, ὥσπερ τῷ ἀνοίγειν ταῦτ' ὃν τὸ λύειν, ὡς ἔφη Εὐριπίδης "λύε πακτὰ δωμάτων." In the Play of Euripides the words doubtless meant: "the palace gates," but that is not their meaning here. The opening or shutting of the door would have had no effect on the speaker's position; and the order κλείε πηκτὰ δωμάτων here is merely equivalent to the request of Agathon in *Thesm.* 265 εἶσω τις ὡς τάχιστά μ' εἰσκυκλήσάτω. The room which was wheeled out supra 409 is now wheeled in again; Euripides disappears from view; and the house resumes its normal aspect. See infra 1096.

480. ὦ θύμ'] The interview with Euripides is over, and Dicaeopolis must return from the poet's house in the background of the stage to the place where he has set the chopping-block. He expresses great apprehension; and indeed it was a most daring step on the part of Aristophanes, in the midst of a war which had stirred to the depths the passions of the Hellenic peoples, to

EUR. The man insults us. Shut the palace up.  
 DI. O Soul, without our chervil we must go.  
 Knowest thou the perilous strife thou hast to strive,  
 Speaking in favour of Laconian men?  
 On, on, my Soul! Here is the line. How? What?  
 Swallow Euripides, and yet not budge?  
 O, good! Advance, O long-enduring heart,  
 Go thither, lay thine head upon the block,  
 And say whatever to thyself seems good.  
 Take courage! Forward! March! O well done, heart!

argue openly before the Athenian public in favour of their detested enemies. Dicaeopolis now communes with his soul, encouraging, exhorting, and as it were compelling it to commence the contest. Something of this kind may have occurred in the Telephus; or the poet may be mimicking the famous scene in the Medea, exhibited six years previously, where the heroine takes counsel with her heart and her hand about the murder of her children, 1242-50. And possibly the *σιδηροῦς ἀνὴρ* of the Chorus here may be a reminiscence of the *ὡς ἄρ' ἦσθα πέτρος ἢ σίδηρος* of the Chorus there (1279), and even the language of Dicaeopolis, supra 461 *ὄπω μὰ Δι' οἷσθ' οἱ αὐτὸς ἐργάζει κακά*, may be really the reflection of the remark of the Chorus to Jason *οὐκ οἷσθ' οἱ κακῶν ἐλήλυθας*. I do not think that either here, or in Medea 1056 and 1242, any special distinction is intended between the *θυμὸς* and the *καρδία*. Medea appealed sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other; and Dicaeopolis follows her example.

483. *γραμμῆ*] The line from which racers started. See the Commentary on Knights 1159. He pictures an imaginary line, a sort of Rubicon, across the stage, on the other side of which lies the perilous adventure he is about to undertake.

484. *καταπίων Εὐριπίδην*] "Non ibis, licet Euripidem imbiberis?"—Bergler. Lucian, as has often been observed, adopts this phrase at the commencement of his Jupiter Tragoedus, where Zeus is beginning a lament in high Tragic style, and Athene says *Κοίμισον ὄργαν, εἰ μὴ κωμῶδειν ὥσπερ οἱτοὶ δυνάμεθα, μηδὲ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὄλον καταπεπώκαμεν, ὥστε σοι ἰποδραματοῦργεῖν*.

488. *ἄγμαι καρδίας*] His heart at length "screws its courage to the sticking-place," and Dicaeopolis admires its pluck. But if Dicaeopolis is surprised at his own courage, much more so are the Chorus. From their language it would seem that they hardly expected him to return to deliver his speech. For though there has been no change in the scene, and

- ΧΟ. τί δράσεις; τί φήσεις; ἀλλ' ἴσθι νυν  
 ἀναίσχυντος ὦν σιδηροῦς τ' ἀνὴρ,  
 ὅστις παρασχὼν τῇ πόλει τὸν αὐχένα  
 ἅπασι μέλλεις εἰς λέγειν τάναντία.  
 ἀνὴρ οὐ τρέμει τὸ πρᾶγμ'. εἶά νυν,  
 ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖ, λέγε. 490
- ΔΙ. μή μοι φθονήσητ', ἄνδρες οἱ θεώμενοι,  
 εἰ πτωχὸς ὦν ἔπειτ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν  
 μέλλω περὶ τῆς πόλεως, τρυγφῶδιαν ποιῶν.  
 τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οἶδε καὶ τρυγφῶδία. 495  
 ἐγὼ δὲ λέξω δεινὰ μὲν, δίκαια δέ.  
 οὐ γάρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι  
 ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.  
 αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγῶν,

Dicaeopolis has never left the stage, yet (such were the make-believes of the old Attic Comedy) he is supposed to have gone out of sight to discover Euripides, and only to have reappeared to the eyes of the Chorus when he has crossed the line and is standing by the chopping-block again. In reality all these expressions of surprise and admiration are intended to impress the audience with the fact that the poet is well aware of the risk he is running, and so to predispose them in his favour.

497. *μή μοι φθονήσητ'*] Dicaeopolis now commences his *ῥῆσιν μακρὰν*, which extends over sixty lines. The whole speech is in some sense a parody of the speech of Telephus in the Euripidean Play; *στολισθεὶς τοῖς Τηλέφου ρακάμισι παρωδεὶ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον*, says the author of the First Argument. Several pas-

sages are taken with little or no change from that speech; such as these opening lines which in the Tragedy ran

*μή μοι φθονήσητ', ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροι,  
 εἰ πτωχὸς ὦν τέτλημ' ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν.*

Telephus is addressing the Greek chieftains, but Dicaeopolis is addressing the audience; for it is the audience, and not merely the Acharnians, that he wishes to conciliate. We shall find, as we go on, other lines or phrases borrowed from the Tragic Play. But of course there could be nothing in the Telephus corresponding to the argument of Dicaeopolis on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. We must picture to ourselves throughout the speech Dicaeopolis clad in the rags and tatters of his prototype, and leaning, *ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήμων*, over the chopping-block. Some think



CHOR. What will you say? What will you do?  
 Man, is it true  
 You are made up of iron and of shamelessness too?  
 You who will, one against us all, debate,  
 Offering your neck a hostage to the State!  
 Nought does he fear.  
 Since you will have it so, speak, we will hear.

DI. Bear me no grudge, spectators, if, a beggar,  
 I dare to speak before the Athenian people  
 About the city in a Comic Play.  
 For what is true even Comedy can tell.—  
 And I shall utter startling things but true.  
 Nor now can Cleon slander me because,  
 With strangers present, I defame the State.  
 'Tis the Lenaea, and we're all alone;

Product of 1st 1000  
 9.11.11

that the whole idea of the *ἐπίξηρον* is a burlesque of a passage of the *Telephus* preserved by Stobaeus (xiii. 10):

*Ἄγαμεμνον, οὐδ' εἰ πέλεκυν ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων  
 μέλλοι τις εἰς τράχηλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐμὸν,  
 σιγήσομαι, δίκαιά γ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων.*

500. τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.] Compare the poet's promise, *infra* 655 *κωμωδήσειν τὰ δίκαια*, and his vaunt in *Knights* 510 that, amongst other things, *τολμᾶ τε λέγειν τὰ δίκαια*. *Ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat?* And not only was it possible for the Comic Poets to speak the truth to the Athenian Demos, they were almost the only persons who ventured to do so. Ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα μὲν ὅτι πρόσαντις ἐστὶν ἐναντιοῦσθαι ταῖς ὑμετέραις διανοίαις, καὶ ὅτι δημοκρατίας οὐσης οὐκ ἔστι παρηγορία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἐν

δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμωδοδιδασκάλοις.—  
 Isocrates, *De Pace* 17 (p. 161 D). Their free and outspoken comments on passing events, their songs and satire, contributed largely to the creation of an atmosphere which crystallized into public opinion. See Plato's *Apology*, chap. 3 (p. 19), and the language of Lysias about Cinesias, quoted in the *Commentary on Birds* 1372.

502. *διαβαλεῖ Κλέων*] This is the second allusion to the proceedings taken by Cleon against the author of the "*Babylonians*." See the note on 378 *supra*. And here we see the ground of the objection taken to that play.

504. *αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμὲν*] *We are alone; by ourselves*, *infra* 507, *Thesm.* 472. He explains, four lines below, why he uses this expression although the *μέτοικοι*

κοῦπω ξένοι πάρεισιν· οὔτε γὰρ φόροι 505  
 ἤκουσιν οὔτ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ξύμμαχοι·  
 ἀλλ' ἐσμὲν αὐτοὶ νῦν γε περιεπτισμένοι·  
 τοὺς γὰρ μετοίκους ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν λέγω.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ μισῶ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους σφόδρα,  
 καυτοῖς ὁ Ποσειδῶν, οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ θεὸς, 510  
 σείσας ἅπασιν ἐμβάλοι τὰς οἰκίας·

were present.—οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγόν, *And it is the Lenaean festival.* This is called “the festival at Lenaeum” because, before the Great Theatre of Dionysus was erected, the place at which it was celebrated was called “Lenaeum.” Λήναιον· περίβολος μέγας Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἤγον, πρὸ τοῦ τὸ θέατρον οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὀνομάζοντες ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. ἔστιν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερὸν Διονύσου Ληναίου.—Photius. ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγόν ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ληναίον, περίβολον ἔχον μέγαν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Ληναίου Διονύσου ἱερὸν, ἐν ᾧ ἐπετελοῦντο οἱ ἀγῶνες Ἀθηναίων, πρὶν τὸ θέατρον οἰκοδομηθῆναι.—Hesychius. ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ· περίβολός τις μέγας Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Διονύσου· Ληναίου, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἤγον τοὺς σκηνηκοῦς.—*Etym. Magn.* and (more briefly) *Suidas.* It seems that the whole or the greater part of the Lenaeum was included in the circuit of the subsequent Theatre.

505. φόροι] He is thinking of what occurred at the Great Dionysia when, before the dramatic performances commenced, the tribute brought by the allies was spread out, talent by talent, over the theatrical orchestra, in the sight of the assembled Hellenes. “So thoroughly,” says Isocrates, “had our forefathers mastered the art of making

themselves detested.”—*De Pace* 99 (p. 175).

508. ἄχυρα] *Bran.* See *Wasps* 1310. The *chaff* is winnowed away by the farmer, and nothing then remains but the bare grain which he hands over to the miller. The miller, by grinding and sifting the grain, separates the *bran* from the flour. “We are all grain here to-day,” says Dicaeopolis, “well purged and winnowed. I say ‘all grain’ though the μέτοικοι are present; for ἀστοὶ and μέτοικοι combine to form the grain; the ἀστοὶ being the flour and the μέτοικοι the bran.” Nothing can be more neat and appropriate than the language. Yet with unaccountable perversity some excellent scholars have interpreted the line to mean that the μέτοικοι themselves had been winnowed away. Nor does the fact that such an interpretation lands them in absurdities lead them to abandon it; on the contrary, it makes them stigmatize the line itself as “false,” “inept,” and spurious. Perhaps nothing in the whole range of Aristophanic criticism is more wonderful than the four propositions which Dobree, usually as sensible as he is acute, advances against the genuineness of the line. They are as follows:—

No strangers yet have come ; nor from the states  
 Have yet arrived the tribute and allies.  
 We're quite alone clean-winnowed ; for I count  
 Our alien residents the civic bran.

The Lacedaemonians I detest entirely ;  
 And may Poseidon, Lord of Taenarum,  
 Shake all their houses down about their ears ;

(1) "πίσσειν est τὰ πίτυρα eximere, non τὰ ἄχυρα." This is quite correct, and the key to the right understanding of the passage ; and the inference, one would suppose, would be "Ergo aderant οἱ μέτοικοι" (τὰ ἄχυρα). But not so Dobree. His second proposition is

(2) "Ergo ABERANT μέτοικοι, quod ineptum est." Can anything be more astounding than this? Before we answer that question let us look to the third proposition.

(3) "Ergo ξένοι = μέτοικοι, quod falsum est." And this absurdity is thrust upon Aristophanes, who is carefully distinguishing between the two classes.

(4) "Non tanti erant μέτοικοι ut coram illis male audire puderet populum Atheniensem." This proposition, like the first, points to the true interpretation of the passage, but points in vain. Hardly any Commentator, except Dr. Merry, has fully realized the poet's meaning.

509. ἐγὼ δὲ μισῶ] Just as Mnesilochus, in the *Thesmophoriazusaë*, thinks it prudent to commence his speech in defence of Euripides by expressing a general detestation of the man (μισῶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον), so here Dicaeopolis, commencing his speech ὑπὲρ Λακεδαι-

μονίων, attempts to conciliate his audience by expressing a general detestation of their conduct.

510. Ποσειδῶν] Poseidon was the special sender of earthquakes, Σεισίχθων, Ἐννοσίγαιος; and the most terrible earthquake that ever visited Sparta was attributed to the violation of his sanctuary at Taenarum, now *Cape Matapan*, some Helots who had fled for refuge there having been dragged out and put to death by the pursuing Spartans, Thuc. i. 128. So violent and prolonged were the shocks that they are said to have shaken down every house in Sparta. Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀποκτείνασιν ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καταπεφυγῆτας τὸ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐσεισθη σφίσιν ἢ πόλις συνεχεῖ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρῶ τῇ σεισμῷ, ὥστε οἰκίαν μηδεμίαν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἀντισχεῖν.—Pausanias vii. 25. 1. This earthquake had far-reaching historical consequences, and is again mentioned by Aristophanes in *Lys.* 1142. These passages have been already referred to by Bergler and Elmsley. Laconia was indeed always a land of earthquakes. The Temple at Taenarum was, the Scholiast informs us, dedicated to Ποσειδῶν Ἀσφάλειος: see *infra* 682.

κάμοι γάρ ἐστιν ἀμπέλια κεκομμένα.  
 ἀτὰρ, φίλοι γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ,  
 τί ταῦτα τοὺς Λάκωνας αἰτιώμεθα ;  
 ἡμῶν γὰρ ἄνδρες, οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω, 515  
 μέμνησθε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνδράρια μοχθηρὰ, παρακεκομμένα,  
 ἄτιμα καὶ παράσημα καὶ παράξενα,  
 ἐσυκοφάντει Μεγαρέων τὰ χλανίσκια·  
 κεῖ που σίκνον ἴδοιεν ἢ λαγῶδιον 520  
 ἢ χοιρίδιον ἢ σκόροδον ἢ χονδροὺς ἄλας,  
 ταῦτ' ἦν Μεγαρικὰ κάπέπρατ' αὐθημερόν.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σμικρὰ κάπιχώρια,  
 πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθην ἰόντες Μεγαράδε

512. κάμοι] Ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἀχαρνεύσιν.—Scholiast. This hacking down of their dear vines (for here again ἀμπέλια is the diminutive not of size but of affection; see on 404 supra) is throughout the chief grievance of the old Acharnians.

514. τί ταῦτα] A very similar line will be found in Thesm. 473, where see the Commentary.

516. οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν] He is emphatic on this point, not wishing it to be said again that τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγει; supra 503, infra 631.

519. χλανίσκια] These are the ἐξωμίδες which formed the staple manufacture of Megara; Μεγαρέων οἱ πλείστοι ἀπὸ ἐξωμιδοποιίας διατρέφονται.—Xen. Mem. ii. 7. 6. See Peace 1000 and the note there. There too cucumbers and garlic are enumerated amongst the articles imported, as I conceive, from Megara. That sucking-pigs, garlic, and salt were

so imported we know from the scene with the Megarian, infra 760–4, where the visitor says that he brings no garlic or salt, for the Athenians have destroyed the garlic, and taken possession of the salt works; he can only bring pigs for the requirements of the Mysteries. And these pigs, who are really his own little daughters dressed up to imitate pigs, he is eager to swap for a little salt and garlic; and περιπαθῶς says the Scholiast on 812 ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Δικαιοπόλιδος ζητεῖ, ἀ πρότερον οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἄλλοις παρέχον. In the political salad made in Peace 242 seqq. garlic is taken as the representative of Megara. But Dicaeopolis seems to be putting the cart before the horse. The Common Informers could have found little scope for their activity, until after the decree excluding the Megarians from the Athenian market.

521. χονδροὺς ἄλας] Rock salt, con-

For I, like you, have had my vines cut down.  
 But after all—for none but friends are here—  
 Why the Laconians do we blame for this?  
 For men of ours, I do not say the State,  
 Remember this, I do not say the State,  
 But worthless fellows of a worthless stamp,  
 Ill-coined, ill-minted, spurious little chaps,  
 Kept on denouncing Megara's little coats.  
 And if a cucumber or hare they saw,  
 Or sucking-pig, or garlic, or lump-salt,  
 All were Megarian, and were sold off-hand.  
 Still these were trifles, and our country's way.  
 But some young tipsy cottabus-players went

trasted with λεπτοὶ ἄλας, the *fine salt* used at the dinner table: ἄλας, οὐ χονδροὶ ἀλλὰ χαῖνοι καὶ λεπτοὶ ὄσπερ χιών.—Aristotle, Meteorol. ii. 3, 41. Elmsley refers

to the crow-song in Athenaeus viii. 59 (p. 359 F), and to a passage from our poet's Gerytades cited by several authorities:

- (A) καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενέλου φάγοιμ' ἄν βήματα;  
 (B) εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ λεπτοὺς ἄλας.

523. κάπιχώρια] *Our country's custom*, and therefore not to be taken too seriously. It was merely, to use a slang expression of our own, "pretty Fanny's way." For the Common-Informer nuisance was the special product of Athens. See infra 821, 903, 904, &c. But the next step could not be condoned in that manner.

524. Σιμαίθαν] Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Μεγαρικὴν γυναῖκα ἤρπασαν Σιμαίθαν. δωρικώτερον δὲ εἶπε Σιμαίθαν. ταύτης δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἤρᾶσθη, ὃς καὶ δοκεῖ ἀναπεικίναται τινὰς ἤρπᾶκίνας τὴν πόρνην.—Scholiast. Alcibiades was the very man to indulge in an insolent freak of this kind; but he could not have been much

over sixteen at the time; and, had he been its author, the fact would hardly have escaped the notice of other writers. Aristophanes, who mentions Alcibiades (not for the first time) in this very play, says that the offenders were νεανῖαι μεθυσκοτταβοὶ, young fellows who had been drinking and cottabus-playing, meaning that the whole affair was, to use Mr. Green's words, a mere drunken frolic. It must be remembered that the Megarians themselves looked upon these lines as giving a substantially true account of the commencement of the quarrel. See Plutarch, Pericles, chap. 30.

νεανίαί κλέπτουσι μεθυσκοκόταβοι·	525
κᾶθ' οἱ Μεγαρήs ὀδύνας πεφυσιγγωμένοι	
ἀντεξέκλειψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνα δύο·	
κάντεϋθεν ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου κατερράγη	
Ἐλλῆσι πᾶσιν ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν.	
ἐντεϋθεν ὀργῇ Περικλέης Οὐλύμπιος	530
ἤστραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα,	
ἐτίθει νόμους ὥσπερ σκόλια γεγραμμένους,	
ὡς χρὴ Μεγαρέας μήτε γῆ μήτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ	
μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ μήτ' ἐν ἡπείρῳ μένειν.	
ἐντεϋθεν οἱ Μεγαρήs, ὅτε δὴ πείνων βάδην,	535
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδέοντο τὸ ψήφισμ' ὅπως	
μεταστραφείη τὸ διὰ τὰς λαικαστρίας·	

526. πεφυσιγγωμένοι] The word is equivalent to ἐσκοροδιαρμένοι supra 166, φῦσιγξ being either the outer *skin* (τὸ λέμμα), or more probably the *stalk* (Theophrastus vii. 4 ad fin.), of garlic. The Scholiast says, Φῦσιγξ λέγεται τὸ ἐκτὸς λέπισμα τῶν σκορόδων. ἔπαιξεν οὖν τοῦτο εἰς Μεγαρέας ὅτι πολλὰ σκόροδα ἔχουσιν. We noticed, a few lines back, that garlic was a specialty of Megara.

527. Ἀσπασίας] The genitive may be governed either by ἀντεξέκλειψαν (as Elmsley thinks) or by πόρνα. It comes to the same thing. There is no doubt that this beautiful and accomplished courtesan, the mistress and counsellor of Pericles, trained up young girls to follow her own profession. See Athenaeus (xiii. 25), Plutarch (Pericles 24. 5), to which passages Kuster refers. Grote's

suggestion (xlvi. note) that ἀσπασίας is the accusative plural, agreeing with πόρνας (which Suidas reads for πόρνα), has found no favour with anybody, and is indeed quite inadmissible. It was the insult to *Aspasia* which is represented as arousing the anger of *Pericles*.

530. Οὐλύμπιος] This is of course the special epithet, and to "thunder and lighten" the special prerogative, of Zeus the King of the Gods. And it is, I suppose, from this very passage, which is frequently quoted by later writers, that Pericles obtained amongst them the distinctive title of "the Olympian." The Scholiast here preserves the noble description which Eupolis gave in his "Demi" of the transcendent oratory of Pericles.

Κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν.  
Ὅποτε παρέλθοι δ', ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆs,  
ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἤρει λέγων τοὺς βήτορας.

And stole from Megara-town the fair Simaetha.  
 Then the Megarians, garlicked with the smart,  
 Stole, in return, two of Aspasia's hussies.  
 From these three Wantons o'er the Hellenic race  
 Burst forth the first beginnings of the War.  
 For then, in wrath, the Olympian Pericles  
 Thundered and lightened, and confounded Hellas,  
 Enacting laws which ran like drinking-songs,  
*That the Megarians presently depart*  
*From earth and sea, the mainland, and the mart.*  
 Then the Megarians, slowly famishing,  
 Besought their Spartan friends to get the Law  
 Of the three Wantons cancelled and withdrawn.

ταχὺς λέγειν μὲν, πρὸς δὲ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει  
 πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθειζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν.  
 οὕτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων  
 τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροουμένοις.

The last three lines are quoted by Diodorus Siculus (xii. 40) who prefixes to them lines 530, 531 of the Acharnians, and ascribes all five lines to Eupolis.

532. ὡσπερ σκόλια] He is likening, as the Scholiast observes, the decree whereby the Megarians were excluded from all the markets of Attica, and from every harbour throughout the Athenian empire, to the famous scolium by Timocreon of Rhodes.

ὄφελέν σ', ὦ τυφλὲ Πλούτε,  
 μήτε γῆ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσῃ  
 μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ φανῆναι,  
 ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν  
 κ' Ἀχέροντα, διὰ σε γὰρ πάντ'  
 ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

533. ὡς χρῆ Μεγαρέας] The purport of the decree is more than once stated by Thucydides, τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο

αὐτοῖς [τοῖς Μεγαρέας] μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ, i. 67, 139, 144. And compare Aulus Gellius vi. 10. We cannot wonder, therefore, at the enthusiasm with which the Megarian salutes the Athenian market, infra 729. In that scene we have a vivid portraiture of famine, no longer advancing step by step, βάδην, upon the Megarians, but already arrived at starvation point. It is true that the closing of the Athenian market would not by itself have reduced the Megarians to such extreme destitution, since the markets of Corinth and the Peloponnese were still open to them; but the double invasion and ravage of their country every year by the Athenian armies left them no produce to take to the market.

οὐκ ἠθέλομεν δ' ἡμεῖς δεομένων πολλάκις.  
 κἀντεῦθεν ἤδη πάταγος ἦν τῶν ἀσπίδων.  
 ἐρεῖ τις, οὐ χρῆν· ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν εἶπατε. 540  
 φέρ', εἰ Λακεδαιμονίων τις ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει  
 ἀπέδοτο φήνας κυνίδιον Σεριφίων,  
 καθῆσθ' ἂν ἐν δόμοισιν; ἢ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ·  
 καὶ κάρτα μέντ' ἀν εὐθέως καθείλκετε  
 τριακοσίας ναῦς, ἦν δ' ἂν ἡ πόλις πλέα 545  
 θορύβου στρατιωτῶν, περὶ τριηράρχου βοῆς,  
 μισθοῦ διδομένου, Παλλαδίων χρυσομένων,  
 στοᾶς στεναχούσης, σιτίων μετρομένων,

538. δεομένων πολλάκις] With this Thucydides is in entire agreement. The Lacedaemonians, he says (i. 139), φοιτῶντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους . . . μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προέλεγον τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελούσι μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι πόλεμον . . . οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τάλλα ὑπήκουον, οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν.

539. πάταγος ἀσπίδων] The clash of shield against shield, the ὄθισμός ἀσπίδων, with which Hellenic armies closed. In Eur. Heracleidae 832 the meeting of the two hostile armies is accompanied by the roar of clashing shields, πάταγον ἀσπίδων.

540. ἐρεῖ τις, οὐ χρῆν] Καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου, says the Scholiast. Probably the entire line is parodied, though considerably altered, from the Tragedy.

541. ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει] The Lacedaemonians are blamed for the course they pursued in consequence of the conduct of Athens towards Megara. The speaker undertakes to show that, under similar circumstances, the Athenians them-

selves would have acted in a precisely similar manner. The Athenians had done two things: (1) they had confiscated and sold Megarian goods; and (2) they had gone to Megara, and carried off Simaetha. He supposes therefore that the Lacedaemonians have done two things, viz. (1) that they have gone out in a vessel to Seriphus, and carried off a puppy-dog; and (2) that on returning to Sparta they confiscated and sold the puppy-dog. There would not be any other Seriphian property at Sparta for them to sell. This clumping together of two things, which in the case of Megara were quite distinct, viz. the thing *confiscated* and the thing *carried off*, has caused some difficulty and given rise to many conjectures which would destroy the parallel intended between the cases of Seriphus and Megara. Of course the provocation supposed to be given by the Spartans is reduced to the most trivial dimensions. The ψήφισμα περὶ Μεγαρέων is altogether ignored; for Megara, a country of considerable im-



And oft they asked us, but we yielded not.  
 Then followed instantly the clash of shields.  
 Ye'll say *They should not*; but what should they, then?  
 Come now, had some Laconian, sailing out,  
 Denounced and sold a small Seriphian dog,  
 Would you have sat unmoved? Far, far from that!  
 Ye would have launched three hundred ships of war,  
 And all the City had at once been full  
 Of shouting troops, of fuss with trierarchs,  
 Of paying wages, gilding Pallases,  
 Of rations measured, roaring colonnades,

portance, is substituted Seriphus, an island of no importance to anybody, and a puppy-dog takes the place of Simaetha. Seriphus was one of the Cyclades, almost due east from Sparta. Its insignificance is emphasized, as the Commentators observe, by Juvenal's double reference to *parva Seriphus*, vi. 564, x. 170; and by Plato's anecdote (Rep. i, chap. iv, pp. 329, 330) about Themistocles who, when a Seriphian taunted him with owing his fame not to himself but to his city, replied, *True, I should not have been famous had I been a Seriphian, nor you, had you been an Athenian.*

543. καθῆσθ' ἂν κ.τ.λ.] Here again we have a line borrowed, wholly or in part, from the Telephus. As to their launching 300 triremes, that appears to have been the exact number of the Athenian galleys at the time of which Dicaeopolis is speaking, Thuc. ii. 13.

546. περὶ τριηράρχου βοῆς] Trierarchs not only had to get their ships ready for sea; they were also expected to give

gratuities to the *θρανῖται* and others, Thuc. vi. 31; Plutarch, de Gloria Atheniensium 6. No wonder then if, when an expedition was about to start, they found themselves the centres of clamorous and excited crowds.

547. Παλλαδίων] Ἐν ταῖς πρόφοις τῶν τριήρων ἦν ἀγάλματά τινα ξύλινα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθιδρυμένα.—Scholiast. That these wooden statues were gilded and from time to time regilded is plain from the present passage.

548. στοᾶς] Τῆς λεγομένης ἀλφειοπόω-  
 λιδος, ἣν ἀποκόμισε Περικλῆς, ὅπου καὶ  
 σίτος ἀπέκειτο τῆς πόλεως. ἦν δὲ περὶ  
 τὸν Πειραιᾶ.—Scholiast. As to the στοᾶ  
 ἀλφειοπόωλις see Eccl. 686. It is, I  
 suppose, the στοᾶ which, in the descrip-  
 tion of Peiræus, Pausanias (i. 1. 3)  
 mentions under the name of τῆς στοᾶς  
 τῆς μακρᾶς, ἔνθα καθέστηκεν ἀγορὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ  
 θαλάσῃ. It seems to have been close  
 to the dock, and would naturally, when  
 an expedition was about to start, be  
 crowded by eager purchasers. Blaydes  
 refers to Demosthenes against Phormio

ἄσκων, τροπωτήρων, κάδους ἄνουμένων,  
 σκορόδων, ἐλαῶν, κρομμύων ἐν δικτύοις, 550  
 στεφάνων, τριχίδων, αὐλητρίδων, ὑπωπίων·  
 τὸ νεώριον δ' αὖ κωπέων πλατουμένων,  
 τύλων ψοφούντων, θαλαμιῶν τροπουμένων,  
 αὐλῶν, κελυστῶν, νιγλάρων, συριγμάτων.  
 ταῦτ' οἶδ' ὅτι ἂν ἐδρᾶτε· τὸν δὲ Τήλεφον 555  
 οὐκ οἴομεσθα; νοῦς ἄρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνι.

ΗΜ. Α. ἄληθες, ὠπίτριπτε καὶ μαρώτατε;  
 ταυτὶ σὺ τολμᾶς πτωχὸς ὦν ἡμᾶς λέγειν,  
 καὶ συκοφάντης εἴ τις ἦν, ὠνείδισας;

(42, p. 918), where the orator inveighs against one Lampis, who had sold at Acanthus for his own benefit a cargo of corn intended for Athens; and that too, he says, at a time ἐν ᾧ ἡμῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει οἰκοῦντες διεμετροῦντο τὰ ἄλφιστα ἐν τῷ ᾠδεῖῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ διελάμβανον κατ' ὄβολὸν τοὺς ἄρτους, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μακρᾶς στοᾶς τὰ ἄλφιστα καθ' ἡμίεκτον μετρούμενοι.

549. τροπωτήρων] The ancient Greeks did not use rowlocks, such as we are accustomed to see on rowing-boats. With them each oar was furnished with a stout leathern loop (τροπός, Odyssey iv. 782, or τροπωτήρ, Thuc. ii. 93), which was fastened to a peg or pin, called σκαλμός. To supply the oar with its loop was called τροποῦν, whence τροπουμένων four lines below. In the Persae (line 376) Aeschylus, describing the preparations of the Hellenic fleet for commencing the battle of Salamis, says that each sailor

ἔτροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρητον.

Here the Scholiast explains τροπωτήρων by τῶν ἱμάντων, τῶν συνδεόντων πρὸς τὸν πάτταλον, λέγω δὴ τὸν σκαλμὸν, τὴν κώπην.

550. σκορόδων κ.τ.λ.] The articles enumerated in this line are the provisions which soldiers and sailors were accustomed to carry: cf. infra 1099, Knights 600, Peace 1129, &c. In the next line στεφάνων may possibly refer to the custom of twining wreaths about ships leaving the port; but it more probably refers to the revelry of the departing sailors ending in a brawl and ὑπόπια, black eyes.

553. τύλων] Τῶν ξυλίων ἤλων.—Scholiast. Here we have τύλος, a wooden peg; and infra 860 and 954 τύλη, the indurated skin on a porter's shoulder, rendered callous by the constant pressure of the yoke. These τύλοι are being hammered into the vessel, when on a final inspection its planks seem to require further strengthening or steadying. θαλαμιῶν, properly the oar of the θαλαμίτης, seems here used for "oars" generally.

Of wineskins, oarloops, bargaining for casks, }  
 Of nets of onions, olives, garlic-heads,  
 Of chaplets, pilchards, flute-girls, and black eyes.  
 And all the Arsenal had rung with noise  
 Of oar-spars planed, pegs hammered, oarloops fitted,  
 Of boatswains' calls, and flutes, and trills, and whistles.  
 This had ye done; and shall not Telephus,  
 Think we, do this? we've got no brains at all.

SEMICHORUS I. Aye, say you so, you rascally villain you?

And this from you, a beggar? Dare you blame us  
 Because, perchance, we've got informers here?

554. αὐλῶν, κελυστῶν] These two words must not be taken together; they apply to two totally distinct offices. The κελυστής, employing his voice only, gave orders to the crew, telling them when to start, when to stop, and so on. Ἦν δὲ ὁ τε κτύπος τῆς εἰρῆσιας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ εὐκατῶς, ἅτε ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ἐν ταῦτ' ἔρροσσόμενων, καὶ βοή ἀπὸ τῶν κελυστῶν ἐνδιδόντων τὰς ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἀναπαύλας τῇ εἰρῆσιᾳ, κ.τ.λ.—Arrian. Exped. Alexandri, vi. 3. 5. The αὐλὸς was played by the τριηραύλης who had no control over the crew, but merely played the tune to which the oarsmen kept time. Thus when Alcibiades was returning to Athens, after various successes in the northern parts of the Aegean, it was said that he selected αὐλεῖν μὲν εἰρῆσιαν τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι Χρυσόγονον τὸν Πυθιονίκην, κελεῖν δὲ Καλλιππίδην τὸν τῶν τραγωδιῶν ὑποκριτὴν, Plutarch, Alc. 32; Athenaeus xii. 49. And in the voyage across the Lake in the Frogs, Charon is the κελυστής (line 207), while the Frogs, singing their ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοᾶν, perform

the duty of the τριηραύλης. Although some take νύγλαρος to be a musical instrument, a *fife*; yet the authorities in favour of its meaning a musical sound, a *trill* or *flourish*, very largely preponderate. I think that Pollux (iv. 82) is the only ancient writer who calls it an instrument, "a little Egyptian pipe," while the explanation *τερετίσματα, περίεργα κρούματα* or *μέλη* is given by Pollux himself in the next section, Hesychius, Photius, Suidas, the Scholiast here, &c.

555. τὸν δὲ Τηλέφον] The speech ends, as it began, with a quotation from the Telephus of Euripides: καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου, the Scholiast says. Its effect is to split the Chorus into two equal sections; one still hostile to the speaker, the other convinced by his arguments; one speaking by the original Coryphaeus, the other by an improvised leader. The contention between them is so sharp that they presently come to blows in the orchestra.

- HM. B. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, καὶ λέγει γ' ἄπερ λέγει 560  
 δίκαια πάντα κούδεν αὐτῶν ψεύδεται.
- HM. A. εἶτ' εἰ δίκαια, τοῦτον εἰπεῖν αὐτ' ἔχρην;  
 ἀλλ' οὔ τι χαίρων ταῦτα τολμήσει λέγειν.
- HM. B. οὗτος σὺ ποῖ θεῖς; οὐ μενεῖς; ὡς εἰ θενεῖς  
 τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, αὐτὸς ἀρθήσει τάχα. 565
- HM. A. ἰὼ Λάμαχ', ὦ βλέπων ἀστραπὰς,  
 βοήθησον, ὦ γοργολόφα, φανεῖς,  
 ἰὼ Λάμαχ', ὦ φίλ', ὦ φυλέτα·  
 εἶτε τις ἔστι ταξί-  
 αρχος, ἧ στρατηγὸς, ἧ  
 τειχομάχας ἀνὴρ, βοηθησάτω 570  
 τις ἀνύσας. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔχομαι μέσος.
- ΔΑ. πόθεν βοῆς ἤκουσα πολεμιστηρίας;  
 ποῖ χρῆ βοηθεῖν; ποῖ κυδοιμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν;  
 τίς Γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος;
- ΔΙ. ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρωσ, τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν λόχων. 575

564. οὗτος σὺ ποῖ θεῖς;] These words are repeated, Wasps 854, Thesm. 224, and, with αὐτη for οὗτος, Lys. 728. And the οὐ μενεῖς which follows is constantly found in appeals of this kind; Knights 240, Birds 354, 1055, Thesm. 689, Plutus 417. Here there is an intentional jingle between θεῖς, μενεῖς and θενεῖς.

566. ἰὼ Λάμαχ'] We have seen that of the three buildings at the back of the stage, one was intended to represent the house of Lamachus. To that house the Semichorus which is worsted in the fray now directs an appeal for assistance; calling upon Lamachus, and any fighter he may chance to have with him, to come with all speed to the

rescue, ἐγὼ γὰρ, says the speaker, ἔχομαι μέσος, a phrase of the wrestling school, indicating that the person so held is completely overpowered, and helpless in the grasp of his adversary. Here no doubt the Coryphaeus has been caught round the waist and lifted from the ground, so that his opponent's threat in line 565, αὐτὸς ἀρθήσει τάχα, has been fulfilled to the letter.

567. γοργολόφα] The epithet γοργός simply means *terrible*; and Hesychius is obviously wrong in thinking that there is any reference here to the Gorgon on the shield of Lamachus, *infra* 574, 1124. The reference is merely to his *τρεις κατασκίους λόφους*, *infra* 965, 1109.

SEMICHORUS II. Aye, by Poseidon, every word he says  
Is true and right ; he tells no lies at all.

S.C. I. True or untrue, is he the man to say it ?  
I'll pay him out, though, for his insolent speech.

S.C. II. Whither away ? I pray you stay. If him you hurt,  
You'll find your own self hoisted up directly.

(A scuffle takes place in the orchestra, in which the leader of the first semichorus is worsted.)

S.C. I. Lamachus ! Help ! with thy glances of lightning ;  
Terrible-crested, appear in thy pride,  
Come, O Lamachus, tribesman and friend to us ;  
Is there a stormer of cities beside ?  
Is there a Captain ? O come ye in haste,  
Help me, O help ! I am caught by the waist.

LAMACHUS. Whence came the cry of battle to my ears ?  
Where shall I charge ? where cast the battle-din ?  
Who roused the sleeping Gorgon from its case ?

DI. O Lamachus hero, O those crests and cohorts !

568. *φύλατα*] Mueller refers to a fragmentary inscription (Boeckh ii. 32, b. 28) in which occur the words *στρατηγούς Δημάχῳ Κεφαλῆθεν*. If this refers to our Lamachus, he certainly was not a fellow tribesman of the Acharnians; for *Κεφαλῆ* belongs to the tribe Acamantis, and Acharnæ to the tribe Oeneis. But *φύλατης* is often used loosely, as in Birds 368; and here means merely "one of the same War-party."

572. *πόθεν κ.τ.λ.*] In a later scene we shall see Lamachus arming for the fray: but here he enters already fully armed; with his terribly waving crest, and the Gorgon emblazoned on his shield. In the appeal just directed to his house,

there was twice a request for help (*βοήθησον, βοηθησάτω*). Lamachus is ready and desirous *βοηθεῖν*, and only wants to know in which direction he is to make his charge. *Κυδοιμὸς, the tumult of battle, the hurlyburly*, is the name of War's attendant in the Peace.

574. *τίς Γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν*] This line is no doubt borrowed, or imitated, from some Tragic Play. It is repeated with some variation, infra 1181; but there at the end of the line we have *ἐκ τῆς ἀνπίδος* for *ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος* here. Here the Gorgon stands for the shield itself; there for the emblazonment of the shield.

- HM. A. ὦ Λάμαχ', οὐ γὰρ οὗτος ἄνθρωπος πάλαι  
ἄπασαν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν κακορροθεῖ;
- ΛΑ. οὗτος σὺ τολμᾶς πτωχὸς ὦν λέγειν τάδε;
- ΔΙ. ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρως, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχει,  
εἰ πτωχὸς ὦν εἰπόν τι κάστωμυλάμην.
- ΛΑ. τί δ' εἶπας ἡμᾶς; οὐκ ἐρεῖς; ΔΙ. οὐκ οἰδά πω· 580  
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων ἰλιγγιῶ.  
ἀλλ' ἀντιβολῶ σ', ἀπένεγκέ μου τὴν μορμόνα.
- ΛΑ. ἰδοῦ. ΔΙ. παράθες νυν ὑπτίαν αὐτὴν ἐμοί.
- ΛΑ. κεῖται. ΔΙ. φέρε νυν ἀπὸ τοῦ κράνους μοι τὸ πτερόν.
- ΛΑ. τουτὶ πτίλον σοι. ΔΙ. τῆς κεφαλῆς νύν μου λαβοῦ, 585  
ἴν' ἐξεμέσω· βδελύττομαι γὰρ τοὺς λόφους.
- ΛΑ. οὗτος, τί δράσεις; τῷ πτίλῳ μέλλεις ἐμείν;
- ΔΙ. πτίλον γὰρ ἐστίν; εἰπέ μοι, τίνος ποτὲ  
ὄρνιθός ἐστιν; ἄρα κομπολακύθου;
- ΛΑ. οἴμ' ὡς τεθνήξει. ΔΙ. μηδαμῶς, ὦ Λάμαχε· 590  
οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἰσχύν ἐστίν· εἰ δ' ἰσχυρὸς εἶ,

577. ἄπασαν ἡμῶν] Καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ Τηλέφου.—Scholiast. κακορροθεῶ is indeed a specially Euripidean word. It occurs again in *Thesm.* 896, and is there put into the mouth of Euripides.

579. πτωχὸς ὦν] We must remember that Dicaeopolis is still clothed in the loathly habiliments which Euripides had lent him.

582. μορμόνα] Hellenic nurses seem to have had a plentiful supply of bug-bears or fanciful terrors wherewith to frighten their nurslings. *Μορμῶ*, one of these bogeys, is both here and in *Peace* 474 employed for the Gorgon-shield of Lamachus; while in *Knights* 693 *μορμῶ τοῦ θράσους*; *boh for your bluster!* means that the threats of Paphlagon

convey no terror to his adversary's mind. So in *Birds* 1245 *μορμολύττεσθαι δοκεῖς*; means *Do you think to frighten me with old wives' fables?* and in *Thesm.* 417 watch-dogs are described as *μορμολυκεία τοῖς μοιχοῖς*, where see the Commentary. In *Frogs* 925 the epithet *μορμοροπᾶ*, though directly derived from *μόρμος*, is closely connected with *μορμῶ*.

584. πτερόν] Πτερόν αἰτεῖ ἵνα ἐξεμέσῃ· εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ δυσμεεῖς πτεροῖ χρησθαι.—Scholiast. Kuster refers to a fragment from the *Horae* of Cratinus, preserved from the *Horae* of Cratinus, preserved by Pollux x. 76, *μῶν βδελυγμία σ' ἔχει*; | *πτερόν ταχέως τις καὶ λεκάνην ἐνεγκάτω*. And Elmsley to Plutarch (*De Rep. Ger.* chap. 4), who says that Plato Comicus introduced the Athenian Demus, dis-

- S.C. I. O Lamachus, here has this fellow been  
 With frothy words abusing all the State.
- LAM. You dare, you beggar, say such things as those?
- DI. O Lamachus hero, grant me pardon true  
 If I, a beggar, spake or chattered aught.
- LAM. What said you? Hey? DI. I can't remember yet.  
 I get so dizzy at the sight of arms.  
 I pray you lay that terrible shield aside.
- LAM. There then. DI. Now set it upside down before me.
- LAM. 'Tis done. DI. Now give me from your crest that plume.
- LAM. Here; take the feather. DI. Now then, hold my head,  
 And let me vomit. I so loathe those crests.
- LAM. What! use my feather, rogue, to make you vomit?
- DI. A feather is it, Lamachus? Pray what bird  
 Produced it? Is it a Great Boastard's plume?
- LAM. Death and Destruction! DI. No, no, Lamachus.  
 That's not for strength like yours. If strong you are

gusted with the demagogues of the day, αἰτοῦντα λεκάνην καὶ πτερόν ὕπως ἐμέεση. And Meineke, on the line of Cratinus quoted above, refers to Nicander, *Alexi. pharmaca* 362. In the present case the πτερόν is a huge ostrich feather, but Lamachus, handing it to Dicaeopolis, superciliously calls it a mere πτίλον, a term applicable not to the quill feathers of a bird, but to the soft and downy plumage of its breast and body. "What! call you this a πτίλον?" says Dicaeopolis; "What bird, I wonder, can have these gigantic feathers growing like down upon its breast?"

589. κομπολακίδου] *The Great Boastard* (*bustard*). The verb κομπολακεῖν is found in *Frogs* 961, and the form κομπολακυθεῖν

is used by later writers. It has nothing to do with λήκυθος as the Scholiast supposes.

591. κατ' ἰσχύν ἐστίν] These are very simple words, but it is difficult to say in what sense Dicaeopolis meant them to be understood. On the whole I take him to say *That* (*viz.* to slay me) *is beyond your strength*; though others translate it *beneath your strength*, and others again *not a matter to be decided by strength*. It seems probable that there has been a slight scuffle between the two. What follows is mere ribaldry; but I take the train of thought to be, "To slay me is a task beyond your strength; if you are so strong as you pretend, show it in some easier way."

- τί μ' οὐκ ἀπεψάλλησας; εὔοπλος γὰρ εἶ.
- ΛΑ. ταυτὶ λέγεις σὺ τὸν στρατηγὸν πτωχὸς ὢν;
- ΔΙ. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι πτωχός; ΛΑ. ἀλλὰ τίς γὰρ εἶ;
- ΔΙ. ὅστις; πολίτης χρηστὸς, οὐ σπουδαρχίδης, 595  
ἀλλ' ἐξ ὄτου περ ὁ πόλεμος, στρατωνίδης,  
σὺ δ' ἐξ ὄτου περ ὁ πόλεμος, μισθαρχίδης.
- ΛΑ. ἐχειροτόνησαν γάρ με— ΔΙ. κόκκυγές γε τρεῖς.  
ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ βδελυττόμενος ἐσπείσαμην,  
ὄρων πολιοῦς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν, 600  
νεανίας δ' οἴους σὺ διαδεδρακότας  
τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ Θράκης μισθοφοροῦντας τρεῖς δραχμάς,  
Τισαμενοφαινίππους, Πανουργιπαρχίδας·  
ἑτέρους δὲ παρὰ Χάρητι, τοὺς δ' ἐν Χαόσι  
Γερηθοθεοδώρους, Διομειαλαζόνας, 605

As regards the following line it is only necessary to remark (1) that each actor was wearing the *δερμάτινον αἰδοῖον*, as usual in Attic Comedy; (2) that *ἀποψωλεῖν* means *glandem nudare*, and has nothing to do with the rite of circumcision, see on 158 supra; and (3) that *εὔοπλος*, whilst ostensibly referring to the military armour of Lamachus, yet involves an allusion to *ὄπλον* in the sense of *αἰδοῖον*, a sense which it sometimes bears, as *telum* in Latin.

594. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι πτωχός;] Hitherto he has acquiesced in this description, but now he suddenly changes his tone, and probably at the same moment, as Van Leeuwen suggests, throws off the rags of Telephus, and appears in the ordinary guise of an Athenian citizen. Henceforth he is Dicaeopolis himself, and we have nothing more to do with "the Mysian Telephus."

595. σπουδαρχίδης] This and the similar forms in the two following lines signify the clan or tribe to which the speaker belongs. "Who am I? an honest citizen, not one of the office-seeking clan."

598. κόκκυγες] A cuckoo being *vox et praeterea nihil* is here, like the corresponding word "gowk" in Scotland, a term of contempt for a silly empty-headed fellow. Blaydes refers to the explanation given in Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 27. 24 of the word *ἀβελτεροκόκκυξ*, namely *ἀβελτερος καὶ κενός· κόκκυγα γὰρ λέγουσι τὸν κενὸν καὶ κούφον*. Here again, as in 516 supra, Dicaeopolis is careful not to blame *τὴν πόλιν*.

600. ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν] Τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου καταλόγοις.—Scholiast. *On active service*.

601. διαδεδρακότας] *Running away from the toils of war to well-paid embassies*. Of course nobody was less open to this



Why don't you circumcise me? You're well armed.

LAM. What! you, a beggar, beard the general so?

DI. A beggar am I, Lamachus? LAM. What else?

DI. An honest townsman, not an office-seekrian,  
Since War began, an active-service-seekrian,  
But you're, since War began, a full-pay-seekrian.

LAM. The people chose me— DI. Aye, three cuckoo-birds.  
That's what I loathe; that's why I made my treaty,  
When grey-haired veterans in the ranks I saw,  
And boys like you, paltry malingering boys,  
Off, some to Thrace—their daily pay three drachmas—  
Phaenippuses, Hipparchidreprobations,  
And some with Chares, to Chaonia some,  
Geretotheodores, Diomirogues, and some

charge than Lamachus; but the poet has a grievance to expose, and makes Lamachus his whipping boy; an undesirable post, as Socrates found it two years later in the "Clouds."

602. ἐπὶ Θράκης] As Theorus, supra 136. The pay is larger than that of the envoys to the Great King, supra 66.

603. Τισαμενο—] In this line there are blended three names, Tisamenus, Phaenippus, and Hipparchides, representing, whether they are or are not the names of real individuals known to the audience, a combination of noble birth and little worth. As to the ἕππος in the two later names cf. Clouds 63. Chares, in the following line, is doubtless the name of some contemporary officer, unknown to us; possibly the grandfather of the general who played such a prominent part in Athenian

affairs during the next century. The Chaonians had recently come into notice during the Acarnanian warfare in which Demosthenes so greatly distinguished himself, and their name seems to have caused some amusement to the Athenians. The words ἐν Χαοίαι occur again in Knights 78, where see the Commentary. Then line 605 repeats the puzzle of the present line. Geres (Eccl. 932) and Theodore, even if they did not stand at that moment for particular individuals, were doubtless names carrying a special significance to the audience; and Διομειλαζόνες, though purely fictitious, yet probably refers to some quacks who frequented the Temple of Heracles in that semi-urban deme. See Frogs 651 and the note there.

τοὺς δ' ἐν Καμαρίνῃ κὰν Γέλα κὰν Καταγέλα.

ΛΑ. ἐχειροτονήθησαν γάρ. ΔΙ. αἴτιον δὲ τί  
 ὑμᾶς μὲν αἰεὶ μισθοφορεῖν ἀμηγέπη,  
 τῶνδ' ἰδὲ μηδέν' ; ἔτεδν, ὦ Μαριλάδη,  
 ἤδη πεπρέσβευκας σὺ πολὺς ὦν ἔνη ;  
 ἀνένευσε· καίτοι γ' ἐστὶ σόφρων κἀργάτης.  
 τί δαὶ Δράκυλλος κ' Εὐφορίδης ἢ Πρινίδης ;  
 εἶδέν τις ὑμῶν τάκβάταν' ἢ τοὺς Χαόνας ;  
 οὐ φασιν. ἀλλ' ὁ Κοισύρας καὶ Λάμαχος,  
 οἷς ὑπ' ἐράνου τε καὶ χρεῶν πρώην ποτέ,  
 ὥσπερ ἀπόνιπτρον ἐκχέοντες ἐσπέρας,

610

615

606. Καταγέλα] Ἐὰρ αἰσθάνει τὸν Κατά-  
 γελων τῶν πρέσβειων ; Dicaeopolis asked  
 above, line 76 ; and now he names  
 Καταγέλα as one of the places to which  
 their πρέσβεις go. The name is, of  
 course, a mere pun upon Γέλα, and  
 cannot be preserved in a translation.  
 Καμάρινα καὶ Γέλα πόλεις Σικελίας, ἐποίησε  
 δὲ τὸ Καταγέλα ἀπὸ τοῦ καταγελᾶν αὐτῶν  
 τοὺς στρατηγούς.—Scholiast. The pun  
 is imitated, as Porson observes, by  
 Athenaeus vii. 96 (p. 314 F), where Ar-  
 chestratus, the poet of the dinner-table,  
 a Geloan by birth, is described as ὁ ἐκ  
 Γέλας, μᾶλλον δὲ Καταγέλας, ποιητής.  
 And there is a somewhat similar joke  
 in the Stichus of Plautus iv. 2. 50, where  
 the brothers are ridding themselves of  
 the parasite Gelasimus, and one of them  
 says "Nolo e Gelasimo mihi te Cata-  
 gelasimum."

609. Μαριλάδη] Παρεποίησε τὸ ὄνομα  
 ἀπὸ τῆς μαριλῆς (supra 350).—Scholiast.  
 He is addressing of course individual  
 members of the Chorus.

610. ἔνη] Ἐκ πολλοῦ.—Scholiast. But

this is too strong. The word merely  
 means *in past time, before this* ; and  
 may here be translated *already*. It is  
 somewhat strange that ἔνη (with the  
 aspirate) should refer to the past, and  
 ἔνη (without an aspirate) to the future,  
 supra 172, Eccl. 796 ; but such is un-  
 doubtedly the rule. ἔνη here is the  
 word employed in the familiar phrase  
 ἔνη καὶ νέα, the *old and new day*, Clouds  
 1178. As to ἀνένευσε see the *παρεπιγραφή*  
 after 113 and the Commentary there.

612. Πρινίδης] Ἐκ τοῦ πρίνου ἔπλασεν  
 ὄνομα, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἀχαρνεῖς ἀνθρακίς ἢ δὲ  
 πρίνος ἐπιτήθειον ξύλον εἰς ἀνθρακας.—  
 Scholiast. Cf. 180, 667. There seems  
 nothing to connect the names Dracyllus  
 and Euphorides with the charcoal  
 trade ; for the suggestion that Eupho-  
 ride means a "good charcoal-carrier"  
 is very far fetched.

614. ὁ Κοισύρας] Coesyra was the  
 mother of Megacles, and her issue were  
 chiefs of the great House of Alcmaeon,  
 the noblest and the proudest family in  
 Athens. It does not seem that the

To Camarina, Gela, and Grineela.

LAM. The people chose them— DI. And how comes it, pray,  
That you are always in receipt of pay,  
And these are NEVER? Come, Marilades,  
You are old and grey; when have you served as envoy?  
NEVER! Yet he's a steady, active man.  
Well then, Euphorides, Prinides, Dracyllus,  
Have you Ecbatana or Chaonia seen?  
NEVER! But Coesyra's son and Lamachus,  
They have; to whom, for debts and calls unpaid,  
Their friends but now, like people throwing out

words *ὁ Κοισύρας* are intended to designate any particular individual; they are rather a general description of any young insolent noble. Compare *Clouds* 46-8 and 800. And there is assuredly no ground for supposing that this needy and insolvent person, shunned by all his friends, was intended to represent Alcibiades, the most brilliant and most popular young man at Athens, who is mentioned *infra* 716 by his proper designation *ὁ Κλειβίου*.

615. *ὑπ' ἐράνου τε καὶ χρεῶν*] *Owing to their [unpaid] subscriptions and debts.* The *ἔρανος* at Athens was a sort of friendly society or club to which all the members of a family or other association were expected to contribute for the relief of their poor and destitute members. The name *ἔρανος* was applied also to the contribution itself; see *Lysistrata* 651-3. To make default in these contributions was to the Athenians what the non-payment of a debt of honour is to us, one of the meanest and most discreditable actions. The youngsters in

the text have made such default, and are indebted both to the *ἔρανος* as well as to other creditors. Their position was that of the man who in Demosthenes (First against Aphobus 31, p. 821) is described as the *πονηρότατος ἀνθρώπων πάντων*, for that he *ἐράνουσ τε λέλοιπε πλείστους καὶ ὑπόχρεως γέγονεν*.

616. *ἀπόνιπτρον*] *Dirty water from the bath.* Kuster refers to Eustathius at *Odyssey* xix. 343 who says *Ποδάνιπτρα ἢ αὐτὴν λέγει τὴν νίψιν τῶν ποδῶν ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ᾧ πόδας νίπτονται, ὃ καὶ ἀπόνιπτρον ἔλεγον, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀχαρνεῦσι δηλοῖ.* Compare the line quoted from our poet's "Heroes" by Pollux vii. 167, x. 78, *μήποτ' ἀπόνιπτρον θύραζ' ἐκχεῖτε μηδὲ λούτριον.* "A very improper liberty prevailed at Paris in the fourteenth century, which was that all persons might throw 'their slops' from their windows whenever they chose, provided they gave notice three times before, by crying out *Gare l'eau*. A like practice, however, seems to have continued longer at Edinburgh."—Beckmann's *Inventions* (John-

- ἅπαντες ἐξίστω παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι.  
 ΛΑ. ὦ δημοκρατία, ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά ;  
 ΔΙ. οὐ δῆτ', ἐὰν μὴ μισθοφορῇ γε Λάμαχος.  
 ΛΑ. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν πᾶσι Πελοποννησίοις  
 ἀεὶ πολεμήσω, καὶ ταράξω πανταχῇ,  
 καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζοῖσι, κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. 620  
 ΔΙ. ἐγὼ δὲ κηρύττω γε Πελοποννησίοις  
 ἅπασι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίοις  
 πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν πρὸς ἐμὲ, Λαμάχῳ δὲ μή. 625  
 ΧΟ. ἀνὴρ νικᾷ τοῖσι λόγοισιν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον μεταπαίθει  
 περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν. ἀλλ' ἀποδύντες τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν.

ston's translation, ii. 35). Sir Walter Scott in Waverley (vol. iii, p. 113, first edition) tells of a brawl in Edinburgh which might have ended very seriously, "had not a scream of *Gardez l'eau* from an upper window set all parties a scampering for fear of the inevitable consequences." But Boswell, in his

life of Johnson, points out with patriotic satisfaction that the custom prevailed in London as well as in Edinburgh, citing from Oldham's application of the Third Satire of Juvenal to London (the forerunner of Johnson's famous poem) his imitation of lines 268-77 :

If what I've told can't from the town affright  
 Consider other dangers of the night,  
 When brickbats are from upper stories thrown,  
 And emptied chamber-pots come pouring down  
 From garret windows.

Probably this was the practice in all many-storied houses in the cities of the Middle Ages.

618. ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά ;] If we had not known that the Philoctetes of Sophocles was some years later in date than the Acharnians, we might have imagined the present line to allude to a passage in that Tragedy, to which Bergler refers ὦ Λημνία χθών, . . . ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά ;

625. Λαμάχῳ δὲ μή] Dicaeopolis is now

about to prepare a market-place for himself: when we next see him, infra 719, the preparations are nearly completed. And thither, he says, the Megarians and Boeotians may come and market, but thither Lamachus may never come. And in conformity with this proclamation we shall find that so soon as the market is opened, first a Megarian, and next a Boeotian, make their appearance, and deal with Dicaeopolis to their mutual satisfaction; but, when Lamachus

Their slops at eve, were crying "Stand away!"

LAM. O me! Democracy! can this be borne?

DI. No, not if Lamachus receive no pay.

LAM. But I with all the Peloponnesian folk  
Will always fight, and vex them everyway,  
By land, by sea, with all my might and main.

[Exit.

DI. And I to all the Peloponnesian folk,  
Megarians and Boeotians, give full leave  
To trade with me; but not to Lamachus.

[Exit.

CHOR. The man has the best of the wordy debate, and the hearts of the  
People is winning  
To his plea for the truce. Now doff we our robes, our own  
anapaestics beginning.

desires to take advantage of the market, he is at once rebuffed. The idea which some have entertained, viz. that the words *Λαμάχῳ δὲ μὴ* are contrasted not with *Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίαις* but with *πρὸς ἐμὲ*—so that the Megarians and Boeotians are invited to deal with Dicaeopolis, but not with Lamachus—seems to me repugnant both to the language and to the sense of the passage. For how could they possibly deal with Lamachus? He has no market for them, and has just proclaimed his intention of waging against them a truceless war. But were it otherwise, how could Dicaeopolis prevent their dealing with him? He had control only over his own market. The words *πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν* mean merely *to market*: just as we read in St. Matthew xxi. 12 of people *πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*. And now both Lamachus and Dicaeopolis having re-entered their

respective houses, the former probably after line 622, the latter after the present line, the stage is empty; and the Chorus, turning to the audience, commence the first Parabasis that has come down to us, a Parabasis completé in all its seven parts.

626, 627. THE COMMATION. In this Parabasis the Commation consists of two anapaestic tetrameters; *τὸ κομμάτιον ἔστι στίχων δύο ἀναπαιστων τετραμέτρων καταληκτικῶν*.—Scholiast. The same metre is used in the Commation of the Peace, and again in that of the Thesmo-phoriazusae. Notwithstanding this, the Parabasis proper is here, as in Knights 504, Peace 735, Birds 684, specially distinguished as "the anapaests." And I suspect that, before the time of Aristophanes, this metre had been specifically appropriated to the Parabasis, and never, or hardly ever, appeared in any other part of the play.

Ἐξ οὗ γε χοροῖσιν ἐφέστηκεν τρυγικοῖς ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν,  
 οὓπω παρέβη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον λέξων ὡς δεξιός ἐστιν  
 διαβαλλόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυβούλοις, 630  
 ὡς κωμῶδεϊ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει,  
 ἀποκρίνεσθαι δεῖται νυνὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μεταβούλους.  
 φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιός ἑμῖν ὁ ποιητῆς,  
 παύσας ὑμᾶς ξενικοῖσι λόγοις μὴ λίαν ἐξαπατᾶσθαι,  
 μηδ' ἠδεσθαι θωπευομένους μηδ' εἶναι χαννοπολίτας.

635

It does not in fact appear elsewhere in the Acharnians; nor is it largely used in the Knights; but in every other extant play, except the Peace and the Thesmophoriazusae, it becomes the most important and the most prominent part of the Comedy. This was the innovation of Aristophanes, and hence, I imagine, it was that the metre became generally known as the Aristophanic, Hephaestion viii, Scholiast on Clouds 263; 958, and Plutus 487. The very first words of the Commation show that though the speech of Dicaeopolis had captured only half the Chorus, yet his argument with Lamachus had done the rest; and both Semichoruses are now and henceforth his ardent and devoted partisans. They say that he is converting the Demus, meaning both the Chorus and the audience who, between them, fully represent the Demus of Athens.

627. ἀποδύντες] Ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀποδύμενων ἀθλητῶν, οἱ ἀποδύονται τὴν ἔξωθεν στολὴν, ἵνα εὐτόνωσ χορεύωσι, καὶ εὐστροφώτεροι ᾧσι πρὸς τὰ παλαίσματα.—Scholiast.

628-58. THE PARABASIS PROFER.

The Chorus vindicate their poet from the charges brought against him by Cleon on account of his outspoken criticism of political matters in his last year's Comedy of the Babylonians. So far from seeking to injure the City, they say, his criticisms on its policy have, and are intended to have, the most beneficial results. "To warn you against being led astray by the flatteries of foreign ambassadors, to show you the wrongs inflicted by your demagogues on our Allies—these are things deserving not of censure, but of the highest praise; these are things which tend to make you prosperous in war and famous all over the world." They might have added, "These are the things which Pericles himself would do, were he still alive," especially if by the phrase ξενικοῖσι λόγοις they are referring, as is generally supposed, to the enthusiasm excited at Athens by the oratory of Gorgias of Leontini, an enthusiasm which was presently to issue in the fatal invasion of Sicily.

629. παρέβη] It was of course the Chorus who turned to the audience, and their leader who delivered the

SINCE first to exhibit his Plays he began, our Chorus-instructor has never  
Come forth to confess in this public address how tactful he is and how clever.  
But now that he knows he is slandered by foes before Athens so quick to  
assent,

Pretending he jeers our City and sneers at the People with evil intent,  
He is ready and fain his cause to maintain before Athens so quick to repent.  
Let honour and praise be the guerdon, he says, of the Poet whose satire  
has stayed you

From believing the orators' novel conceits wherewith they cajoled and  
betrayed you ;

Who bids you despise adulation and lies nor be citizens Vacant and Vain.

anapaestic address ; but inasmuch as the address is, as a general rule, the personal message of the poet to the audience, he is himself described, both here and in Peace 735, as coming forward and delivering the address in person. Mr. Rudd pleasantly remarks that if in his two earliest plays the poet missed the opportunity of making the Parabasis a vehicle for dilating on his own personal merits, the mistake was not often repeated in his subsequent Comedies.

630. *ἰπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν*] That is, by Cleon and his creatures. This is the third allusion made in this Comedy to Cleon's attack upon the poet on account of his "last year's Babylonians." See the Commentary on 378 and 502 supra. Such an attack was the more dangerous because of the hasty way in which the Athenians formed their judgements, *ταχύβουλοι*, although, as the poet goes on to say, they would change them with equal facility, *μετάβουλοι*. Two recent instances of these characteristics will

occur to every reader. Some five years before the production of this Comedy they had turned upon Pericles, deprived him of his offices, and inflicted upon him a heavy fine (Thuc. ii. 65 ; Plutarch, Pericles 35) ; *ἕστερον δ' αὖθις οὐ πολλῶ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὄμιλος ποιεῖν*, says Thucydides, they restored him to his offices and placed everything in his hands. Some three years later they sent a galley to Lemnos bearing Cleon's decree that every man in Mitylene should be put to death ; and on the next day dispatched a second galley on the same journey to countermand that terrible order. The idea of the two vessels, one with its message of death, and the other with its message of mercy, speeding across the Aegean at the same moment would naturally make a deep impression upon the Athenian mind.

635. *ἤδιστα θωπευομένους*] This charge is repeated, in very similar terms, in Knights 1116, 1117 ; and with *χαυροπολίτας* compare Knights 1262, where Athens is called *ἡ Κεχηναίων πόλις*.

πρότερον δ' ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις ἔξαπατῶντες  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἰστεφάνους ἐκάλουν· κάπειδῃ τοῦτό τις εἶποι,  
 εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκάθησθε.  
 εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας λιπαρὰς καλέσειεν Ἀθήνας,  
 εὔρετο πᾶν ἂν διὰ τὰς λιπαρὰς, ἀφύων τιμὴν περιάψας. 640  
 ταῦτα ποιήσας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑμῖν γεγένηται,  
 καὶ τοὺς δῆμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν δείξας, ὡς δημοκρατοῦνται.  
 τοιγάρτοι νῦν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγοντες  
 ἤξουσιν, ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὸν ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον,

636. ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων] That the word πόλεις does not here signify the allied cities—as it does very frequently, and even in lines 642, 643 of this very *Parabasis*—is plain from the expressions οἱ πρέσβεις which Aristophanes could not, and ἔξαπατῶντες which he would not, have applied to the subject allies. And nothing is more probable than that Gorgias in the course of his elaborate compliments to Athens should have quoted the famous words of Pindar, ᾧ τὰι λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰστέφανοι καὶ ἀοιδμοί, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι. They come from an ode which Pindar wrote to glorify the splendid actions of Athens during the Persian War. And as one of those actions was the victory of Athens over the Boeotians, traitors to the Hellenic cause, at the battle of Plataea, it is perhaps not surprising that the Thebans resented their countryman's eulogy of their victors, and inflicted a fine on the poet. We are told, in the fourth of the epistles ascribed to Aeschines, that the Athenians sent him twice the amount of the fine, and erected in his honour a bronze statue

in front of the *στοὰ βασιλῆως*, representing the bard sitting in his robes with a crown on his head, a lyre in his hand, and an open book on his knees. The statue was still to be seen when Pausanias visited Athens; *Attica* viii. 5. The Pindaric eulogy was naturally dear to the Athenians, and Aristophanes himself repeats the epithets in *Knights* 1329, where see the Commentary. And cf. Lucian's *Demosthenis Encomium* 10 and Solan there. "The violet," observes Mitchell, in a note to his translation, "was the favourite and distinguishing flower of the Athenians. Ionians in their origin, they saw in the *ion* or violet an allusion to the name of their founder. While Sparta therefore was characterized as the *Dorystephanos* or javelin-crowned city, the Athenians took pride in being called the *io-stephanoi*, or violet-crowned." The epithet *λιπαραὶ* is more than once applied to Athens by Euripides; *Alc.* 452, *Iph. in Taur.* 1130, *Troades* 800.

638. ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων] *Uron tiptail* (Walsh), by analogy to the phrase



For before, when an embassy came from the states intriguing your favour  
to gain,

And called you the town of the VIOLET CROWN, so grand and exalted ye  
grew,

That at once on your tiptails erect ye would sit, those CROWNS were so  
pleasant to you.

And then, if they added the SHINY, they got whatever they asked for their  
praises,

Though apter, I ween, for an oily sardine than for you and your City the  
phrase is.

By this he's a true benefactor to you, and by showing with humour  
dramatic

The way that our wise democratic allies are ruled by our State democratic.  
And therefore their people will come oversea, their tribute to bring to  
the City,

Consumed with desire to behold and admire the poet so fearless and witty,

*upon tiptoe, ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀνύχων*, St. Chrys. Hom. xx. in Rom. 662 D.

640. ἀφύων τιμήν] *Praise fit for anchories*, taking λιπαρός in the sense of *glistening, sleek*. As to the ἀφύη see the Commentary on Wasps 493, Birds 76.

642. δημοκρατοῦνται] *By showing how the allied democracies are governed by the Athenian democracy*. Aristophanes is playing on the word δημοκρατεῖσθαι, which usually signifies "to be ruled by their own demus," but here means "to be ruled by *our* Demus." The statement may be compared (though the application is widely different) with the first sentence which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Cleon (iii. 37) πολλὰκις μὲν ἤδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν εἶναι ἀδύνατον εἶσθαι ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, κ.τ.λ. Recent Commentators

seem mostly to adopt Mueller's notion that the δημο- in δημοκρατοῦνται has no signification whatever; a notion which has the misfortune of destroying the whole point of the passage. The poet is avowedly vindicating himself from the charge brought against him by Cleon of reviling the Sovereign People before the assembled Hellenes. He seems to have satirized the Athenians on two counts: (1) the facility with which they yielded to rhetorical artifices; and (2) the extortions which the demagogues were permitted to practise against the subject allies. See Wasps 669 seqq. and Knights *passim*.

644. ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες] The great benefits which Athens and the Athenian empire derive from the possession of an Aristophanes are recognized far beyond

ὅστις παρεκινδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὰ δίκαια. 645  
 οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τόλμης ἤδη πόρρω κλέος ἤκει,  
 ὅτε καὶ βασιλεὺς, Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν πρεσβείαν βασανίζων,  
 ἠρώτησεν πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς πότεροι ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατοῦσιν·  
 εἶτα δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ποτέρους εἶποι κακὰ πολλά·  
 τούτους γὰρ ἔφη τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολὺ βελτίους γεγενῆσθαι 650  
 κὰν τῷ πολέμῳ πολὺ νικήσειν, τοῦτον ξύμβουλον ἔχοντας.  
 διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλοῦνται,  
 καὶ τὴν Αἴγινα ἀπαιτοῦσιν· καὶ τῆς νήσου μὲν ἐκείνης  
 οὐ φροντίζουσ', ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ἀφέλωται.  
 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τοι μή ποτ' ἀφήθ'. ὡς κωμωδῆσει τὰ δίκαια· 655

her own walls. The allies flock to Athens at the Great Dionysia for the purpose of seeing the illustrious bard; the Persian King is convinced that in the Peloponnesian War that side will conquer which has the advantage of his strictures: and the Spartans are using their utmost endeavours to procure that advantage for themselves. All this is, of course, a mere comic jest.

647. Λακεδαιμονίων] Although the conversation between the Great King and the Lacedaemonian ambassadors is purely fictitious—τοῦτο χαριεντιζόμενος ψευδῶς λέγει says a Scholiast—yet there is no doubt that in the early years of the War Lacedaemonian ambassadors were frequently paying visits to the Persian Court. At the very outset of the War the Lacedaemonians are described by Thucydides (ii. 7) as preparing to send embassies of this character, πρεσβείας μέλλοντες πέμπειν παρὰ βασιλέα, καὶ ἄλλοσε. ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. And although their only mission

to Persia of which the historian gives us any details altogether miscarried, the envoys having been surrendered to, and put to death by, the Athenians (Thuc. ii. 67); yet in the very year in which the Acharnians was produced, we find the Great King complaining that though MANY ambassadors had come from Sparta, no two of them told the same tale: πολλῶν γὰρ ἐλθόντων πρέσβεων οὐδένα ταῦτὰ λέγειν (Thuc. iv. 50).

653. τὴν Αἴγινα] The Athenians had conquered Aegina, their most dangerous rival on the sea, in the years 458–5 B.C.; and the Aeginetans dismantled their walls, handed over their navy, and became tributaries to Athens, Thuc. i. 105–8. And one of the most urgent demands made by the Spartans upon Athens before the commencement of the War was the restoration of autonomy to Aegina, Αἴγινα αὐτόνομον ἀφίναί (Id. i. 139). The reply of the Athenians to this demand was to expel from the island every Aeginetan, man, woman,

Who dared in the presence of Athens to speak the thing that is rightful  
and true.

And truly the fame of his prowess, by this, has been bruited the universe  
through,

When the Sovereign of Persia, desiring to test what the end of our  
warfare will be,

Inquired of the Spartan ambassadors, first, which nation is queen of the sea,  
And next, which the wonderful Poet has got, as its stern and unsparing  
adviser;

For those who are lashed by his satire, he said, must surely be better and  
wiser,

And they'll in the war be the stronger by far, enjoying his counsel and skill.  
And therefore the Spartans approach you to-day with proffers of Peace  
and Goodwill,

Just asking indeed that Aegina ye cede; and nought do they care for  
the isle,

But you of the Poet who serves you so well they fain would despoil and  
beguile.

But be *you* on your guard nor surrender the bard; for his Art shall be  
righteous and true.

and child, and to divide the land amongst Athenian settlers. This happened in the first year of the War (Id. ii. 27; Plutarch, Pericles 34). The Lacedaemonians gave to the expelled population a home at Thyrea, on the borderland of Laconia and Argolis, and there they were dwelling at the date of the Acharnians. The demand for the restoration of autonomy to Aegina is called by Aristophanes a demand for the cession of the isle; and rightly so, since the Aeginetans, a Doric or Dori-

cized people, would, if autonomous, naturally range themselves under the leadership of Sparta. But what has all this to do with Aristophanes? Some think, and it is very probable, that he was one of those Athenians who, on the expulsion of the Aeginetans, obtained a settlement in Aegina; but, in my opinion, it is also very probable that he was in fact connected by blood with the Aeginetans themselves. The topic is considered in the Introduction.

φησὶν δ' ὑμᾶς πολλὰ διδάξειν ἀγάθ', ὥστ' εὐδαίμονας εἶναι,  
οὐ θωπεύων, οὐθ' ὑποτείνων μισθοὺς, οὐδ' ἐξαπατύλλων,  
οὐδὲ πανουργῶν, οὐδὲ κατάρδων, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστα διδάσκων.

πρὸς ταῦτα Κλέων καὶ παλαμάσθω  
καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθω.

660

τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον  
ξύμμαχον ἔσται, κοῦ μή ποθ' ἀλῶ  
περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὧν ὥσπερ ἐκείνος  
δειλὸς καὶ λακαταπύγων.

δεῦρο Μοῦσ' ἔλθε φλεγυρὰ, πυρὸς ἔχουσα μένος, ἔντονος, Ἀχαρ-  
νική.

665

657. ὑποτείνων μισθοὺς] The Scholiast says οὐδέ τισι μισθὸν διδοὺς ἴν' αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσωσιν. But it seems to me that in all these participles Aristophanes is contrasting himself with Cleon. "I will not, as he does, flatter and deceive you, neither will I seek to win you by holding out promises of higher pay, as Cleon does with the dicastic pay."

658. κατάρδων] *Cultivating your favour*, literally "watering you." καταβρέχων ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὡς φυτά.—Scholiast.

659-64. THE PNIΓOS or MACRON. These lines constitute an open challenge to the formidable demagogue; and for a moment the sword, which is to be wielded with such brilliant effect in the Knights, half flashes from its scabbard. Divested of its personal application and rounded into the following shape—

πρὸς ταῦθ' ὃ τι χρῆ καὶ παλαμάσθω,  
καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθω  
τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον  
ξύμμαχον ἔσται,  
κοῦ μή ποθ' ἀλῶ κακὰ πράσσω—

the challenge became one of the commonplaces of Greek and Roman literature. Many passages are collected in which it is cited. Cicero, in his letter to Atticus (vi. 1), says "irascatur qui volet, patiar; τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ." And again (viii. 8) "fulsisse mihi videbatur τὸ καλὸν ad oculos eius, et exclamasse ille vir qui esse debuit,

πρὸς ταῦθ' ὃ τι χρῆ καὶ παλαμάσθω,  
καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθω,  
τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ.

At ille tibi πολλὰ χაίρειν τῷ καλῷ dicens pergit Brundisium." He is speaking of Pompey's retirement from Italy, on the approach of Caesar. Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. vi. 13) cites all but the second line; and the entire passage is given by Suidas s. v. παλαμάσθαι. Under ἀλωτὸν, however, Suidas says ἀλωτοί, ληπτοί, χειρωτοί. καὶ Εὐριπίδης, οὐ μή ποθ' ἀλῶ κακὰ πράσσω. No authority ascribes to Euripides a single syllable of the Aristophanic Pniγος; but from the lastly-cited words of Suidas,

Rare blessings and great will he work for the State, rare happiness  
 shower upon you ;  
 Not fawning, or bribing, or striving to cheat with an empty unprincipled  
 jest ;  
 Not seeking your favour to curry or nurse, but teaching the things that  
 are best.

AND THEREFORE I say to the People to-day,  
 Let Cleon the worst of his villanies try,  
 His anger I fear not, his threats I defy !  
 For Honour and Right beside me will fight,  
 And never shall I  
 In aught that relates to the City be found  
 Such a craven as he, such a profligate hound.

O MUSE, fiery-flashing, with temper of flame, energetic, Acharnian,  
 come to my gaze,

the entire passage finds a place amongst the fragments of Euripides (as for example Wagner's *Incert. fab. fragm.* 145). But whatever may be the case with the feeble line *κού μή ποθ' ἄλλω κακὰ πράσσω*, whether its ascription to Euripides is correct, or a mere slip on the part of Suidas or his copyists, I am persuaded that the words of the Pnigos belong to Aristophanes alone.

664. *λακαπαύγων*] The word *καταπίγων*, *profligate*, is common enough ; indeed we have already met with it in this very Comedy, supra 79, but here Aristophanes prefixes the intensive *λα* for the purpose of showing his utter abhorrence of Cleon.

665-75. THE STROPHE. During the remainder of the Parabasis, they are going to express their indignation at the

manner in which veteran soldiers and statesmen are exposed to the pert and clever attacks of forensic youngsters. And just as Shakespeare, about to set forth the splendid deeds of our fifth Harry, exclaims "O for a Muse of fire" to enable him to deal worthily with so great a subject, so here the Chorus, before they begin, invoke the Muse, their own Acharnian Muse, to come to them as bright, and clear, and vehement, as a spark of fire from their own Acharnian charcoal. So will they be able to rise to the height of their great argument, and press it home with becoming fire and passion.

665. *φλεγυρά*] *Fiery*. *ζυτονος*, *vehement*. *φλεγυρά* λαμπρά, φλέγουσα, λάμπουσα. *ζυτονος* δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυρά.—Scholiast.

ἴδον ἐξ ἀνθράκων πρηνίνων φέψαλος ἀνήλατ', ἐρεθιζόμενος οὐρία  
ρίπιδι,

ἠνίκ' ἂν ἐπανθρακίδες ὄσι παρακείμεναι, 670

οἱ δὲ Θασίαν ἀνακυκῶσι λιπαράμπυκα,

οἱ δὲ βάπτωσιν, οὕτω σοβαρὸν ἔλθῃ μέλος εὐτονον ἀγροικότονον,

ὡς ἐμὲ λαβοῦσα τὸν δημότην. 675

οἱ γέροντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μεμφόμεσθα τῇ πόλει.

οὐ γὰρ ἀξίως ἐκείνων ὄν ἐναυμαχήσαμεν

γηροβοσκούμεσθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ δεινὰ πάσχομεν.

οἵτινες γέροντας ἀνδρας ἐμβαλόντες ἐς γραφὰς

ὑπὸ νεανίσκων ἔατε καταγελασθαι ῥητόρων,

680

οὐδὲν ὄντας, ἀλλὰ κωφοὺς καὶ παρεξηλημένους,

669. ἐρεθιζόμενος οὐρία ῥίπιδι] *Excited, roused into action, by the favouring wind of the firefan.* οὐριος is the regular word for a favourable breeze, Knights 493, Lys. 550. And as for ῥίπις, the fan used as a bellows, see infra 888, Frogs 360, Eccl. 842.

670. ἐπανθρακίδες] The name is not confined to any particular species of fish; it applies to any little fish cooked in the embers. λεπτοὶ ἰχθύες ὀπτοὶ, says the Scholiast; πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ ἀνθράκων ὀπτώμενα ἐπανθρακίδας ἐκάλουν.

671. Θασίαν] The name Θασία was given both to pickle and to a radish. Here, of course, it means the former. Athenaeus (vii. 137), quoting from the *Holcades* of Aristophanes the lines

ὦ κακοδαίμων, ἦτις ἐν ἄλμῃ  
πράτη τριχίδων ἀπεβάθη,

explains τοὺς γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐπανθρακίζειν ἐπιτηδείους ἰχθύς εἰς ἄλμῃν ἀπέβαπτον, ἦν καὶ Θασίαν ἐκάλουν ἄλμῃν. Photius says

Θασίαν καὶ ῥάφανον καὶ ἄλμῃν λέγουσιν. And Hesychius, Θασία· ἄλμῃ εἰς ἣν ὄψα ὀπτώμενα ἔβαπτον. καὶ ῥαφάνου εἶδος. This Thasian pickle our poet calls λιπαράμπυκα, with shiny frontlet. He had observed above that Pindar's epithet of Athens, λιπαρὰς, was a term of praise well suited to anchovies; and now that he is dealing with these small fry, he applies to the pickle into which they are dipped the epithet λιπαράμπυκα, which Pindar had bestowed upon Memory in the seventh Nemean, where he says (I quote Professor Bury's translation): *Mighty deeds of prowess are wrapt in deep darkness if they remain unsung; yea, for fair works we know one, one only mirror, if by grace of Memory with the shining head-band, Μναμοσύνας ἔκατι λιπαράμπυκος, they win the meed of toil in lines of sounding song.*

672. βάπτωσιν] The MSS. have μάρτωσιν, which is quite out of place here; and as ἐπανθρακίδες are rarely mentioned

Like the wild spark that leaps from the evergreen oak, when its red-glowing charcoal is fanned to a blaze,

And the small fish are lying all in order for the frying ;  
 And some are mixing Thasian, richly dight, shiny-bright,  
 And some dip the small fish therein ;  
 Come, fiery-flashing Maid, to thy fellow-burgher's aid,  
 With exactly such a song, so glowing and so strong,  
 To our old rustic melodies akin.

619 WE the veterans blame the City. Is it meet and right that we,  
 Who of old, in manhood's vigour, fought your battles on the sea,  
 Should in age be left untended, yea exposed to shame and ill ?  
 Is it right to let the youngsters air their pert forensic skill,  
 Grappling us with writs and warrants, holding up our age to scorn ?  
 We who now have lost our music, feeble nothings, dull, forlorn,

in connexion with ἀλμη, without an allusion to their being *dipped* in it ; while in the MSS. the letters β and μ are extremely similar, and are frequently confused ; I have no hesitation in adopting, with Blaydes, the word βάπτωσιν, originally suggested by Hamaker.

674. εὔτονον, ἀγροικότονον] *With clear-pitched country tone*, like the lark or the blackbird. This is the reading of the best MSS., and seems to me just what Aristophanes intended. But it does not satisfy the critics. For εὔτονον they substitute ἐντονον, a very good epithet, but no better than εὔτονον, and one which, having already been employed in this ode, is little likely to be repeated here ; and for ἀγροικότονον they substitute ἀγροικότερον, which Blaydes translates *somewhat rustic or rude*. And that, I suppose, would be the meaning of

ἀγροικότερον ; but it certainly is not the meaning which Aristophanes intended to convey. His desire is to commend, not to criticize or depreciate, the clear country song of the Acharnian Muse.

675. τὸν δημότην] The Acharnian Muse to the Acharnian Chorus ; ἐλθέ, Μοῦσα Ἀχαρνική, ὡς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Ἀχαρνεάς.

676-91. THE ΕΠΙΡΡΗΜΑ. They have invoked the Acharnian Muse for the objects mentioned in the Commentary on the Strophe, 665-75 supra. And now, inspired by her, they state generally the grievance of which they complain. The chief individual instance of that grievance is reserved for the Antepirrhema.

681. παρεξηλημένους] *Worn out*, like a pipe with a used-up mouthpiece ; generally, of persons used up and exhausted in mind. The phrase παρεξηλημένος τὸν νοῦν, though rather a

οἷς Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειός ἐστιν ἡ βακτηρία·  
 τουθορύζοντες δὲ γήρα τῷ λίθῳ προσέσταμεν,  
 οὐχ ὀρῶντες οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τῆς δίκης τὴν ἠλύγην.  
 ὁ δὲ νεανίας, ἑαυτῷ σπουδάσας ξυνηγορεῖν,  
 685  
 ἐς τάχος παῖει ξυνάπτων στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασι  
 κᾶτ' ἀνεγκύσας ἔρωτᾶ, σκανδάληθρ' ἰστὰς ἐπῶν,  
 ἄνδρα Τιθωνὸν σπαράττων καὶ ταράττων καὶ κυκῶν.  
 ὁ δ' ὑπὸ γήρωσ μασταρύζει, κᾶτ' ὀφλὼν ἀπέρχεται·

metaphor than a proverb, is found in all the Faroemiographers, as well as in all the ancient Greek Lexicographers; and they all explain it in very much the same words. I will give the explanation of Zenobius (v. 65, p. 364, Gaisford): παρεξηλημένος· ὑπὸ γήρωσ τὸν νοῦν παρεξηλημένον ἔχων, ἀμυδρὸν, ἢ διεφθορότα. Μετενήνεκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλωσσιδίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς.

682. Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειος] Hellenic sailors were always timorous of the dangers of the sea, and when they left the harbour they endeavoured to propitiate the Lord of the slippery always-wind-obeying deep by appealing to him under the euphemistic title of Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειος, "Poseidon who never slips." So when a merchant was starting on a commercial voyage, his friends would commend him, not only to the care of "Hermes, the giver of gain," but also to that of "Poseidon who never slips." ὁ Ναυσίκλες, says his friend (Heliodorus, Aethiopics vi. 7), σοὶ μὲν ἐπ' αἰσίοις ὁ ἔκπλους στέλλοιτο· καὶ Ἑρμῆς μὲν κερδῶσ Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἀσφάλειος συνέμποροι καὶ πομποὶ γίνονται, πᾶν μὲν ἐπὶ πέλαγος εὖρου καὶ εὐήμερον παραπέμποντες, καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν εὐπρόσοδον καὶ φιλέμπορον

ἀποφαίνοντες. The old fighters who formed the Chorus had, in their prime, relied upon this mighty God to protect their feet from slipping; but now in their feeble age they have nothing whereon to rely, except the βακτηρία, or staff, which supports their tottering limbs.

683. τῷ λίθῳ] The Scholiast explains by τῷ βήματι, which would be right if the Chorus are speaking of a trial in the ἐκκλησία (Peace 680, Eccl. 87); or if the term λίθος became coextensive in meaning with the speaker's pulpit. But neither of these suppositions is by any means certain; and Van Leeuwen thinks that the reference is to the stone mentioned in Wasps 332. It seems probable that there would be, in every dicastery, a sort of stone altar on which the witnesses and others took their oaths (Polity of Athens, vii. 1, lv. 5; Demosth. against Conon, p. 1265), and on which the votes were counted, as stated in the Wasps, and various other solemnities were performed.

684. τῆς δίκης τὴν ἠλύγην] *The darkness* τῆς δίκης (in the sense of *the suit*); as contrasted with the Tragic phrase τῆς δίκης φάος, *the light* τῆς δίκης (in the



We whose only "Safe Poseidon" is the staff we lean upon,  
 There we stand, decayed and muttering, hard beside the Court-house Stone,  
 Nought discerning all around us save the darkness of our case.  
 Comes the youngster, who has compassed for himself the Accuser's place,  
 Slings his tight and nipping phrases, tackling us with legal scraps,  
 Pulls us up and cross-examines, setting little verbal traps,  
 Rends and rattles old Tithonus till the man is dazed and blind ;  
 Till with toothless gums he mumbles, then departs condemned and fined ;

sense of Justice). Blaydes refers to a fragment of the Ajax Locrus, *δίκης δ' ἐξέλαμψεν ὄσιον φάος*, and to Eur. Suppl. 564 *τῆς δίκης σώζων φάος*.

685. *ὁ δὲ νεανίας*] *But the youngster, having canvassed (or made interest) for himself to be the ξυνήγορος, that is, the orator prosecuting in the case.* Young orators, like Evathlus and Cephisodemus, would naturally be eager to obtain the conduct of an important case, wherein to display their powers of examination and argument at the defendant's expense. It is hardly right to call them the prosecuting counsel, because our word *counsel* implies a special legal training which was not required of a *ξυνήγορος*. Elmsley's unfortunate suggestion that *νεανίας* is the accusative plural has done much mischief, but is quite untenable. In the preceding lines no individual has been glanced at to whom the expression *ὁ δὲ* can be referred; and it is plain from what follows that *ὁ δὲ*, and not any person engaged by him, is the youngster who assails the old man. The proceeding was obviously a public indictment, not a civil action by a private plaintiff.

686. *στρογγύλαις*] Phrases compressed,

as it were, into pellets, hurled at the defendant like stones from a sling; a metaphor assisted by the term *παίωον* which is used of a sling in Birds 1187, where see the note. The epithet *στρογγύλαις* is applied to hailstones in Clouds 1127. *ξυνάπτων, joining battle with, engaging* the defendant.

687. *σκανδάληθρ' ιστάς ἐπὼν*] The *σκανδάληθρον* or *σκανδάλη* is the stick which keeps open the door of the trap, and to which the bait is attached; the mouse nibbles at the bait, the stick is moved, and the door shuts. *Πάγην ἔσθησα ἐπὶ τὰς μαρὰς ἀλώπεκας, κρεάδιον τῆς σκανδάλης ἀπαρτήσας.*—Alciphron iii. 22.

688. *Τιθωνόν*] The story of Tithonus, who wedded the Morning, and for whom she asked and obtained Immortal life, but forgot to ask Immortal youth, so that he grew ever older and older but could never die, is consecrated to all English readers by Tennyson's splendid lines. See the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 219-39. Here the name is used only to signify a man of extreme old age.

689. *ὀφλῶν ἀπέρχεται*] Two lines below we have *ὀφλῶν ἀπέρχομαι*. But there is a shade of difference between the mean-

εἶτα λύζει καὶ δακρύνει, καὶ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, 690  
οὐ μ' ἐχρῆν σορὸν πρίασθαι, τοῦτ' ὀφλῶν ἀπέρχομαι.

ταῦτα πῶς εἰκότα, γέροντ' ἀπολέσαι, πολλὸν ἄνδρα, περὶ κλεψύ-  
δραν,  
πολλὰ δὴ ξυμπονήσαντα, καὶ θερμὸν ἀπομορξάμενον ἀνδρικὸν  
ιδρώτα δὴ καὶ πολλὸν,  
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν ὄντα Μαραθῶνι περὶ τὴν πόλιν;  
εἶτα Μαραθῶνι μὲν ὄτ' ἤμεν, ἐδιώκομεν  
νῦν δ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν πονηρῶν σφόδρα διωκόμεθα, κᾶτα προσαλι-  
σκόμεθα. 700  
πρὸς τάδε τί ἀντερεῖ Μαρψίας;

ing there and here. Here ὀφλῶν means *having lost his case*; there *owing, cast in*, such a sum.

692-702. THE ANTISTROPHE. This continues the complaint commenced in the Epirrhema.

693. *περὶ κλεψύδραν*] That is, "in the law-courts," ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ as the Scholiast explains it. For the clepsydra was in use in all the law-courts for the purpose of timing the speeches of the orators. See Wasps 93. It is described by Apuleius, at the commencement of the mock trial of Lucius in the Third Book of his *Metamorphoses*, as a vessel perforated with minute holes at the bottom after the fashion of a colander (*vasculum in vicem coli graciliter fistulatum*), through which holes the water kept dripping, drop by drop. It was the equivalent of our hour-glass. The orators usually refer to it as "the water." Thus in his First against

Stephanus, Demosthenes says "Stop the water," ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ, while the evidence is being read (10); and again, "Into these matters I cannot go," οὐ γὰρ ἱκανόν μοι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν (58).

696. ἀγαθὸν ὄντα Μαραθῶνι] This was the supreme glory of the Athenians, that at Marathon they proved themselves "good men." They displayed no less heroism and self-devotion at Salamis and Plataea, but other Hellenic peoples were there. At Marathon they were alone, the πρόμαχοι of Hellas, as Simonides called them, for the gallant little contingent from Plataea was too small to derogate from the glory of Athens, and indeed the Plataeans themselves were Athenian citizens now. And hence the Athenian heroes whom Aristophanes was perpetually holding up for the imitation of his contemporaries were not the Men of Salamis or the Men of Plataea, but always the

Sobbing, weeping, as he passes, to his friends he murmurs low,  
*All I've saved to buy a coffin now to pay the fine must go.*

How CAN it be seemly a grey-headed man by the Water-clock's stream to  
 decoy and to slay,

Who of old, young and bold, laboured hard for the State, who would  
 wipe off his sweat and return to the fray?

At Marathon arrayed, to the battle-shock we ran,

And our mettle we displayed, foot to foot, man to man,

And our name and our fame shall not die.

Aye in youth we were Pursuers on the Marathonian plain,

But in age Pursuers vex us, and our best defence is vain.

To this what can Marpsias reply?

Men of Marathon, the *Μαραθωνομάχαι*. And thus that they were "good men against the Medes" became the recognized description of ancient Athenian heroism. "What matters it," Thucydides represents the Spartan Ephor as saying (i. 86), "what matters it that they were good men against the Medes, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε, if now they show themselves bad men towards Sparta?"

698. *ἄρ' ἤμεν*] These words, as Bergler pointed out, may either be joined with *Μαραθῶν*, when we were at Marathon; or else stand alone, when we were (in our prime), as in Lys. 667.

700. *διωκόμεθα*] *Διώκειν* is a term as well of the battlefield (to pursue the foe), as of the law-courts (to prosecute the defendant); *ὁ διώκων* is the prosecutor,

still called the *pursuer*, in Scotland. "In our youth it was we who charged the foe; in our age it is we who are charged in the courts." Nor is that all. *προσαλισκόμεθα ἂντι τοῦ, πρὸς τοῦτοις, καταδικαζόμεθα, καὶ ζημιούμεθα*.—Scholiast. *ἀλίσκισθαι* is the word regularly used as well of captives taken in war, as of culprits condemned in the law-courts.

702. *Μαρψίας*] Marpsias, the Scholiast tells us, was a contentious and cantankerous speaker of the day; *οὗτος ὁ Μαρψίας φιλόνομος καὶ φλύαρος καὶ θορυβώδης ῥήτωρ κωμωδεῖται*. We may guess from the allusion here that he had recently been raising objections to some measure brought forward in the Assembly for the relief of needy veterans.

τῷ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἄνδρα κυφὸν, ἠλίκον Θουκυδίδην,  
 ἐξολέσθαι συμπλακέντα τῇ Σκυθῶν ἐρημίᾳ,  
 τῷδε τῷ Κηφισοδήμῳ, τῷ λάλῳ ξυνηγόρῳ; 705  
 ὥστ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἠλέησα κάπεμορξάμην ἰδὼν  
 ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τοξότου κυκώμενον,  
 ὃς μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ', ἐκείνος ἠνίκ' ἦν Θουκυδίδης,  
 οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαιᾶν βαδίως ἠνέσχετο,  
 ἀλλὰ κατεπάλαισε μὲν γ' ἂν πρῶτον Εὐάθλους δέκα, 710  
 κατεβόησε δ' ἂν κεκραγὼς τοξότας τρισχιλίους,  
 περιετόξευσεν δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς.

703-18. THE ANTEPIRRHEMA. The poet now gives a special instance of the hardship lamented in the Epirrhema. He describes in tones of genuine indignation the impeachment of Thucydides, the former rival of Pericles; an impeachment which he mentions again in Wasps 947. The charges brought against him, whatsoever they were, were enforced by the tirades of two young advocates, Evathlus and Cephisodemus, whose noisy and voluble attacks so dumbfounded the old man that he could not find a word to say in his own defence. Yet when he was in his prime, says the poet, he would have discomfited a whole host of such trumpety assailants as these.

703. τῷ γὰρ εἰκός] Τῷ τρόπῳ δίκαιόν ἐστι.—Scholiast. “ἠλίκον Θουκυδίδην, ἰ. e. τηλικούτων ἠλίκος Θουκυδίδης.”—Blaydes. συμπλακέντα is a term of the wrestling school. Cephisodemus had in his blood some Scythian strain, and is therefore saluted as “a Scythian wilderness” and “a Scythian archer.” The former appellation is a proverbial

phrase (Scholiast, Hesychius), supposed to be connected with the second line of the Prometheus Vincetus, *Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβατον εἰς ἐρημίαν*.

709. Ἀχαιᾶν] This Thucydides, the Chorus mean, who in his old age is obliged to put up with the insolence of these youthful advocates, would in his prime have stood no nonsense from the greatest personage in all the world. And as they have just mentioned Demeter, they say that he would have stood no nonsense from Demeter herself; though there is possibly a contrast intended between the Hellenic Ἀχαιᾶ and the barbarian Σκύθης. Ἀχαιᾶ was a special name of Demeter: Herodotus (v. 61) tells us that when the Gephyraeans (the family to which Harmodius and Aristogeiton belonged) migrated from Boeotia to Athens, they set up various temples in which the other Athenians had no part, and especially the temple and rites Ἀχαιᾶς Δήμητρος. Plutarch (Isis and Osiris 69) and Hesychius s. v. derive the name from ἄχη, the sorrows of the Mother in quest of her Daughter;

OH, THUCYDIDES to witness, bowed with age, in sore distress,  
 Feebly struggling in the clutches of that Scythian wilderness  
 Fluent glib Cephisodemus,—Oh the sorrowful display!  
 I myself was moved with pity, yea and wiped a tear away,  
 Grieved at heart the gallant veteran by an archer mauled to view;  
 Him who, were he, by Demeter, that Thucydides we knew,  
 Would have stood no airs or nonsense from the Goddess Travel-sore,  
 Would have thrown, the mighty wrestler, ten Evathluses or more,  
 Shouted down three thousand archers with his accents of command,  
 Shot his own Accuser's kinsmen in their Scythian fatherland.

and though the derivation has been questioned, it will perhaps justify the epithet given in my translation to the Goddess. The Scholiast says "Ὅστις πρῆσβύτης ὑπὸ τοῦ τοξότου βλαπτόμενος, οὐδὲ τῆς Δήμητρος ἠνέσχετο, ἠνίκα ἦν νέος.

710. κατεπάλαισε] It has not, I think, been observed that this word is employed with special reference to Εὐαθλος, which strictly means *athletic*; just as περιτόξευσεν, two lines below, has a special reference to the Scythian archer. As to the *athlete*, he would have thrown a dozen athletes such as he: as to the *Scythian archer*, he would have shot and shouted down any number of

Scythian archers. The powers of wrestling and shooting attributed to Thucydides are merely derived from and accommodated to the name of one accuser and the lineage of the other. We need not suppose that Thucydides ever really wrestled or used a bow and arrow. From the expression τοῦ πατρὸς in 712 we may conclude that the Scythian taint was derived from the grandmother, and not from the mother, of Cephisodemus. Evathlus is mentioned by Aristophanes in two other places, viz. Wasps 592 and in a passage from the *Holcades* preserved by the Scholiast here—

ἔστι τις πονηρὸς ἡμῖν τοξότης ξυήγορος  
 τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὡς περὶ Εὐαθλοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς νέοις.

And he is doubtless the same Evathlus whose controversy with his teacher, the famous Protagoras, is recorded by Aulus Gellius v. 10 and other writers.

712. περιτόξευσεν] "Tunc sagittis confixisset."—Frischlin, Bergler, Brunck. The verb must not be confused with ἰπεριτόξευσεν, which has quite a different

meaning, and one altogether unsuitable to the present passage. Thucydides is represented as *crushing* his assailants, not as *competing with* them in friendly rivalry. Cephisodemus may be a good archer, says the poet, but Thucydides in his prime would have shot down, not merely *him*, but all his Scythian

ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς γέροντας οὐκ ἔαθ' ὕπνου τυχεῖν.  
 ψηφίσασθε χωρὶς εἶναι τὰς γραφὰς, ὅπως ἂν ἦ  
 τῷ γέροντι μὲν γέρων καὶ νωδὸς ὁ ξυνήγορος,  
 τοῖς νέοισι δ' εὐρύπρωκτος καὶ λάλος χῶ Κλεινίου.  
 κάξελαύνειν χρὴ τὸ λοιπὸν, κὰν φύγη τις, ζημιοῦν  
 τὸν γέροντα τῷ γέροντι, τὸν νέον δὲ τῷ νέφω.

715

ΔΙ. ὄροι μὲν ἀγορᾶς εἰσιν οἶδε τῆς ἐμῆς.  
 ἐνταῦθ' ἀγοράζειν πᾶσι Πελοποννησίοις  
 ἔξεστι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίοις  
 ἐφ' ᾧτε πωλεῖν πρὸς ἐμέ, Λαμάχω δὲ μή.  
 ἀγορανόμους δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καθίσταμαι  
 τρεῖς τοὺς λαχόντας τούσδ' ἰμάντας ἐκ Λεπρῶν.

720

relatives. As to the pre-eminence of the Scythians in archery see Xen. Mem. iii. 9. 2. "The Scythians," says Socrates, "would not dare to fight the Lacedaemonians with shields and spears; nor would the Lacedaemonians be willing to fight the Scythians with bows and arrows."

716. ὁ Κλεινίου] This is the famous Alcibiades, still a young man, though already noticed by Aristophanes, two years previously, in his first play, the Banqueters. See the Introduction. The opinion which our poet entertained of the young scapegrace may be gathered from the circumstance that his name is here coupled with, and indeed seems to be intended as a sort of climax to, ὁ εὐρύπρωκτος and ὁ λάλος.

717. κάξελαύνειν] Omitting for the moment the words κὰν φύγη τις ζημιοῦν, we have in these two lines merely an adaptation of the often-quoted proverb

ἦλφ τὸν ἦλον ἐκκρούειν, *to drive out one nail by another*; "clavum clavo eiicere," Bodl. 488; Coislin 251; Diog. v. 17 (Gaisford's Paroem., pp. 57, 142, 194); or as Pollux (ix. 120) gives it in an iambic line, ἦλφ τὸν ἦλον, πατάλω τὸν πάταλον. The same proverb is adapted and amplified by Antiphanes in the lines preserved by Athenaeus ii. 20 (p. 44) οἶνω [δὲ δεῖ] τὸν οἶνον ἐξελαύνειν Σάλπιγγι τὴν σάλπιγγα, τῷ κήρυκι τὸν βοῶντα, and so on for four more verses. The passage of Antiphanes is cited and corrected by Elmsley, who however does not refer to the proverb on which both it and these lines of Aristophanes are founded. See also Lucian, Pro Mercede Conductis 9; Pro lapsu inter salutandum 7; Plutarch de sanitate 11. It is one of the Adages illustrated by Erasmus. The words κὰν φύγη τις, ζημιοῦν, inserted to complete the line can, I think, only mean, *And if any one is already an exile* (in which

Nay, but if ye will not leave us to our hardly earned repose,  
 Sort the writs, divide the actions, separating these from those ;  
 Who assails the old and toothless should be old and toothless too ;  
 For a youngster, wantons, gabblers, Cleinias' son the trick may do.  
 So for future fines and exiles, fair and square the balance hold,  
 Let the youngster sue the youngster, and the old man sue the old.

DI. These are the boundaries of my market-place ;  
 And here may all the Peloponnesian folk,  
 Megarians and Boeotians, freely trade  
 Selling to me, but Lamachus may not.  
 And these three thongs, of Leprous make, I set  
 As market-clerks, elected by the lot.

case a decree of banishment would be futile) to fine him, that is, to seize his goods. Elmsley's explanation, "And if any one will not obey this law, to fine him," for which he refers to Demosth. adv. Lept., p. 498, and Andocides in Alc., p. 31, is quite unsuited to the context. And if by an alteration of the text we join the words *φυγῆ ζημιούν*, "to punish by exile," as Thuc. viii. 21 and 73, Eur. Hipp. 1043, we get an impossible tautology with *ἐξελαύνειν*.

719. *ὄροι μὲν ἀγορᾶς*] The Parabasis is over, and Dicaeopolis is at once discovered marking out the boundaries of his private market-place by certain landmarks, probably some of the stones which had formerly done duty as the Pnyx. I have always supposed that during the Parabasis the stage though empty was visible to the audience; but possibly the curtain was drawn up, and the interval utilized in preparing for

the succeeding scenes; for example, the mimic Pnyx may have been removed in the Acharnians, and introduced in the Knights. This too would obviate the necessity of Mnesilochus and Critylla remaining on the stage during the Parabasis of the Thesmophoriazusae, and so the remarks in the note on Thesm. 785 would be founded on a misapprehension.

721. *Μεγαρεῦσι*] Here again, as supra 624, 625, we have a foreshadowing of the three scenes which immediately follow. The Megarians may come to the private market (729-835); so may the Boeotians (860-958); but Lamachus may not (959-68).

724. *λαχόντας*] That the *ἀγορανόμοι* were elected by lot we know from the Polity of Athens, chap. 51, where also their number and duties are given. *Κληροῦνται δὲ καὶ ἀγορανόμοι, πέντε μὲν εἰς Πειραιᾶ, πέντε δὲ εἰς ἄστυ. τοῖσι δὲ*

ἐνταῦθα μήτε συκοφάντης εἰσίτω  
 μήτ' ἄλλος ὅστις Φασιανός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν στήλην καθ' ἣν ἐσπεισάμην  
 μέτειμ', ἵνα στήσω φανεράν ἐν τάγορᾳ.

725

ME. ἀγορὰ ἔν' Ἀθάναις χαίρε, Μεγαρεῦσιν φίλα.  
 ἐπόθουν τυ ναὶ τὸν Φίλιον ἄπερ ματέρα.  
 ἀλλ', ὦ πονηρὰ κόριχ' ἀθλίου πατρὸς,  
 ἄμβατε ποττὰν μάδδαν, αἴ χ' εὐρητέ πα.

730

ἰπὸ τῶν νόμων προστέτακται τῶν ὀνίων ἐπιμελίσθαι πάντων, ὅπως καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκίβδηλα πωλῆται. That they also had to keep order and to administer summary justice in the market is plain from 824 and 968 infra, and Wasps 1407. Here the ἀγορανόμοι are represented by whips or rather leathern thongs, ἐκ λεπρῶν, sc. βοῶν or κυνῶν (βοόεισιν ἱμάσιν, ἱμάς κύνειος). There is probably also an allusion to some incident connected with the Eleian town of Lepreum (Birds 149-51) with which we are now unacquainted. The Scholiast gives some additional and improbable explanations: ἀπὸ τοῦ λέπειν, ὃ ἐστὶ τύπτειν. Or again, φασὶ τὰ τῶν λεπρῶν βοῶν δέρματα ἰσχυρὰ εἶναι. Or again, ὅτι οἱ Μεγαρεῖς λεπροὶ τὸ σῶμα. Or finally, ἄμεινον λέγειν ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος Λεπρὸς καλούμενος, ἐνθα τὰ βυρρεία ἦν.

726. Φασιανός] Properly a man from Colchis-land and the River Phasis, whence the *pheasant* (*Phasianus Colchicus*) derives its name. See Introduction to Birds lii, liii. But here it involves one of the innumerable allusions to συκοφάντης, φάσις (*an information*), φαίνω infra 826.

727. στήλην] The pillar on which was inscribed the treaty between Dicaeopolis and the Lacedaemonians. Treaties of Peace were commonly so inscribed, and frequently contained in themselves a provision that this should be done. Thus the Peace of Nicias was to be inscribed on no less than five στήλαι, one to be erected in the Acropolis of Athens, another in the sanctuary of the Amyclaeon Apollo at Sparta, and the other three at the great gathering-places of the Hellenes, Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμῷ (Thuc. v. 18). The treaty of Alliance which immediately followed was to be inscribed on two στήλαι, one to be erected at Athens and one at Sparta, as before (Id. 23). The treaty made in the following year between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis was to be inscribed on four στήλαι, one of bronze and three of stone; the bronze pillar to be erected at the common expense at Olympia, and a stone pillar at Athens, Argos, and Mantinea (Id. 47). The pillar on which was inscribed the private treaty of Dicaeopolis is to be erected in his private Agora, and he leaves the stage ostensibly to



Within these bounds may no Informer come,  
 Or any other syco-Phasian man.  
 But I'll go fetch the Treaty-Pillar here,  
 And set it up in some conspicuous place.

MEGARIAN. Guid day, Athanian market, Megara's luvè!  
 By Frien'ly Zeus, I've miss't ye like my mither.  
 But ye, puir bairnies o' a waefu' father,  
 Speel up, ye'll aiblins fin' a barley-bannock.

fetch it; but he does not bring it back with him, and the real reason of his departure was to leave the stage empty for the entrance and soliloquy of the Megarian.

729. ἀγορὰ 'ν' Ἀθάνας] No sooner has he quitted the stage than a half-starved Megarian timidly enters, representing the first of the three classes mentioned in 721, 722 supra. He is so miserable and destitute that, in order to purchase the cheapest articles, and those which before the War were most plentiful in Megara, he is obliged to sell his own starving daughters. He speaks in Doric, but not absolutely as a Dorian would speak. Aristophanes seems to have selected such Dorian forms as he thought would be suitable to the rhythm of his own lines and familiar to an Athenian audience; just as Sir Walter Scott uses the Scottish idioms in his Waverley Novels. The editors who endeavour to turn the Megarian's language into the strictest possible Doric seem to me on an absolutely wrong tack, and I have not attempted to follow them.

730. καὶ τὸν Φίλιον] He appeals to

Zeus in his character of Φίλιος *the God of Friends*) because he has just spoken of the Athenian market as φίλα to the Megarians. Φίλιος is often used alone, as here, without the addition of Ζεὺς. See the lines of Pherecrates cited in the Commentary on Eccl. 1160. In Lucian's Toxaris (11) an Athenian and a Scythian propose to recite in competition tales of Athenian and Scythian friendship, and agree to swear that their tales shall be true ones. "And which of our Gods shall I adjure?" asks the Athenian, ἔρ' ἰκανὸς ὁ Φίλιος; and the Scythian consenting, he commences "Ἰστω τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος, that the tales which I tell shall, to the best of my belief, be accurate and true." The adjuration πρὸς Φίλιον is in very common use as an appeal from one friend to another. Thus in Plato; ἀλλά μοι εἰπέ πρὸς Φιλίου, Euthyphron, chap. 6, Gorgias 75. And in Lucian, Icarome-nippus (3), De Dipsadibus (9), Rhetorum Praeceptor (4).

732. ἄμβρατε κ.τ.λ.] "Pro ἀνάβητε πρὸς τὴν μᾶζαν ἐὰν εὐρηγέ που."—Bergler. Actors coming on the stage from the side scenes are always supposed to

- ἀκούετε δὴ, ποτέχετ' ἐμὴν τὰν γαστέρα·  
 πότερα πεπρᾶσθαι χρήδδεται, ἢ πεινῆν κακῶς ;
- KO. πεπρᾶσθαι πεπρᾶσθαι. 735
- ME. ἐγὼνγα καὐτός φαμι. τίς δ' οὕτως ἄνους  
 δς ὑμέ κα πρίαίτο, φανεράν ζαμίαν ;  
 ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ μοι Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά.  
 χοίρους γὰρ ὑμέ σκεύασας φασῶ φέρειν.  
 περίθεσθε τάσδε τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶν χοιρίων. 740  
 ὅπως δὲ δοξεῖτ' ἤμεν ἐξ ἀγαθῶς ὑός·  
 ὡς ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν, αἴπερ ἰξεῖτ' οἴκαδὶς  
 ἄπρατα, πειρασεῖσθε τᾶς λιμῶ κακῶς.  
 ἀλλ' ἀμφίθεσθε καὶ ταδὶ τὰ ρυγχία,  
 κῆπειτεν ἐς τὸν σάκκον ᾧδ' ἐσβαίνετε. 745  
 ὅπως δὲ γρυλιξεῖτε καὶ κοιξετε

mount from a lower level. See the Commentary on Knights 149. And in my judgement the statement of Vitruvius (v. 7), that the stage of a Greek theatre should be not less than ten nor more than twelve feet high, gives a correct idea of the height, in the time of Aristophanes, of the stage in the Athenian theatre. It was essential that the stage should be lifted far above the heads of the choreutae, otherwise the favoured spectators sitting in the front (which were also the lowest) tiers of the auditorium could have seen little or nothing of what was passing on the stage. Of course the necessity for so lofty a stage disappeared with the disappearance of the Chorus.

733. τὰν γαστέρα] He should have said τὸν νοῦν, as in the corresponding line

Knights 1014 ἄκουε δὴ νῦν, καὶ πρόσχεε τὸν νοῦν ἐμοί. But he is appealing to their sense of hunger, and therefore substitutes τὰν γαστέρα as the seat of hunger.

735. ΚΟΡΑ.] Were these really children? or were they, as K. O. Müller suggests (Greek Lit. xxvii note), merely puppets, the sounds which they are supposed to utter being spoken behind the stage? It is difficult to say, but it seems to me more probable that they were two little boys.

737. φανεράν ζαμίαν] *A manifest bad bargain.* Alciphron (iii. 21 and 38) describes a useless slave as ζῆμία καθαρὰ and λαμπρὰ ζῆμία.

738. Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά] The Megarians claimed to be the inventors of Comedy, but the more refined and polished Athenians derided the broad

Now listen, bairns ; atten' wi' a' yere—painch ;  
Whilk wad ye liefer, to be sellt or clemmed ?

GIRLS. Liefer be sellt ! Liefer be sellt !

MEG. An' sae say I mysel' ! But wha sae doited  
As to gie aught for *you*, a sicker skaith ?  
Aweel, I ken a pawkie Megara-trick,  
I'se busk ye up, an' say I'm bringin' piggies.  
Here, slip these wee bit clooties on yere nieves,  
An' shaw yeresells a decent grumphie's weans.  
For gin' I tak' ye hame unseltt, by Hairmes  
Ye'll thole the warst extremities o' clemmin' .  
Ne'est, pit thir lang pig-snowties owre yere nebs,  
An' stech yere bodies in this sackie. Sae.  
An' min' ye grunt an' grane an' g-r-r awa' ,

farce and buffoonery which constituted the Megarian idea of comic humour. See Wasps 57 and the Commentary there. Here Aristophanes appears to be apologizing for this scene of the "twa' sma' piggies" by explaining that it is professedly a γέλωσ Μεγαρόθεν κεκλεμμένος: a phrase which, as used in the Wasps, may possibly be intended to refer to this very scene. I have followed most recent editors in changing the MS. μηχανὰ into μαχανὰ, because it seems likely that Aristophanes, emphasizing the non-Attic character of the scene, would be careful to use non-Attic forms throughout; but I have not thought it necessary to follow them in writing in the next line χοίρωσ and φέρειν for the MS. χοίρους and φέρειν.

743. ἀπαρα] *Unsold*. This is Ahrens's conjecture for the τὰ πρᾶτα of the MSS.,

which does not harmonize with the construction of the line. That the word "unseltt" occurs in my translation is a mere accident. I was not aware of Ahrens's conjecture when I wrote it.

745. σάκκον] This was a piece of hair-cloth or sacking fashioned into a resemblance of pig-skin and, when donned, covering the body of the child or puppet from the front to the hind legs. We must not think of it as a sack or bag opening at one end only, as the Commentators appear to do. When Van Leeuwen, for example, says on line 766 "porculam e sacco protractam Dicaeopolidi ostendit," he does not realize that in taking the pig out of the σάκκος he would be stripping off the pig-skin and showing that the thing within it was not a pig at all.

- χῆσεῖτε φωνὰν χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν.  
 ἐγὼν δὲ καρυξῶ Δικαιοπόλιν ὄπα.  
 Δικαιοπόλι, ἣ λῆς πρίασθαι χοιρία;
- ΔΙ. τί ἀνὴρ Μεγαρικός; ME. ἀγοράσοντες ἴκομες. 750
- ΔΙ. πῶς ἔχετε; ME. διαπεινάμες αἰεὶ ποττὸ πῦρ.
- ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἡδύ τοι νῆ τὸν Δί', ἣν αὐλὸς παρῆ.  
 τί δ' ἄλλο πράττεθ' οἱ Μεγαρεῖς νῦν; ME. οἶα δῆ.  
 ὄκα μὲν ἐγὼ τῆνῶθεν ἐμπορευόμεν,  
 ἄνδρες πρόβουλοι τοῦτ' ἔπρασσον τᾶ πόλει, 755  
 ὅπως τάχιστα καὶ κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμεθα.
- ΔΙ. αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἀπαλλάξεσθε πραγμάτων. ME. σά μάν;
- ΔΙ. τί δ' ἄλλο Μεγαροῖ; πῶς ὁ σίτος ὄνιος;
- ME. παρ' ἀμὲ πολυτίματος ἄπερ τοῖ θεοῖ.

747. χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν] These were the sucking-pigs which were sacrificed to Demeter as part of the ceremony of initiation. See Peace 374, 375, Frogs 337, 338, and (in vol. vi, pp. 182, 183 of this edition) Menaechmi ii. 2.

751. διαπεινάμες] We have starving-bouts by the fire. Even before the outbreak of the War the Megarians (we are told), owing to the exclusion decree of Pericles, began to starve by inches, ἐπείνων βάδην; and now they can do nothing but starve, one against the other. See Peace 483. Dicaeopolis understands, or pretends to understand, him to say διαπίνομεν, we have drinking-bouts by the fire (πρὸς τὸ πῦρ διαπίνοντάς τε καὶ εὐωχουμένους, Plato, Rep. iv. 1), and thinks that if they have a piper to play to them over their wine they must be having a good time. In the translation the Megarian uses the word "greeting" in the Scotch sense of weeping; the Athenian understands it

in the sense of exchanging greetings with their friends.

753. οἶα δῆ] Something must be understood with these two words, but it is not easy to say what. The meaning may be (1) *such as they do or can*, πράττουσιν οἶα δῆ πράττουσιν. Compare Lucian's Harmonides 2 where it is said "All the spectators can applaud or hiss, but only two or three or ὅσοι δῆ (i. e. or whatever the number may be) are judges, κρίνουσιν ὅσοι δῆ κρίνουσιν; and the πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν of Agam. 1259. (2) *such as you might expect* οἶα δῆ εἰκός, Eusebius, Mart. Pal. ix. 3; H. E. vi. 36 init. (3) "Est οἶα δῆ idem fere quod Angli et Germani dicunt *so so*, Galli *là là*" Dindorf; which I have adopted as a convenient, though inaccurate, form.

755. ἄνδρες πρόβουλοι] These were great officers of state, whose duty it was to devise the legislative measures

- An' mak' the skirls o' little Mystery piggies.  
 Mysel' will ca' for Dicaeopolis.  
 Hae! Dicaeopolis!  
 Are ye for buyin' onie pigs the day?
- DI. How now, Megarian? MEG. Come to niffer, guidman.
- DI. How fare ye all? MEG. A' greetin' by the fire.
- DI. And very jolly too if there's a piper.  
 What do your people do besides? MEG. Sae sae.  
 For when I cam' frae Megara toun the morn,  
 Our Lairds o' Council were in gran' debate  
 How we might quickliest perish, but an' ben.
- DI. So ye'll lose all your troubles. MEG. What for no?
- DI. What else at Megara? What's the price of wheat?
- MEG. Och! high enough: high as the Gudes, an' higher.

to be submitted to the Council or Assembly. They were usually found in oligarchies, and Megara no doubt had in these days an oligarchic constitution. *Τριῶν οὐσῶν ἀρχῶν (καθ' ἃς αἰροῦνται τινες ἀρχὰς τὰς κυρίους) νομοφυλάκων, προβούλων, βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν νομοφύλακες ἀριστοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικόν δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλή δὲ δημοτικόν*, Aristotle, *Politics vi. ad fin.*; cf. *Id. iv. 12. 8.* At the date of the Acharnians, *πρόβουλοι* were unknown at Athens; but after the Sicilian catastrophe a board of ten *πρόβουλοι* was instituted, as a sort of Committee of Public Safety. And in the *Lysistrata* one of them is introduced, vainly trying to argue down the leaders of the recalcitrant women.

757. ἀπαλλάξεσθε πραγμάτων] With this somewhat grim pleasantry may be compared the answer which the shade of the murdered Cleonice gave

to Pausanias, who had called her up from the dead; ἡ δ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθοῦσα, ταχέως ἔφη παύσασθαι τῶν κακῶν αὐτὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενόμενον, αἰνιτομένη, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ τελευτήν.—Plutarch, *Cimon 6.* So in the *Troades* of Euripides (line 272) to Hecabe's inquiry after her daughter Polyxena (who had, in fact, been sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles), Talthybius makes answer, "It is well with your daughter, ἔχει πότμον ἡν, ὥστ' ἀπηλλάχθαι πόνων." However, the expression is frequently used without any double meaning of this kind, as in Plato's *Apology*, *ad fin.* *τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι*, and *Phaedo*, chap. 34 *ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ, ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κακῶν.*

759. πολυτίματος] This is a common epithet of the Gods (see the Commentary on *Frogs 851*); but here there is a play on the high price, *τιμῆ*, of corn at

- ΔΙ. ἄλας οὖν φέρεις; ΜΕ. οὐχ ὑμῆς αὐτῶν ἄρχετε; 760  
 ΔΙ. οὐδὲ σκόροδα; ΜΕ. ποῖα σκόροδ'· ὑμῆς τῶν ἀεὶ,  
 ὄκκ' ἐσβάλητε, τὸς ἀρωραῖοι μύες,  
 πᾶσσακι τὰς ἀγλιθας ἐξορύσσετε.  
 ΔΙ. τί δαὶ φέρεις; ΜΕ. χοίρους ἐγώνγα μυστικὰς.  
 ΔΙ. καλῶς λέγεις· ἐπίδειξον. ΜΕ. ἀλλὰ μὲν καλά. 765  
 ἀντεινον, αἱ λῆς· ὡς παχεῖα καὶ καλά.  
 ΔΙ. τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα; ΜΕ. χοῖρος ναὶ Δία.  
 ΔΙ. τί λέγεις σύ; ποδαπῇ χοῖρος ἦδε; ΜΕ. Μεγαρικά.  
 ἢ οὐ χοῖρός ἐσθ' ἄδ'; ΔΙ. οὐκ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται.  
 ΜΕ. οὐ δεινά; θᾶσθε τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας· 770  
 οὐ φατι τάνδε χοῖρον ἦμεν. ἀλλὰ μὲν,  
 αἱ λῆς, περιίδου μοι περὶ θυμητιδᾶν ἀλῶν,  
 αἱ μὴ 'στιν οὗτος χοῖρος Ἑλλάνων νόμφ.  
 ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου γε. ΜΕ. ναὶ τὸν Διοκλέα,

Megara. The jest is borrowed by Antiphanes in a passage preserved by Athenaeus, vii. 55, to which Blaydes refers.

760. ἄλας οὖν φέρεις;] We have seen supra 521, and we should keep in mind throughout this scene, that the Megarians had been accustomed to export to Athens ἡ χοιρίδιον ἢ σκόροδον ἢ χονδροῦς ἄλας. Megarian salt was noted for its dry and pungent qualities. Pliny (N. H. xxxi. 41), speaking of the different kinds of salt, says "servandis carnibus aptior acer et siccus, ut Megaricus," or to adopt Philemon Holland's translation, "For to powder and keep flesh meat, the dry salt, and quicke at tongues end, is thought to be meeter than other, as we may see in the salt of Megara." But now, so far from being able to export salt, they have none for them-

selves; because, as the Megarian says, the Athenians command their salt. For the saltworks were at Nisaea; ἐν Νισαίᾳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ἄλας πηγνυνται, says the Scholiast; and the Athenian control of them is referred, no doubt rightly, to the capture by Nicias, about a year and a half before the date of this Comedy, of Minoa (Thuc. iii. 51), the island or promontory which formed the harbour of Nisaea, Strabo ix. 1. 4.

762. ὄκκ' ἐσβάλητε] Ὀκα is equivalent to ὄτε, ὄκκα (ὄκα κα) to ὄταν. Twice every year the entire Athenian army, both infantry and cavalry, poured itself over the little territory of Megara, destroying the crops and devastating the whole country up to the very walls of the town, Thuc. iv. 66; cf. Id. ii. 31. Plutarch (Pericles 30) says that the στρατηγοί, on assuming office, were re-

- DI. Got any salt? MEG. Ye're maisters o' our saut.  
 DI. Or garlic? MEG. Garlic, quotha! when yeresells,  
 Makin' yere raids like onie swarm o' mice,  
 Howkit up a' the rooties wi' a stak'.  
 DI. What *have* you got then? MEG. Mystery piggies, I.  
 DI. That's good; let's see them. MEG. Hae! They're bonnie piggies.  
 Lift it, an't please you; 'tis sae sleek an' bonnie.  
 DI. What on earth's this? MEG. A piggie that, by Zeus.  
 DI. A pig! What sort of pig? MEG. A Megara piggie.  
 What! no a piggie that? DI. It doesn't seem so.  
 MEG. Tis awfu'! Och the disbelievin' carle!  
 Uphaudin' she's na piggie! Will ye wad,  
 My cantie frien', a pinch o' thymy saut  
 She's no a piggie in the Hellanian use?  
 DI. A human being's — MEG. Weel, by Diocles,

quired to swear that they would continue to make these regular invasions.

763. πάσσακι] Ὑποκοριστικῶς τῆ πασσαλάφ.—Scholiast. The word is used to show the minute completeness of the Athenian ravages.

769. χοῖρος] The twenty-six lines which follow are largely occupied with a play on the double meaning of this word, viz. (1) a pig, and (2) τὸ γυναικίον αἰδοῖον, which was doubtless portrayed on the σάκκος.

772. περιδου] *Bet*, infra 1115, Knights 791, Clouds 644. In the Knights, as here, the proposed stake is introduced by *περί*; ἐθέλω *περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιδύσθαι*, I will stake my head on it. As to *θυμητιδῶν ἀλῶν*, cf. 1099 infra. The ancients were accustomed to mix with their salt thyme and other aromatic plants. Mitchell refers to Pliny, N. H.

xxi. 89 and xxxi. 41. I will give the passages in Holland's translation: (1) "When the stomacke riseth against meat and refuseth it, a drage or poudere of thyme with salt brings the appetite againe." (2) "Moreover there is a certain comfite or condited salt, compounded also with sweet spices and aromaticall drugs, which may be eaten as a dainty kind of gruel or sauce; for it stirreth up and whetteth appetite, eat the same with any other meats; in-somuch as amongst an infinit number of other sauces, this carrieth away the tast from them all, for it hath a peculiar smatch by it selfe." Ἑλλάνων νόμος, according to Hellenic usage: that is, in the Hellenic tongue.

774. Διοκλῆα] Diocles was an Athenian who in some great prehistoric battle fought and died in the Megarian ranks,

- ἐμά γα. τὸ δέ νιν εἶμεναι τίνος δοκεῖς; 775  
 ἢ λῆς ἀκοῦσαι φθεγγομένας; ΔΙ. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς  
 ἔγωγε. ΜΕ. φώνει δὴ τὸ ταχέως, χοιρίον.  
 οὐ χρῆσθα; σιγᾶς, ᾧ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένα;  
 πάλιν τυ ἀποισῶ ναι τὸν Ἑρμᾶν οἴκαδิส.
- ΚΟ. κοῖ, κοῖ. 780  
 ΜΕ. αὐτα ὅτι χοῖρος; ΔΙ. νῦν γε χοῖρος φαίνεται.  
 ἀτὰρ ἐκτραφεῖς γε κύσθος ἔσται πέντ' ἐτῶν.
- ΜΕ. σάφ' ἴσθι, ποττὰν ματέρ' εἰκασθήσεται.  
 ΔΙ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θύσιμός ἐστιν αὐτηγί. ΜΕ. σά μάν;  
 πᾶ δ' οὐχὶ θύσιμός ἐστι; ΔΙ. κέρκον οὐκ ἔχει. 785
- ΜΕ. νέα γάρ ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ δελφακουμένα  
 ἐξεῖ μεγάλην τε καὶ παχείαν κήρυθράν.  
 ἀλλ' αἰ τράφεν λῆς, ἅδε τοι χοῖρος καλά.
- ΔΙ. ὡς ξυγγενῆς ὁ κύσθος αὐτῆς θατέρᾳ.  
 ΜΕ. ὁμοματρία γάρ ἐστι κῆκ τούτῳ πατρός. 790  
 αἰ δ' ἂν παχυνθῆ ἀναχνοιανθῆ τριχί,  
 κάλλιστος ἔσται χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτᾳ θύειν.
- ΔΙ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χοῖρος τὰφροδίτῃ θύεται.  
 ΜΕ. οὐ χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτᾳ; μόνᾳ γα δαιμόνων.  
 καὶ γίγνεται γα τάνδε τᾶν χοίρων τὸ κρῆς 795  
 ἄδιστον ἂν τὸν ὀδελὸν ἀμπεπαρμένον.

giving his own life for the life of a youth to whom he was devotedly attached. In honour of his self-sacrificing friendship the Megarians instituted a festival around his tomb, wherein a prize was awarded to the boy who gave the sweetest kiss, Theocritus xii. 27-33.

778. οὐ χρῆσθα; σιγᾶς;] This, the Scholiast observes, he says aside, λεληθότως, to the little pigs. I imagine that he says οὐ χρῆσθα to one, and σιγᾶς to

the other. If they won't speak he will take them home again, and what will then happen has been mentioned supra 742, 743. εἰν σιωπήσητε, says the Scholiast, ἀποφέρω πάλιν ὑμᾶς οἴκαδε λιμώξοντας.

785. κέρκον οὐκ ἔχει] And therefore was not "perfect and without blemish," and would not be an acceptable offering to the Divine Being. τὰ γὰρ κολουρὰ ἐν ταῖς ἱεουργίαις οὐ θύεται, καὶ καθόλου ὅπερ ἂν μὴ ἦ τέλειον καὶ ὑγιές οὐ θύεται τοῖς



She's mine; wha's piggie did ye think she was?  
 Mon! wad ye hear them skirlin'? DI. By the Powers,  
 I would indeed. MEG. Now piggies, skirl awa'.  
 Ye winna? winna skirl, ye graceless hizzies?  
 By Hairmes then I'se tak' ye hame again.

GIRLS. Wee! wee! wee!

MEG. This no a piggie? DI. Faith, it seems so now,  
 But 'twont remain so for five years I'm thinking.

MEG. Trowth, tak' my word for't, she'll be like her mither.

DI. But she's no good for offerings. MEG. What for no?  
 What for nae guid for offerins? DI. She's no tail.

MEG. Aweel, the puir wee thing, she's owre young yet.  
 But when she's auld, she'll have a gawcie tail.  
 But wad ye rear them, here's a bonnie piggie!

DI. Why she's the staring image of the other.

MEG. They're o' ane father an' ane mither, baith.  
 But bide a wee, an' when she's fat an' curlie  
 She'll be an offerin' gran' for Aphrodite.

DI. A pig's no sacrifice for Aphrodite.

MEG. What, no for Her! Mon, for hirsell' the lane.  
 Why there's nae flesh sae tastie as the flesh  
 O' thae sma piggies, roastit on a spit.

*θεοίς*.—Scholiast. The Megarian had given the little creature a pig's snout and feet and body, but had clean forgotten the tail.

786. *δελφακουμένα*] *When it has grown to pighood*; *τοὺς γὰρ μείζονας χοίρους δελφάκας ἐκάλουν*, says the Scholiast, who also explains the words which follow *μεγάλαν τε καὶ παχείαν* by *τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πύσθην*. See Eccl. 1048 and the note there.

793. *ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χοίρος*] *Πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλ-*

*λήνων οὐ θύουσι χοίρους τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ὡς βδελυττομένη διὰ τὸν Ἄδων αὐτούς*.—Scholiast. Adonis, the darling of Aphrodite, was, as all know, slain by a "foul, grim, and urchin-snouted boar." But the Scholiast is quite right in saying *Πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων* instead of *οἱ Ἕλληνες*, for there were some Hellenic states in which it was customary to sacrifice swine to Aphrodite. See Athenaeus iii. 49.

- ΔΙ. ἤδη δ' ἄνευ τῆς μητρὸς ἐσθίοιεν ἄν ;  
 ΜΕ. ναὶ τὸν Ποτειδᾶ, κἄν ἄνευ γὰρ τῷ πατρὸς.  
 ΔΙ. τί δ' ἐσθίει μάλιστα ; ΜΕ. πάνθ' ἅ κα διδῶς.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώτη. ΔΙ. χοῖρε χοῖρε. ΚΟ. Α. κοῖ, κοῖ. 800  
 ΔΙ. τρώγοις ἄν ἐρεβίνθους ; ΚΟ. Α. κοῖ, κοῖ, κοῖ.  
 ΔΙ. τί δαί ; Φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας ; ΚΟ. Α. κοῖ, κοῖ.  
 ΔΙ. τί δαί σύ ; τρώγοις ἄν ; ΚΟ. Β. κοῖ, κοῖ, κοῖ.  
 ΔΙ. ὥς ὄξ' ἔνδον πρὸς τὰς ἰσχάδας κεκράγατε.  
 ἐνεγκάτω τις ἔνδοθεν τῶν ἰσχάδων 805  
 τοῖς χοιριδίοισιν. ἄρα τρώξονται ; βαβαί,  
 οἶον ῥοθιάζουσ', ὃ πολυτίμηθ' Ἡράκλεις.  
 ποδαπὰ τὰ χοιρί' ; ὡς Τραγασαῖα φαίνεται.  
 ΜΕ. ἀλλ' οὔτι πάσας κατέτραγον τὰς ἰσχάδας,  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτῶν τάνδε μίαν ἀνειλόμαν. 810  
 ΔΙ. νῆ τὸν Δί' ἀστείω γε τὼ βοσκήματε·  
 πόσον πρίωμαί σοι τὰ χοιρίδια ; λέγε.  
 ΜΕ. τὸ μὲν ἄτερον τούτων, σκορόδων τροπαλλίδος,

801. ἐρεβίνθους] The ἐρέβινθος is the cicer or chickpea, a sort of pea very common on the coasts of the Mediterranean, the pod of which contains "two seeds, sometimes perfectly globular with a short beak at the navel; sometimes angular and resembling a ram's head."—Miller and Martyn. Cf. Pliny, N. H. xviii. 32.

802. Φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας] Phibalís was a low-lying district of Megara on the border of Attica; indeed, it seems to have been a debatable ground between the two countries. It was famous for its figs, which were thought the best for making ἰσχάδας, dried figs. Φιβάλεως is the adjective agreeing with ἰσχάδας. Athenaeus (iii. 7) says that this fig is

frequently mentioned by the Comic poets; τῶν δὲ καλουμένων Φιβαλέων σύκων πολλοὶ μὲνηνται τῶν κωμφοδιοποιῶν. Phibalís also, he tells us, gave its name to a myrtle.

803. τί δαί σύ;] This sudden turning to the second little pig, who has kept silence during her sister's eager replies in the three preceding lines, seems to me to lend a very dramatic and vivacious touch to the dialogue; and it is surprising that several recent editors have thought fit to omit the line; their main objection, apparently, being that it is not recognized by Suidas s.v. Φίβαλις. But there is really no reason why it should be. Suidas is dealing with the words Φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας, and he

- DI. But can they feed without their mother yet ?
- MEG. Poteidan, yes ! withouten father too.
- DI. What will they eat most freely ? MEG. Aught ye gie them. But spier yoursel'. DI. Hey, piggy, piggy ! FIRST GIRL. Wee !
- DI. Do you like pease, you piggy ? FIRST GIRL. Wee, wee, wee !
- DI. What, and Phibalean figs as well ? FIRST GIRL. Wee, wee !
- DI. What, and you other piggy ? SECOND GIRL. Wee, wee, wee !
- DI. Eh, but ye're squealing bravely for the figs. Bring out some figs here, one of you within, For these small piggies. Will they eat them ? Yah ! Worshipful Heracles ! how they are gobbling now. Whence come the pigs ? They seem to me Aetallian.
- MEG. Na, na ; they haena eaten a' thae figs. See here ; here's ane I pickit up mysel'.
- DI. Upon my word, they are jolly little beasts. What shall I give you for the pair ? let's hear.
- MEG. Gie me for ane a tie o' garlic, will ye,

quotes lines 802 and 804, which contain the word *ισχάδας*, and omits line 803, which does *not* contain it. His doing so affords no ground for suspecting that the line did not appear in his copy of Aristophanes.

807. οἶον ῥοθιάζουσα'] *Merà ῥόθου και ψόφου ἐσθίουσιν.*—Scholiast. The invocation of Heracles is a tribute to his traditional voracity.

808. Τραγασαία] *Of the Tragasaean breed*, with a play on *τρώγω, τραγείν, to eat*. Tragasae was a little town in Troyland, famous for its salt, Athenaeus iii. 3 ; Strabo xiii. 1. 48 ; Pliny, N. H. xxxi. 41. It is introduced here merely for the sake of the pun on *τραγείν*, and again *infra* 853 for the

sake of a pun on *τράγος, a goat*. Eat-all-ians in the translation is intended to recall *Aetolians*.

809. ἀλλ' οὔτι πάσας] In the MSS. and in all editions before Bothe's second this line is continued to Dicaeopolis, and is taken to mean *sed fieri non potest ut omnes caricae comederint*. Bothe transferred it to the Megarian, and is followed by Bergk and several recent editors. And with some hesitation I have done the same. Dicaeopolis is amazed at the voracity of the little pigs. *But*, the Megarian replies in defence of his daughters, *they did not really eat all the figs, for I was so hungry that I took one myself.*

813. σκαρόδων τροπαλλίδος] *Διαβάλλει*

- τὸ δ' ἄτερον, αἱ λῆς, χοίνικος μόνας ἄλῶν.
- ΔΙ. ὠνήσομαί σοι· περίμεν' αὐτοῦ. ΜΕ. ταῦτα δῆ. 815  
 Ἐρμᾶ ἔμπολαῖε, τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν  
 οὔτω μ' ἀποδόσθαι τὴν τ' ἐμαντῶ ματέρα.
- ΣΥ. ὠνθροπε, ποδαπός; ΜΕ. χοιροπώλας Μεγαρικός.
- ΣΥ. τὰ χοιρίδια τοίνυν ἐγὼ φανῶ ταδί  
 πολέμα καὶ σέ. ΜΕ. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν', ἴκει πάλιν 820  
 ὄθενπερ ἀρχὰ τῶν κακῶν ἀμῖν ἔφν.
- ΣΥ. κλάων Μεγαριεῖς. οὐκ ἀφήσεις τὸν σάκον;  
 ΜΕ. Δικαιόπολι Δικαιόπολι, φαντάζομαι.
- ΔΙ. ὑπὸ τοῦ; τίς ὁ φαίνων σ' ἐστίν; Ἀγορανόμοι,  
 τοὺς συκοφάντας οὐ θύραζ' ἐξείρξετε; 825  
 τιῆ μαθὼν φαίνεις ἄνευ θρυαλλίδος;
- ΣΥ. οὐ γὰρ φανῶ τοὺς πολεμίους; ΔΙ. κλάων γε σὺ,  
 εἰ μὴ ἔτερωσε συκοφαντήσεις τρέχων.
- ΜΕ. οἶον τὸ κακὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τοῦτ' ἐνι.
- ΔΙ. θάρρει, Μεγαρικό· ἄλλ' ἦς τὰ χοιρίδι' ἀπέδου 830  
 τιμῆς, λαβέ ταυτὶ τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλας,

τοὺς Μεγαρίεας, ὅτι εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθον πεινίας ὡς τὰ τέκνα πωλεῖν δεσμοῦ σκοροδῶν καὶ χοίνικος ἄλῶν τροπαλλίς δὲ ἡ δέσμη τῶν σκοροδῶν. ἀστέως δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἄμα καὶ περιπαθῶς ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Δικαιοπόλιδος ζητεῖ ἢ πρότερον οἱ Μεγαριεῖς ἄλλοις παρεῖχον.—Scholiast.

816. Ἐρμᾶ ἔμπολαῖε] Dicaeopolis goes into the house, to fetch the salt and the garlic. The Megarian, left on the stage, expresses his joy at getting rid of his two daughters in exchange for such trifles as these; and calls on the God who presides over all trafficking (see Plutus 1155) to give him the chance of making the like bargain with regard to his wife and his mother. In the

midst of his rejoicing he is surprised by the appearance of a Sycophant or Common Informer. These were the pests of Athenian life, the counterpart of modern blackmailers, the pernicious fruit of the permission given by Solon's laws for any one who liked, τῷ βουλομένῳ, to take proceedings against an evildoer. Another informer is brought on the stage infra 910–58; a third in Birds 1410–68; and a fourth in Plutus 850–957, where see the Commentary.

820. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν'] A common exclamation of recognition, *Here it comes! Here it is again!* Birds 354, Frogs 1341, Plutarch, Marcellus 17 (3), Flamininus 9 (4), and frequently elsewhere. The

An' for the tither half a peck o' saut.

DI. I'll buy them : stay you here awhile. MEG. Aye, aye.  
Traffickin' Hairmes, wad that I could swap  
Baith wife an' mither on sic terms as thae.

INFORMER. Man ! who are *you* ? MEG. Ane Megara piggie-seller.

INF. Then I'll denounce your goods and you yourself  
As enemies ! MEG. Hech, here it comes again,  
The vera primal source of a' our wae.

INF. You'll Megarize to your cost. Let go the sack.

MEG. Dicaeopolis ! Dicaeopolis ! Here's a chiel  
Denouncin' me. DI. (*Re-entering.*) Where is he ? Market-clerks,  
Why don't you keep these sycophants away ?  
What ! show him up without a lantern-wick ?

INF. Not show our enemies up ? DI. You had better not.  
Get out, and do your showing other-where.

MEG. The pest thae birkies are in Athans toun !

DI. Well never mind, Megarian, take the things,  
Garlic and salt, for which you sold the pigs.

Megarian recognizes in these Athenian informers the real cause of the War (see supra 517-22), and finds himself at once attacked by the new comer. *Megaraeis* merely means *You will hold yourself out as a Megarian*.

824. *Ἀγορανόμοι*] They had indeed been elected for the express purpose of excluding informers from the market, 723-6 supra.

826. *φαίνειν*] *Φαίνειν*, beside its general signification of *giving light to*, was also specially employed, as indeed it is two lines above, in the restricted sense of *denouncing, informing against*; and in that sense helped to build up the compound *συκοφάντης*. Here we have a

play on these two uses of the word : the Informer is addressed as if he were a lantern trying "to give light without a wick." And from a comparison of this line with 917 infra we may perhaps infer that jests of this kind were in vogue at the date of the Acharnians.

827. *κλάων γι σύ*] He borrows the threat which the Informer had used five lines before, and the *ἀγορανόμοι*, the leathern thongs, are so obviously about to exercise their power of inflicting punishment on the intruder that he thinks it safer to take to his heels at once. *εἰ μὴ* in the next line, as frequently elsewhere, is equivalent to *ἀλλά*.

καὶ χαίρε πόλλ'. ΜΕ. ἀλλ' ἀμὴν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον.

ΔΙ. πολυπραγμοσύνη νυν ἐς κεφαλὴν τρέποιτ' ἐμοί.

ΜΕ. ὦ χοιρίδια, πειρήσθε κἄνευ τῷ πατρὸς  
παίειν ἐφ' ἀλὶ τὰν μᾶδδαν, αἶ κά τις διδῶ.

835

ΧΟ. εὐδαιμονεῖ γ' ἄνθρωπος. οὐκ ἤκουσας οἱ προβαίνει  
τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ βουλευματος; καρπώσεται γὰρ ἀνήρ  
ἐν τάγορᾳ καθήμενος·  
κἂν εἰσὶν τις Κτησίας,  
ἢ συκοφάντης ἄλλος, οἱ-  
μῶζων καθεδεῖται

840

οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὑποψωνῶν σε πημανεῖ τι

οὐδ' ἐξομόρξεται Πρέπης τὴν εὐρυπρωκτίαν σοι,

οὐδ' ὥστιεῖ Κλεωνύμφ·

832. ἀλλ' ἀμὴν κ. τ. λ.] That is, τὸ χαίρειν. There is a similar play on the word in Eur. Hec. 427, Or. 1083, Phoen. 618. So in Heliodorus (Aethiopics ii. 21) Cnemon, meeting an old man on the banks of the Nile *πρῶτα μὲν χαίρειν ἐκέλευε*; but the other said *οὐ δύνασθαι, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οὕτω συμβαίνειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς τύχης*. So in Latin, when two lovers are parting, and one says "Vale!" the other replies "aliquanto amplius vale-rem, si hic maneres."—Plautus, *Asinaria* iii. 3. 2. And see 176 supra.

833. *πολυπραγμοσύνη*] *Then may my officiousness* (that is, the blessing I invoked where it was not wanted) *return on my own head*. Another reading is *πολυπραγμοσύνης*: *O the busybodiness of me!*

836. *εὐδαιμονεῖ*] The Megarian goes out with his salt and his garlic, and Dicaeopolis retires into his own house

with the two little pigs he has purchased. The Chorus, delighted at the summary expulsion of the Informer, expatiate on the advantages which the private agora of Dicaeopolis will have over the public agora of the Athenian people, in that it will be purged of the obnoxious personages who are accustomed to frequent the latter. See the passage cited from Demosthenes in the note to *Plutus* 903. He gives the names of seven of these objectionable *ἀγοραῖοι*, four of whom, Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, Pauson, and Lysistratus, are familiar to all readers of Aristophanes; the other three, Ctesias, Prepis, and the younger Cratinus, are mentioned in this Comedy only. The choral song is divided into four stanzas, each consisting of six lines, the first five iambic, the sixth glyconic. It has little interest or beauty. Aristophanes had not yet

Fare well! MEG. That's na our way in Megara toun. ||

DI. Then on MY head the officious wish return!

MEG. O piggies, try withouten father now  
To eat wi' saut yere bannock, an' ye git ane.

CHOR. A happy lot the man has got: his scheme devised with wondrous art

Proceeds and prospers as you see; and now he'll sit in his private  
Mart

The fruit of his bold design to reap.  
And O if a Ctesias come this way,  
Or other Informers vex us, they  
Will soon for their trespass weep.

No sneak shall grieve you buying first the fish you wanted to  
possess,

No Prepis on your dainty robes wipe off his utter loathsomeness.  
You'll no Cleonymus jostle there;

developed his full lyrical powers. Blaydes in both his editions proposed to change *ἤκουσας* into *ἠκούσατ'*, and this is approved by Meineke; but the singular is employed throughout: *σε* or *σοι* will be found in each of the three remaining stanzas.

839. Κτησίας] That this was some well-known informer is plain from what follows. He and all *other* informers will rue it if they take their seats in *this* agora. Dicaeopolis will sit there to enjoy himself; *they* will sit there to their cost. *οἰμώζων* is equivalent to the *κλάων* of 822, 827 *supra*.

842. ὑποψωνῶν] Ὑποψωνεῖν means to slip in before another and purchase the articles of food he intended to buy;

whether by getting the start of him, or by overbidding him, or in any other way.

843. Πρέπισ] The Scholiast says ὡς καταπύγων κωμφοδεῖται ὁ Πρέπισ, which of course is evident from the present line. With ἐξομόρξεται Porson compares Eur. Bacchae 344, where Pentheus says to Teiresias, "Do not touch me μηδ' ἐξομόρξει μαριαν τὴν σὴν ἐμοί."

844. Κλεωνύμφ] Of Cleonymus, now ridiculed as a glutton, and later, after the battle of Delium, as a coward and a *ρίψασπις*, we have already heard *supra* 88. He is ridiculed in every extant Comedy down to and including the Birds. And see Thesm. 605 and the note there.

χλαῖναν δ' ἔχων φανὴν δίει·  
 κού ξυντυχῶν σ' Ὑπέρβολος  
 δικῶν ἀναπλήσει·

845

οὐδ' ἐντυχῶν ἐν τὰγορᾷ πρόσεισί σοι βαδίζων  
 Κρατῖνος ἀποκεκαρμένος μοιχὸν μᾶ μαχαίρα,  
 ὁ περιπόνηρος Ἄρτέμων,

850

845. φανήν] *Clean, unsoiled*, Eccl. 347. We are of course to understand that if a marketer came into contact with Prepis or Cleonymus his clothes would not remain unsoiled.

846. Ὑπέρβολος] Hyperbolus, who succeeded Cleon as the leading Athenian demagogue, is as well known as Cleonymus to the reader of these plays. He is mentioned in every extant Comedy down to and including the Peace; and again in the Thesmophoriazusae and the Frogs. Here it is his litigiousness that makes him objectionable; and we are told in Clouds 874-6 that he had spent a considerable sum in acquiring the tricks of litigation. Probably some of his legal proceedings were of a sycophantic character: at other times he may have been active in prosecuting the debtors of his mother's money-lending business. See Thesm. 839-45.

849. Κρατῖνος] Οὗτος μελῶν ποιητής. κωμωδεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ καὶ ὡς ἀσίμμως κειρόμενος.—Scholiast. In a matter of this kind the Scholiast's authority carries little weight; but in my judgement he is right in holding that the Cratinus satirized here and 1173 *infra* is not the famous Comic poet, now according to tradition upwards of

ninety years of age, who is satirized with such great good humour in the Knights. There the enormous popularity and success of the old poet are so fully recognized that the satire is in great part unstinted eulogy. He is represented as a grand old veteran "who has sung a good song in his time, Although he is now past his prime," and has become more devoted to the Flagon than to the Comic Muse. And even in his jovial old age, the proposal is that he shall be honoured with a seat in the theatre beside Dionysus himself. [The Cratinus of the present play is an utter rascal, *περιπόνηρος*, whose presence pollutes the Athenian agora, a wretch to be classed with such pests of society as Prepis and Pauson, fit only to be pelted with dung. This is not the way in which one great poet would satirize another. And indeed Aristophanes seems to have elaborated the description of this Cratinus for the express purpose of making it clear that he was not here attacking his redoubtable old antagonist of the Comic stage. In this description there is not a word that is suitable to the Cratinus of the Knights: the whole scope of the satire here is inconsistent with the satire there. The remainder of the line is



But all unsoiled through the Mart you'll go,  
 And no Hyperbolus work you woe  
 With wrights enough and to spare.

Never within these bounds shall walk the little fop we all despise,  
 The young Cratinus neatly shorn with single razor, wanton-wise,  
 That Artemon-engineer of ill,

well explained by the editors from Kuster downwards to mean that this Cratinus was a *Κηποκόμης*, a dandy who wore his hair in the fashion called *κῆπος*. *δύο δὲ εἶδη κουρᾶς*, says the Scholiast on Birds 806, *σκάφιον καὶ κῆπος*. τὸ μὲν οὖν σκάφιον, τὸ ἐν χρῶ· ὁ δὲ κῆπος τὸ πρὸ μετώπου κεκοσμηθῆναι. As to the *σκάφιον* see the Commentary there and on Thesm. 838. In the *κῆπος* the hair on the front was gathered up into a sort of topknot rendered more conspicuous by the surrounding hair being (not cut with scissors, but) shaven clean off with a razor. Hesychius, s. v. *κῆπος*, thus explains it: *εἶδος κουρᾶς ἦν οἱ θρυπτόμενοι ἐκείροντο ὡς ἐπίπαν ἐν μιᾷ μαχαίρα*. And again, s. vv. *μιᾷ μαχαίρα*, he says, *τὴν λεγομένην κῆπον κουρὰν μιᾷ μαχαίρα ἐκείροντο*. Eustathius on Iliad xii. 314 *κῆπος*, *καλλωπισμὸς κόμης καὶ κουρᾶς διάθεσις τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τριχῶν*. The term *μάχαιρα* was applied to both razors and scissors, but the former was a *μία*, the latter a *διπλῆ*, *μάχαιρα*. The *κῆπος* was obviously a smart foppish coiffure, and here, as a reflection on Cratinus's morals, the poet substitutes for the word the objectionable term *μοιχός*.

850. ὁ περιπόνητος Ἀρτέμων] Παρὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὴν "Περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων" εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀρτέμωνες δύο.—Hesychius.

Artemon was a common name, but Hesychius means that there were two of the name to whom the description ὁ περιφόρητος, *the carried-about Artemon*, applied; as to which see Plutarch, Pericles 27. The earlier of the two lived before the Persian Wars, and Aristophanes is referring to a poem (in choriambo-iambic metre) which was written about him by Anacreon, and is in part preserved by Athenaeus xii. 46. The poem is quoted and reduced into shape by Elmsley here. *To Eurypyle, the golden-haired*, sings the poet, *the carried-about Artemon, ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων, is dear; he who erst was wearing a mean and scanty garb, and wooden tokens in his ears, and round his ribs a bull's bare hide, and associating, the vile Artemon, ὁ πομπρὸς Ἀρτέμων, with baking-girls and harlots. And oft was his neck under the yoke or upon the rack, and his back vealed with the leathern scourge, and his hair and beard plucked out. But now he ascends a car, and his ear-rings are of gold, and he bears an ivory sunshade in his hand. In his changed fortune he became so delicate and affected, Plutarch tells us, that indoors two servants held over his head a shield of bronze, that nothing, falling from above, might hurt him; and when*

ὁ ταχὺς ἄγαν τὴν μουσικὴν,  
 ὄζων κακὸν τῶν μασχαλῶν  
 πατρὸς Τραγασαίου·

οὐδ' αἰθις αὖ σε σκώψεται Παύσων ὁ παμπόνηρος,  
 Λυσίστρατός τ' ἐν τάγορα, Χολαργέων ὄνειδος,  
 ὁ περιαιουργὸς τοῖς κακοῖς,  
 ῥιγῶν τε καὶ πεινῶν ἀεὶ  
 πλείν ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας  
 τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου.

855

ΒΟ. ἴττω Ἡρακλῆς, ἔκαμόν γα τὰν τύλαν κακῶς.

860

he went out they bore him from place to place in a litter nearly touching the ground, whence he acquired the nickname of Περιφόρητος. For the benefit of Cratinus, Aristophanes blends the two names which Anacreon had given to Artemon, ὁ περιφόρητος and ὁ πονηρός, and calls him ὁ περιπόνητος Ἀρτέμιων, doubtless intending to imply that he too associated with ἀρτοπώλισιν καὶ ἐθελόποροις. The second Artemon was the engineer of Pericles during the operations in Samos, and being lame he had to be borne in a litter from place to place round the military works, whence he too was greeted as ὁ Περιφόρητος, no doubt with a reminiscence of Anacreon's lines.

851. ὁ ταχὺς ἄγαν τὴν μουσικὴν] If these words are correct, which I doubt, they must refer either to the rapidity with which he composed his lyrics, or to the rapidity of the melodies themselves. The line is omitted in the translation not, I think, from the difficulty of

rendering it, but because the effort to make it clear that this Cratinus is not the Comic poet left no room for its occupation.

853. Τραγασαίου] See 808 supra and the Commentary there. Here the play (which is not preserved in the translation) is on τράγος, a goat; διὰ τὴν τῶν τράγων δυσωδίαν εἶπεν, as the Scholiast says. The joke is more common in Latin than in Greek authors; and Commentators have already quoted such passages as Catullus 69. 6, Horace, Epode 12. 5, and the like.

854. Παύσων] Of Pauson, the "utter rascal," the animal painter and caricaturist, and of his chronic state of starvation we shall hear again, Thesm. 949, Plutus 602, where see the Commentary. In the Thesmophoriazusae he so enjoys the Thesmophorian fast that he prays for it to continue for ever; but even so, Lysistratus appears to outdo him, since he contrives to enjoy a fast of more than thirty days, in a month which consists of

Whose father sprang from an old he-goat,  
And father and son, as ye all may note,  
Are rank with its fragrance still.

No Pauson, scurvy knave, shall here insult you in the market-  
place,

No vile Lysistratus, to all Cholargian folk a dire disgrace,  
That deep-dyed sinner, that low buffoon,  
Who always shivers and hungers sore  
Full thirty days, or it may be more,  
In every course of the moon.

BOEOTIAN. Heh sirs, my shouther's sair, wat Heracles!

thirty days only. Lysistratus appears to be not only starving himself, but also an associate of starving men, being coupled here with the famished Pauson, and in Knights 1267 with the famished Thumantis. See also Wasps 787, 1302. Χολαργεῖς, the deme to which Pericles belonged, was a deme of the tribe Acamantis; its situation is unknown. περιαιουργός, *double-dyed* with villany, as if with purple.

860. ἴττω [Ἡρακλῆς] Now enters a Boeotian, representing the second of the three classes mentioned above, 721. He is no starveling, as the Megarian was, but a hearty well-fed countryman; nor has he to sell his daughters by a farcical Megarian trick; on the contrary he is carrying such a load of Boeotian produce—game, fish, fowl, and articles of all sorts—that his shoulder fairly aches with the burden. He brings with him a servant to assist in carrying the goods, and also some of those Boeotian pipers who were in great request in

ancient times as indeed they still are. See the note on Peace 951. He commences his first speech by invoking Heracles, and his second by invoking Iolaus, the two Boeotian heroes, uncle and nephew, celebrated in the Victory-song with which both this play and the Birds conclude. See the Commentary inf. 1227, and on Birds 1764. That ἴττω (for ἴστω) is the regular Boeotian form of adjuration we know from the Phaedo, chap. 6 (p. 62 A), where Socrates says to the Theban Cebes: "If it is sometimes an advantage for a man to die, it may possibly seem wonderful that he must not confer that advantage on himself, but must obtain it from some other benefactor." Καὶ ὁ Κέβης ἠρέμα ἐπιγελάσας ἴττω Ζεὺς, ἔφη, τῇ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ εἰπών. And cf. infra 911. τὸλλη, which properly signifies the callosity formed on the shoulder by the yoke (τοῦ ὄμου τὸ τετυλωμένον Schol.), is here used for the shoulder itself; ἔκαμον τὸν ὄμον κακῶς, as the Scholiast says.

κατάθου τὸ τὰν γλάχων' ἀτρέμας, Ἴσμήμιχε·  
 ἕμεις δ', ὅσοι Θείβαθεν αὐληταὶ πάρα,  
 τοῖς ὀστίνοις φυσεῖτε τὸν προκτὸν κυνός.

- ΔΙ. παῦ' ἐς κόρακας. οἱ σφήκες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν;  
 πόθεν προσέπανθ' οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι 865  
 ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν μοι Χαιριδεῖς βομβαύλιοι;  
 ΒΟ. νεὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον, ἐπιχαρίττως γ', ᾧ ξένε·  
 Θείβαθε γὰρ φυσᾶντες ἐξόπισθέ μου  
 τάνθεια τᾶς γλάχωνος ἀπέκιξαν χαμαί.  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι βούλει, πρίασο, τῶν ἐγὼ φέρω, 870  
 τῶν ὀρταλίχων, ἧ τῶν τετραπτερυλλίδων.  
 ΔΙ. ᾧ χαῖρε, κολλικοφάγε Βοιωτίδιον.

861. γλάχων'] γλάχων (Attic βλήχων, Peace 712), our *renniroyal*, is a sort of mint "mentha pulegium," and like our spearmint, peppermint, and some other mints is possessed of valuable medicinal qualities. It is, or at all events was, supposed to be useful in dyspeptic and hysterical ailments.

863. τοῖς ὀστίνοις] Λεῖπει τὸ αὐλοῖς, ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαφείων ὀστῶν κατεσκεύαζον τοὺς αὐλοῦς.—Scholiast. The words τὸν προκτὸν κυνός are commonly supposed to be the tune which the Boeotian is calling upon the pipers to strike up; as we might say *Play the Fool's March*. And this seems to have been the view of the Scholiast, who says that they are a κομμάτιον ἀπὸ τῆς παροιμίας "ἐς προκτὸν κυνός βλέπε," and refers to Eccl. 255. And Thesm. 1175 is cited in support of the same explanation. But I think that Bergler is right in suggesting that the musicians were ἀσκαύλαι *utricularii*, playing something in the nature of the Scottish bagpipes, and

that the bag may have been made of dog-skin, and so be literally a προκτὸς κυνός. And this seems to me to be strongly supported by the language with which Dicaeopolis salutes their strains; for the drone of the bagpipe, to a person not fortunate enough to be a Scotchman born, may conceivably bear some faint resemblance to the buzzing of innumerable wasps or bumble-bees, to which the clear notes of the ordinary pipe or the flute could not reasonably be compared.

864. παῦ' ἐς κόρακας] Dicaeopolis comes out in a fury, unable to appreciate the delightful drone of the bagpipes, which he likens to the buzzing of wasps or bumble-bees. The Greek name for a bumble-bee is βομβυλίδς (Wasps 107), but Aristophanes interpolates an α in the second syllable in order to connect it with αὐλός. τὸ δὲ βομβυλίδς ἐν προσθέσει τοῦ α ἔφη βομβαύλιος, παίζων παρὰ τὸν αὐλόν.—Scholiast. The pipers are described as Χαιριδεῖς, of the clan (or family) of Chaeris,

- Ismeny lad, pit doon thae pennyroyal  
 Wi' tentie care. Pipers wha' cam' frae Thaibes  
 Blaw oop the auld tyke's hurdies wi' the banes.
- DI. Hang you! shut up! Off from my doors, you wasps!  
 Whence flew these curst Chaeridian bumble-drones  
 Here, to my door? Get to the ravens! Hence!
- BOE. An' recht ye are, by Iolaus, stranger.  
 They've blawn behint me a' the wa' frae Thaibes,  
 An' danged the blossom aff my pennyroyal.  
 But buy, an't please you, onie thing I've got,  
 Some o' thae cleekin or thae four-winged gear.
- DI. O welcome, dear Boeotian muffin-eater,

the dismal Theban piper of whom we heard supra 16.

867. ἐπιχαρίττως] The jolly Theban farmer does not take his customer's objurgation amiss, but at once sides with him against the pipers. He is careful not to mention the fact that he himself had just given them the order to strike up.

871. ὀρθαλίχων] No doubt, as Elmsley observed, the words used in this line are intended to include all "aves et

quadrupes," fowls of the air, and four-footed beasts of the field; but of course they have also a special meaning of their own. ὀρθάλιχοι, which properly is equivalent to νεοσσοί (Agamemnon 54 and Bp. Blomfield there), in the Boeotian dialect signified *cocks*. ὀρθαλίχων τῶν ἀλεκτρούων κατὰ τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν διάλεκτον, Scholiast; and Dindorf refers to some lines from the Phoenissae of Strattis preserved by Athenaeus xiv. 15 (p. 621 F).

ἐννίετ' οὐδέν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις,  
 οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλ'· οἱ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σῆπιαν  
 ὀπιθοσίλαν, ὡς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζετε,  
 τὸν ἀλεκτρούονα δ' ὀρθάλιχον, κ.τ.λ.

τετραπερυλλίδες, the Scholiast says, are *locusts*. But the Boeotian does not mean the word to be so understood here. If it is not, as it may be, equivalent in the Boeotian dialect to τετράποδα, he is substituting one word for the other by way of a joke.

872. κολλικοφάγε] Κόλλιξ εἶδος ἄρτου περιφερούς.—Scholiast. It is by Athenaeus iii. 78 said to be the same as the κόλλαβος, which was a small roll of a milky white colour, made of fresh wheat and eaten hot. Id. 75. See the Commentary on Frogs 507.

- τί φέρεις; BO. ὄσ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ Βοιωτοῖς ἀπλῶς,  
 ὀρίγανον, γλαχῶ, ψιάθως, θρυαλλίδας,  
 νάσσας, κολοιδῶς, ἀτταγᾶς, φαλαρίδας, 875  
 τροχίλως, κολύμβως. ΔΙ. ὡσπερὶ χειμῶν ἄρα  
 ὀρνιθίας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήλυθας.
- BO. καὶ μὰν φέρω χᾶνας, λαγῶς, ἀλώπεκας,  
 σκάλοπας, ἐχίνως, αἰελούρωσ, πικτίδας,  
 ἰκτίδας, ἐνύδριας, ἐγχέλεις Κωπαΐδας. 880
- ΔΙ. ὦ τερπνότατον σὺ τέμαχος ἀνθρώποις φέρων,  
 δός μοι προσειπεῖν, εἰ φέρεις, τὰς ἐγχέλεις.
- BO. πρέσβειρα πεντήκοντα Κωπάδων κορᾶν,  
 ἔκβαθι τῶδε, κήπιχάριτται τῷ ξένῳ.
- ΔΙ. ὦ φιλτάτη σὺ καὶ πάλαι ποθουμένη,  
 ἦλθες ποθεινὴ μὲν τρυγφδοικοῖς χοροῖς, 885

875. *νάσσας*] In Peace 1003-5 we have a similar but much shorter enumeration of the fowl and fish brought in times of peace from Boeotia to the Athenian market. In each of the two lists the pre-eminence is given to the Copaic eel, a full account of which will be found in the Commentary on the Peace. The birds mentioned in this and the following line are identified in the Introduction to the Birds. The *νάσσα* (*νήττα*), the *wild duck*; the *κολοιδῶς*, the *jackdaw*; the *ἀτταγᾶς*, the *francolin*; the *φαληρίς*, the *coot*; the *τροχίλος*, a general name for the birds (comprising plovers, sandpipers, dunlins, curlews, and the like) which run beside the waves in search of food, and of which the *dunlin* is there selected as the type; and the *κόλυμβος* or *κολυμβίς* the *diver* or *grebe*.

876. *χειμῶν ὀρνιθίας*] *A bird-gale, a gale that brings the birds*. Since Walsh's time,

if not before, the recognized translation has been *fowl weather*. The *ἀνεμοὶ ὀρνιθίαι* were north winds which prevailed in the spring; οἱ ὀρνιθίαι καλούμενοι, ἐαρινοὶ τινες ὄντες ἀνεμοί, βορέαι εἰσὶ τῷ γένει, Aristotle, De Mundo 4. They are really Etesian winds, but are more gentle, and come later than the winds usually called by that name, Id. Meteorolog. ii. 58.

879. *σκάλοπας*] *Moles*, from *σκάλλω* to dig. *σκάλοψ' ἀσπάλαξ*, ζῶον γεωρύχον, τυφλόν.—Hesychius. In some parts of Boeotia moles are very common. Blydes refers to Aristotle, H. A. viii. 27. 2 ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἀσπάλακες περὶ μὲν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν πολλοὶ γίνονται, ἐν δὲ τῇ Λεβυδακῇ γειννώσῃ οὐκ εἰσὶν. The *ἐχίνος* is our *hedgehog* or *urchin*. *πικτίς* (otherwise *πυκτίς*), a *writing tablet*, is doubtless inserted to rhyme with *ἰκτίς*, which by some naturalists is supposed to be the *beech weasel*: *easels* and *weasels* may perhaps be accepted as

- What have you there? BOE. A' that Boeoty gies us.  
 Mats, dittany, pennyroyal, lantern-wicks,  
 An' dooks, an' kaes, an' francolins, an' coots,  
 Plivers an' divers. DI. Eh? Why then, methinks,  
 You've brought fowl weather to my market-place.
- BOE. Aye, an' I'm bringin' maukins, geese, an' tods,  
 Easels an' weasels, urchins, moles, an' cats,  
 An' otters too, an' eels frae Loch Copais.
- DI. O man, to men their daintiest morsel bringing,  
 Let me salute the eels, if eels you bring.
- BOE. Primest o' Loch Copais' fifty dochters  
 Come oot o' that; an' mak' the stranger welcome.
- DI. O loved, and lost, and longed for, thou art come,  
 A presence grateful to the Comic choirs,

a sufficient approximation to *πικτίδας*, *ἰκτίδας*. It is strange that Commentators should persist in supposing *πικτίδες* to be some unknown animals; they do not suppose *ψιάθως*, *θρυαλλίδας*, supra 874, to be some unknown vegetables. And nothing is plainer than that the Boeotian's store contained not only eatables, but other articles for use in the house; τὰ μὲν ἐν οἰκίᾳ χρῆσιμα, τὰ δ' αὖ πρέπει χλιαρὰ καεσθίειν, infra 975.

881. ὦ τερπνότατον] Possibly the Boeotian had not completed his list of good things, but on hearing of Copaic eels Dicaeopolis cannot contain himself, and begs for an immediate sight of these long-lost favourites.

883. πρῆσθειρα κ.τ.λ.] This line is parodied from the *Ὀπλων κρίσις* of Aeschylus. There the fifty Nereids rise from the water to take part in the decision about the armour of Achilles,

and Thetis, their chief, is addressed as *δέσποινα πενήκοντα Νηρηίδων κορών*. The names of the fifty Nereids (of whom Thetis was one) are given by Hesiod (*Theog.* 243-62). See Pindar, *Isthm.* vi ad init., Eur. *Andr.* 1267, *Iph. in Taur.* 274, *Ion* 1032.

885. ὦ φιλότατη] The address of Dicaeopolis to the eel is that of a lover to his mistress; though his devotion is ominously intermingled with allusions to the brasier, the charcoal fire, and the fire-fan to be employed in cooking her, and the beet wherewith she is to be garnished.

886. τρυγηδικούς χοροίς] *To the Comic Choruses*. He is thinking of the *ἐπι-νίκια*, the triumphal banquet to which the Chorus would presently be invited by the Choregus. So in the *Pelargi* he speaks of the francolin as the most delicious viand to be enjoyed at these

φίλη δὲ Μορύχῳ. δμῶες, ἐξενέγκατε  
 τὴν ἐσχάραν μοι δεῦρο καὶ τὴν ριπίδα.  
 σκέψασθε, παῖδες, τὴν ἀρίστην ἔγχελυν,  
 ἤκουσαν ἔκτῳ μόλις ἔτει ποθουμένην· 890  
 προσεῖπατ' αὐτὴν, ὦ τέκν'. ἀνθρακᾶς δ' ἐγὼ  
 ὑμῖν παρέξω τῆσδε τῆς ξένης χάριν.  
 ἀλλ' ἔκφερ' αὐτὴν· μηδὲ γὰρ θανῶν ποτε  
 σοῦ χωρὶς εἶην ἐντετευτλανωμένης.

BO. ἐμοὶ δὲ τιμὰ τᾶσδε πᾶ γενήσεται; 895

ΔΙ. ἀγορᾶς τέλος ταύτην γέ που δώσεις ἐμοί·  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι πωλεῖς τῶνδε τῶν ἄλλων, λέγε.

BO. ἰώγα ταῦτα πάντα. ΔΙ. φέρε, πόσου λέγεις;  
 ἢ φορτί' ἕτερ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖσ' ἄξεις; BO. ἰὼ  
 ὅ τι γ' ἔστ' ἐν Ἀθάναις, ἐν Βοιωτοῖσιν δὲ μή. 900

ΔΙ. ἀφύας ἄρ' ἄξεις πριάμενος Φαληρικᾶς  
 ἢ κέραμον. BO. ἀφύας ἢ κέραμον; ἀλλ' ἔντ' ἐκεῖ·  
 ἀλλ' ὅ τι παρ' ἀμῖν μή 'στι, τᾶδε δ' αὖ πολὺ.

entertainments, ἀτταγᾶς ἡδιστον εἶψεν ἐν  
 ἐπινικίῳ κρέας, Athenæus ix. 39. It is  
 plain that the Choregus was expected  
 to provide for these banquets all the  
 delicacies of the season.

887. φίλη δὲ Μορύχῳ] Morychus was  
 the famous epicure of the day, and  
 apparently the Copeaic eel was his  
 favourite dish. For both in Wasps 506  
 and in Peace 1008, as here, the fish is  
 connected with his name. In the for-  
 mer passage the mention of Morychus  
 at once calls up a remembrance of the  
 eel; in the latter, as here, the mention  
 of the eel at once calls up a remem-  
 brance of Morychus. See the Com-  
 mentary on both those passages.

889. παῖδες] These are the domestics  
 who are addressed above as δμῶες and

below as τέκνα. They have now brought  
 out the ἐσχάραν and the ριπίδα, and are  
 invited to salute the eel, which is still  
 in the Boeotian's basket, though fully  
 exposed to view. She is not brought  
 out of the store and handed over to  
 Dicaeopolis until he says ἀλλ' ἔκφερ'  
 αὐτὴν, for αὐτὴν there is plainly the eel,  
 and not, as some have suggested, the  
 ἐσχάραν or the ριπίδα.

890. ἔκτῳ ἔτει] As to the method of  
 calculation by which Aristophanes made  
 this the sixth year of the war, see the  
 note on 266 supra.

893. μηδὲ γὰρ θανῶν ποτε] He is paro-  
 dying the conclusion of Admetus's ad-  
 dress to his wife, who is giving her life  
 for his. He will be buried by her side,  
 he says,



And dear to Morychus. Bring me out at once,  
 O kitchen-knives, the brasier and the fan.  
 Behold, my lads, this best of all the eels,  
 Six years a truant, scarce returning now.  
 O children, welcome her; to you I'll give  
 A charcoal fire for this sweet stranger's sake.  
 Out with her! Never may I lose again,  
 Not even in death, my darling dressed in—beet.

BOE. Whaur sall I get the siller for the feesh?

DI. This you shall give me as a market-toll.

But tell me, are these other things for sale?

BOE. Aye are they, a' thae goods. DI. And at what price?

Or would you swap for something else? BOE. I'se swap  
 For gear we haena, but ye Attics hae.

DI. Well then, what say you to Phaleric sprats,

Or earthenware? BOE. Sprats! ware! we've thae at hame.

Gie us some gear we lack, an' ye've a rowth o'.

μηδὲ γὰρ θανάων ποτε  
 σοῦ χωρὶς εἶην, τῆς μόνης πιστῆς ἐμοί. ALC. 367.

895. ἐμοὶ δέ] The matter-of-fact Boeotian has no sympathy with the airy fancies of the Athenian, especially when he finds that under cover of this poetic rhapsody his finest eel is in course of abstraction.

896. ἀγορᾶς τέλος] Ἔθος ἦν τὸ παλαιόν, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πιπράσκοντας τέλος δίδοναι τοῖς λογισταῖς. — Scholiast. That is to say, there was, as Boeckh observes, an excise duty payable to the public treasury on every article sold in the public market. Dicaeopolis institutes a similar duty, for his own private benefit, in his own

private market.

901. ἀφίας ἢ κέραμον] *Anchovies or pottery.* These articles, as the Boeotian says, he could procure at home: yet not of a quality equal to those he could obtain in Athens. For the Phaleric anchovies were the finest in the world: see the note on Birds 76. And as to pottery, Blaydes refers to Athenaeus i. 50, where it is said ἐπαινείται ὄντως ὁ Ἀττικὸς κέραμος. Indeed the invention of the potter's art is ascribed by Pliny (vii. 57) to Coroebus of Athens.

- ΔΙ. ἐγὼ δα τοῖνυν συκοφάντην ἔξαγε,  
ὥσπερ κέραμον ἐνδησάμενος. ΒΟ. νεὶ τὸ Σιώ, 905  
λάβοιμι μέντ' ἀν κέρδος ἀγαθὸν καὶ πολὺ,  
ἄπερ πίθακον ἀλιτρίας πολλῶς πλέων.
- ΔΙ. καὶ μὴν ὀδὶ Νίκαρχος ἔρχεται φανῶν.  
ΒΟ. μικκός γα μάκος οὔτος. ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἅπαν κακόν.
- ΝΙ. ταυτὶ τίνος τὰ φορτὶ ἐστί; ΒΟ. τῶδ' ἐμὰ 910  
Θεῖβαθεν, ἴττω Δεύς. ΝΙ. ἐγὼ τοῖνυν ὀδὶ  
φαίνω πολέμια ταῦτα. ΒΟ. τί δαὶ κακὸν παθῶν  
ὀρναπετίοισι πόλεμον ἤρω καὶ μάχαν;
- ΝΙ. καὶ σέ γε φανῶ πρὸς τοῖσδε. ΒΟ. τί ἀδικειμένος;
- ΝΙ. ἐγὼ φράσω σοι τῶν περιστώτων χάριν. 915  
ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων γ' εἰσάγεις θρυαλλίδας.
- ΔΙ. ἔπειτα φαίνεις δῆτα διὰ θρυαλλίδος;
- ΝΙ. αὕτη γὰρ ἐμπρήσειεν ἂν τὸ νεώριον.

904. *συκοφάντην*] Here, at all events, is an article peculiar to Athens, see the note on 816 supra; and the Boeotian is quite willing to strike a bargain, and to take this unknown and wonderful animal back for exhibition in Thebes, as (*ἄπερ* = *ὥσπερ*) a monkey full of every kind of mischief.

905. *τὸ Σιώ*] Bergler observes that as "the Two Gods" in the mouth of a Spartan would mean the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces; and in the mouth of an Athenian woman, Demeter and Persephone; so in the mouth of a Theban the phrase would mean Amphion and Zethus, the twin sons of Zeus and Antiope. The adjuration *μὰ τὸν Ζῆθον* occurs in the Gorgias.

908. *Νίκαρχος*] No sooner is a sycophant wanted than Nicarchus, *ὥσπερ κατὰ*

*θεῖον*, is seen approaching. The Scholiast, who says *ὁ Νίκαρχος κομψοφείτῃ ὡς συκοφάντης· φανῶν δὲ καταγορήσων*, must have considered him a real person. He is at this moment pursuing his vocation, walking through the *āgora* (the private agora) seeking some victim against whom to inform. See Demosthenes, First against Aristogeiton 63.

910. *τῶδ' ἐμὰ*] *Δεικτικῶς. ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῦδ' ἐμὰ.*—Scholiast. *They belong to me here.* Nicarchus, as Brunck observes, catches up the Boeotian's phraseology, and replies *Then I here, ἐγὼ ὀδὶ, denounce them.*

912. *πολέμια*] It must be remembered that, outside the private market, both Megarian (supra 820) and Boeotian goods would, in fact, be enemies' goods, and as such liable to confiscation. That

- DI. I'll tell you what; pack an INFORMER up,  
Like ware for exportation. BOE. Mon! that's guid.  
By the Twa Gudes, an' unco gain I'se mak',  
Takin' a monkey fu' o' plaguy tricks.
- DI. And here's Nicarchus coming to denounce you!  
BOE. He's sma' in bouk. DI. But every inch is bad.
- NICARCHUS. Whose is this merchandize? BOE. 'Tis a' mine here.  
Frae Thaibes, wat Zeus, I bure it. NIC. Then I here  
Denounce it all as enemies! BOE. Hout awa!  
Do ye mak' war an' enmity wi' the burdies?
- NIC. Them and you too. BOE. What hae I dune ye wrang?
- NIC. That will I say for the bystanders' sake.  
A lantern-wick you are bringing from the foe.
- DI. Show him up, would you, for a lantern-wick?
- NIC. Aye, for that lantern-wick will fire the docks.

there was any special prohibition of the importation of *θρυαλλίδες* or any other of the Boeotian's stores, as Casaubon and Boeckh appear to think, is out of the question. None was needed. There could be no peaceful commercial dealings between countries at war with one another.

915. *τῶν περισσώτων χάριν*] These words are apparently a parody, or an allusion to some well-known phraseology. Dobree thinks that he is laughing at the language of the orators, and refers to Demosth. De Corona 245 (p. 293), where the speaker says, "I go into these details *πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περισσῆκότας ἐξέωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους*, for as to that skunk" [Aeschines] "I have a short and easy way with him." And Blaydes adds a

similar passage from the speech against Conon 55 (p. 1269): "I am willing to swear *ἡμῶν ἕνεκα, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τῶν περισσῆκότων*." And if this was a commonplace with the orators a century earlier, it is doubtless to this that the poet is alluding.

916. *θρυαλλίδας*] We are told, supra 874, that *θρυαλλίδες* formed part of the Boeotian's cargo; and now his commodities, and the *θρυαλλίδες* among them, are exposed to view for the customer's inspection.

918. *ἐμπρήσειεν*] Probably some attempt upon the arsenal was feared at this date. Panics of this kind would naturally arise from time to time. Mitchell refers to the case of Antiphon, who in pursuance of a promise made to Philip (so Demosthenes declared)

- ΔΙ. νεώριον θρυαλλίς; οἴμοι, τίμη τροφή;  
 ΝΙ. ἐνθεὶς ἂν ἐς τίφην ἀνήρ Βοιωτίος 920  
 ἄψας ἂν εἰσπέμψειεν ἐς τὸ νεώριον  
 δι' ὑδρορρόας, βορέαν ἐπιτηρήσας μέγαν.  
 κεῖπερ λάβοιτο τῶν νεῶν τὸ πῦρ ἄπαξ,  
 σελαγοῖντ' ἂν αἴφνης. ΔΙ. ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενε,  
 σελαγοῖντ' ἂν ὑπὸ τίφης τε καὶ θρυαλλίδος; 925  
 ΝΙ. μαρτύρομαι. ΔΙ. ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα·

entered Athens for the purpose of firing the arsenal, Demosthenes de Corona 168 (p. 271); and to Deinarchus against Demosth. 98 (p. 102); and to Alciphron i. 32, where one courtesan, writing to another, says, "If you ask the man for anything, ἔψει σεαυτὴν ἢ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπερηκύναν ἢ τοὺς νόμους καταλύουσαν," meaning that he will accuse you of those crimes. To Athens her fleet was all in all, and she could hardly be too careful of its safety.

920. τίφην] Τίφην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσι τὴν καλουμένην σίλφην. ἔστι δὲ ζῶον κανθαρώδες.—Scholiast, Suidas. And Aelian, viii. 13, couples the τίφην with the σφονδύλη, which is another kind of beetle, Peace 1078. The lantern-wick is not to be tied to, but to be stuck into the beetle, and then lit; whereupon the beetle, carrying the lighted wick, would be launched along a watercourse to the ships. This is the ancient and I think the true explanation of the passage; and its absurdity, so far from being an argument against it, is to my mind a strong argument in its favour. But two other interpretations of τίφην have been proposed: (1) that it means a

small boat. So far as I know the only ground for this suggestion is that Suidas, s.v. σίλφη, after defining σίλφη to be εἶδος ζωφίου, adds καὶ σίλφας λέγουσιν εἶδη ἀκατίων. But both Suidas and the Scholiast give to τίφην one meaning only, viz. a kind of beetle otherwise called σίλφη, and when we are told that σίλφη, in fact, is the name of a beetle, its analogy with τίφην is exhausted, and the further observation that some small boats were called σίλφαι has nothing whatever to do with τίφην. And indeed even this use of σίλφη seems to belong to a later age, since the Scholiast on Peace 143 says that some boats were called κάνθαροι, ὡς ΝΥΝ σίλφας τινὰ λέγουσιν ἀκατίων εἶδη. (2) That it means a stalk of some kind of corn called τίφην, frequently mentioned in Theophrastus. And in this connexion Elmsley quotes, from note 20 to chap. lii of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Anna Comnena's account of the Greek fire which, she says, was inserted εἰς αὐλίσκουσ καλάμων. This would make good sense, but it is not countenanced by any of the old grammarians, and deprives the answer of Nicarchus of the extreme

- DI. A lantern-wick the docks! O dear, and how?  
 NIC. If a Boeotian stuck it in a beetle,  
 And sent it, lighted, down a watercourse  
 Straight to the docks, watching when Boreas blew  
 His stiffest breeze, then if the ships caught fire,  
 They'd blaze up in an instant. DI. Blaze, you rascal!  
 What, with a beetle and a lantern-wick?  
 NIC. Bear witness! DI. Stop his mouth, and bring me litter.

absurdity which it was certainly designed to exhibit.

922. δι' ὑδρορροάς] *Along a watercourse* above or under ground. The Scholiast says ὑδρορροά καλεῖται τὸ μέρος τῆς στεφάνιδος δι' οὗ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄμβρου ὕδωρ συναγόμενον κατέρχεται. But though that may be the meaning of the word in Wasps 126, it is not its meaning here. Here it signifies a water-channel by which the superfluous water was carried down from the city into the sea at the Peiræus. Bp. Wordsworth (Athens and Attica, chap. ix) noticed two of these water-courses still remaining, channelled in the rock, one on each side of the road, leading towards the Peiræus. Infra 1186 the word is used for an open gutter.

924. σελαγοῖντ' ἂν αἴφνης] *Will blaze up in a moment. εἴαν ἀψηται, φησι, μόνον, εὐθὺς καίονται.*—Scholiast. The MSS. have σελαγοῖντ' ἂν αἰ νῆς, or αἰ νῆες or αἰ νηῦς, and so all editions before Brunck. But this was obviously wrong, and so clear was the meaning required that Pierson's substitution (from the Scholiast) of εὐθὺς for αἰ νῆες, though bearing no resemblance to the MS.

reading, has been adopted by Brunck and practically all other editors. Bothe in his first edition (A. D. 1828) suggested αἴφνης, but did not read it, nor did he repeat the suggestion in his second edition. And the conjecture was independently made by C. J. Brennan in the Classical Review for 1891. It seems to me a most felicitous and certain restoration, satisfying every condition. The mere fact that the simple form is not elsewhere found in the scanty relics of classical literature, except in a very doubtful passage of Euripides (Iph. in Aul. 1581), is absolutely unimportant, when we consider the frequent occurrence not only of ἐξαίφνης, but also of αἰφνίδιος and ἄφνω.

926. μαρτύρομαι] Dicaeopolis lays hands on Nicarchus, who incontinently calls the world to witness the assault. The Scholiast says that Dicaeopolis strikes him, but though the exclamation μαρτύρομαι is frequently called forth by a blow, that is hardly likely to have been the case here. Dicaeopolis is seeking to secure the Informer, not to frighten him away.

δός μοι φορυτὸν, ἴν' αὐτὸν ἐνδήσας φέρω,  
ὥσπερ κέραμον, ἵνα μὴ καταγῆ φορούμενος.

- ΧΟ. ἐνδησον, ὦ βέλτιστε, τῷ [στρ.  
ξένῳ καλῶς τὴν ἐμπολὴν 930  
οὕτως ὅπως  
ἂν μὴ φέρων κατάξῃ.
- ΔΙ. ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτ', ἐπεὶ  
τοὶ καὶ ψοφεῖ λάλον τι καὶ  
πυρορραγῆς  
κἄλλως θεοῖσιν ἐχθρόν.
- ΧΟ. τί χρήσεται ποτ' αὐτῷ; 935  
ΔΙ. πάγχρηστον ἄγγος ἔσται,  
κρατῆρ κακῶν, τριπτῆρ δικῶν,  
φαίνειν ὑπευθύνους λυχνου-  
χος, καὶ κύλιξ  
τὰ πράγματ' ἐγκυκᾶσθαι.
- ΧΟ. πῶς δ' ἂν πεποιθοίη τις ἀγ- [ἀντ.  
γείῳ τοιούτῳ χρώμενος 941

927. φορυτὸν] *Litter* (see supra 72), such as packers are accustomed to stuff in about fragile articles to prevent their breakage. As to the words ἐνδήσας φέρω, it is plain that the packing up is to be done by Dicaeopolis, and the carrying to Thebes by the Boeotian. φέρω, therefore, in this line can have no reference to the journey to Thebes: the words must mean that *I may tie him up, and carry him across the stage to the Boeotian.*

929. ἐνδησον κ.τ.λ.] This little iambic system, strophe and antistrophe, was

first arranged in its proper shape by Elmsley (ad loc.) and Gaisford (Hephaestion note to v. 1). Dobree, in Porson's *Aristophanica* 119, says that Porson had arranged it in the same manner; I suppose, in his copy of Portus. Each strophe consists of three stanzas of four lines each (two dimeters, one monometer, and one dimeter catalectic); and between the second and third stanza, in each strophe, are interposed two dimeter catalectics.

937. κρατῆρ κακῶν] Here, as Bergler observes, it is the Informer himself

I'll pack him up, like earthenware, for carriage,  
So they mayn't crack him on their journey home.

CHOR. Tie up, O best of men, with care  
The honest stranger's piece of ware,  
For fear they break it,  
As homeward on their backs they take it.

DI. To that, be sure, I'll have regard;  
Indeed it creaks as though 'twere charred,  
By cracks molested,  
And altogether God-detested.

CHOR. How shall he deal with it?

DI. For every use 'tis fit,  
A cup of ills, a lawsuit can,  
For audits an Informing pan,  
A poisoned chalice  
Full filled with every kind of malice.

CHOR. BUT WHO can safely use, I pray,  
A thing like this from day to day

who is called *a cup full of evil things*; but in the Agamemnon the same words are used by Clytaemnestra to denote the calamities which, according to her, the King of Men had brought upon his house; *τοσῶνδε κρατήρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὄδε | πλήσας κ.τ.λ.*—Ag. 1368. On *τριπτήρ δικῶν* the Scholiast says *δέον εἰπεῖν ἑλαῶν ὁ δὲ εἶπε δικῶν*, and Elmsley quotes from Pollux (vii. 151 and x. 130) *ὁ δὲ κρατήρ εἰς δὲ ἀπορρεῖ τοῦ ἑλαίου τὸ πιεζόμενον, τριπτήρ*. The *ὑπεύθυνοι* are the officials who at the expiration of their tenure of office are rendering an

account of their administration to the public auditors, a proceeding during which they were in much peril from demagogues and informers. See Knights 259, 825, and the Commentary there. The words *λυχνούχος φαίνειν* carry on the double meaning of *φαίνειν* explained in the note to 826 supra. With *κύλιξ ἐγκυκᾶσθαι* we should have expected *φάρμακα*, as Elmsley observes; but Aristophanes substitutes the surprise word *πράγματα*, which means troubles, bothers, especially those connected with vexatious litigation.

κατ' οἰκίαν  
 τοςόνδ' αἰεὶ ψοφοῦντι;

ΔΙ. ἰσχυρόν ἐστιν, ὄγαθ', ὥστ'  
 οὐκ ἂν καταγείη ποτ', εἴ-  
 περ ἐκ ποδῶν 945  
 κατωκάρα κρέμαιτο.

ΧΟ. ἤδη καλῶς ἔχει σοι.  
 ΒΟ. μέλλω γέ τοι θερίδδειν.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ', ὃ ξένων βέλτιστε, συν-  
 θέριζε, καὶ πρόσβαλλ' ὕπου  
 βούλει φέρων 950  
 πρὸς πάντα συκοφάντην.

ΔΙ. μόλις γ' ἐνέδησα τὸν κακῶς ἀπολούμενον.  
 αἴρου λαβῶν τὸν κέραμον, ὃ Βοιώτιε.

ΒΟ. ὑπόκυπτε τὰν τύλαν ἰὼν, Ἴσμήνιχε.

ΔΙ. χῶπῳ κατοίσεις αὐτὸν εὐλαβούμενος. 955  
 πάντως μὲν οἴσεις οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ' ὄμως·

945. ἐκ ποδῶν κατωκάρα] *If he were to be hung up by his feet with his head downwards.* The Informer was first of all to be tied safely up with a rope round and round him. Then he is to be shoved into the Boeotian pack (*εἰς σάκκον*, as it is said in the Argument to the Play), with litter stuffed in about him. I imagine that Dicaeopolis, as he speaks this line, is suiting the action to the word, and shoving him in head foremost.

947. μέλλω γέ τοι θερίδδειν] It seems clear that the Boeotian is responding to the congratulations of the Chorus,

and means *I shall make a good thing out of this*, πολὺ κέρδος as he said supra 906. ὡς γεωργός φησι, μέλλω θερίζειν, καὶ μέλλω κερδαίνειν πολλὰ καὶ καρποῦσθαι.—Scholiast. Two other explanations have been offered: *I am going back to Boeotia to carry my harvest*; but, beside the utter irrelevance of the remark, the scene is laid in the winter time: see infra 1075, 1141, 1146. Others would translate *I am going to collect my goods*; but there were no goods, other than the Informer, for him to collect. Everything else had become the property of Dicaeopolis.



In household matters,  
A thing that always creaks and clatters ?

DI. He's strong, my worthy friend, and tough :  
He will not break for usage rough,  
Not though you shove him  
Head foremost down, his heels above him.

CHOR. (To Boeotian.) You've got a lovely pack.

BOE. A bonnie hairst I'se mak'.

CHOR. Aye, best of friends, your harvest make,  
And wheresoe'er it please you take  
This artful, knowing  
And best equipped Informer going.

DI. 'Twas a tough business, but I've packed the scamp.  
Lift up and take your piece of ware, Boeotian.

BOE. Gae, pit your shouther underneath, Ismeny.

DI. And pray be careful as you take him home.  
You've got a rotten bale of goods, but still !

951. *πρὸς πάντα*] *For every purpose.* We should have expected these words to be followed by something equivalent to *χρήσιμον*, "useful for every purpose," like the *πάγχρηστον ἄγγος* of 936 supra ; but Aristophanes *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* substitutes *συκοφάντην*, *an informer for every purpose.* With this use of *πρὸς πάντα* compare such passages as Xen. Mem. iv. 6. 9, where Socrates asks, "If you call a body, or vessel, or other thing *καλὸν*, do you mean *πρὸς πάντα καλὸν*, or *καλὸν* for its own special purpose ?" The Scholiast's explanation that *πρὸς πάντα συκοφάντην* means "on any muck-heap"

is neither good Greek nor good sense, and is rightly rejected by almost every commentator.

954. *ὑπόκνυτε τὰν τύλαν*] *Bend down and put your shoulder underneath.* It is like the *ὑποδύντε μάλ' ὄκα* of Iliad xvii. 717, where Aias is directing Menelaus and Meriones to stoop and raise the body of the dead Patroclus, whilst the two Aiantes stem the fierce onrush of the Trojans with Hector storming at their head.

956. *ἀλλ' ὄμως*] Some would supply *οἷσει* and others *εὐλαβοῦ*, but though in lines 402 and 408 supra, where the

κὰν τοῦτο κερδάνης ἄγων τὸ φορτίον,  
εὐδαιμονήσεις συκοφαντῶν γ' οὐνεκα.

- ΘΕΡ. Δικαίόπολι. ΔΙ. τίς ἔστι; τί με βωστρεῖς; ΘΕΡ. ὅ τι;  
ἐκέλευε Λάμαχος σε ταύτης τῆς δραχμῆς 960  
εἰς τοὺς Χόας αὐτῷ μεταδοῦναι τῶν κιχλῶν,  
τριῶν δραχμῶν δ' ἐκέλευε Κωπᾶδ' ἔγχελυν.  
ΔΙ. ὁ ποῖος οὗτος Λάμαχος τὴν ἔγχελυν;  
ΘΕΡ. ὁ δεινός, ὁ ταλαύρινος, ὃς τὴν Γοργόνα  
πάλλει, κραδαίνων τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους. 965  
ΔΙ. οὐκ ἂν μὰ Δί', εἰ δοίη γέ μοι τὴν ἀσπίδα·  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταρίχει τοὺς λόφους κραδαινέτω·  
ἦν δ' ἀπολιγαίνη, τοὺς ἀγορανόμους καλῶ.

phrase is merely supplemental to the speaker's previous request, it is right to supply the preceding verb ἐκκάλεσον or ἐκκυκλήθητι, yet here it appears to be merely equivalent to a shrug of the shoulders and is purposely left vague.

959-68. The Megarians and Boeotians were licensed to deal (supra 721), and they have dealt with Dicaeopolis in his private market; Lamachus was prohibited from dealing there, and now this prohibition is about to be enforced. The servant of Lamachus comes out of his master's house to purchase fish and fowl for the impending Pitcher-feast. He speaks in so loud a voice that Dicaeopolis responds τί με βωστρεῖς; *Why shout at me?*—Birds 274, Lys. 685.

961. τοὺς Χόας] We are suddenly, without any preparation, introduced to the fact that this is the festival of the Χόες, which was the second day of the

Anthesterian Dionysia, and was celebrated on the twelfth day of Anthesterion. See the Commentary on Frogs 216. What is the reason of this? It does not arise out of the special plot of the play; it has nothing to do with the Private Peace; it is to be celebrated by the whole body of Athenian citizens; as well by Lamachus and the War-party, as by the man who has made his peace with Sparta. I believe that the Anthesterian festival was really taking place at Athens at the time of the exhibition of this Comedy; or, in other words, that the Anthesteria was not a different festival from the Lenaea, but was merely a name given to the Lenaea from the fact that it was celebrated in the month Anthesterion. It is obvious from the present play that there was on the day of the Χόες a great public entertainment, to which, according to

And if you make a harvest out of *him*,  
You'll be in luck's way, as regards Informers.

SERVANT. Dicaeopolis! DI. Well? why are you shouting? SERV.  
Why?

Lamachus bids you, towards the Pitcher-feast,  
Give him some thrushes for this drachma here,  
And for three drachmas one Copaic eel.

DI. Who is this Lamachus that wants the eel?

SERV. The dread, the tough, the terrible, who wields  
The Gorgon targe, and shakes three shadowy plumes.

DI. An eel for HIM? Not though his targe he gave me!  
Let him go shake his plumes at his salt fish.  
If he demur, I'll call the Market clerks.

a very common custom, the banqueters brought their own provisions. οἱ γὰρ καλοῦντες ἐπὶ δεῖπνον στεφάνους καὶ μύρα καὶ τραγήματα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιαῦτα παρείθεσαν, οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι ἔφερον ἐψήματα καὶ κίστιν καὶ χόα.—Scholiast. Lamachus therefore proposes to take with him a Copaic eel and some thrushes, two of the greatest delicacies in the way of fish and fowl; and we shall presently see how ample a provision Dicaeopolis prepares for the banquet.

964. ὁ δεινὸς κ.τ.λ.] Lamachus is described by epithets befitting War or the God of War. See Peace 241. The terms are partly Homeric, partly Aeschylean. Homer thrice calls Ares ταλαύρινον πολεμιστήν, Iliad v. 289, xx. 78, and xxii. 267. And Tydeus in the Septem (379) τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους Σείει. "Cristam quater," says Bp. Blomfield in his Glossary on that passage, "terrificum putabatur."

967. ἐπὶ ταρίχει] *Over* (or *at*) *his salt* (or *pickled*) *fish*; a soldier's fare. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἤσθιον.—Scholiast. And hence, in a later scene, while Dicaeopolis is packing up hares and thrushes for the feast, Lamachus starting on a military expedition is obliged to content himself with a θρίον ταρίχους, 1101-10. After ἐπὶ ταρίχει we should have expected something like "let him eat his dinner," but Aristophanes substitutes παρὰ προσδοκίαν, "let him wave his τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους."

968. ἦν δ' ἀπολιγαίνῃ] Ἐὰν δὲ θορυβῆ, ἢ ὀξέως βοᾷ (παρὰ τὸ λιγύ) καλέσω κατ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους. λέγει δὲ τοὺς ἱμάντας, οὓς ἀγορανόμους ἤδη κατέστησεν ἄνω.—Scholiast. *stridule queratur*; see Bp. Blomfield on Septem 867. If Lamachus raise a shrill cry of objurgation at his exclusion, Dicaeopolis will lay into him with the thongs which he has constituted his market clerks.

ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτῷ τόδε λαβὼν τὸ φορτίον  
εἴσειμ' ὑπαὶ πτερύγων κιχλᾶν καὶ κοφίχων. 970

ΧΟ. εἶδες ὦ, εἶδες, ὦ [στρ.

πᾶσα πόλι, τὸν φρόνιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν ὑπέρσοφον,  
οἷ' ἔχει σπεισάμενος ἔμπορικὰ χρήματα διεμπολᾶν,  
ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐν οἰκίᾳ  
χρήσιμα, τὰ δ' αὖ πρόπει  
χλιαρὰ κατεσθίειν. 975

αὐτόματα πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τῷδέ γε πορίζεται.

οὐδέποτ' ἐγὼ Πόλεμον οἴκαδ' ὑποδέξομαι,  
οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοί ποτε τὸν Ἀρμόδιον ἄσεται 980  
ξυγκατακλινεῖς, ὅτι παροίνιος ἀνὴρ ἔφν,  
δοστις ἐπὶ πάντ' ἀγάθ' ἔχοντας ἐπικωμάσας,

969. ἐμαυτῷ] *For my own use.* Cf. infra 1138. The Market-scene is over, and the three visitors, the Megarian, the Boeotian, and Lamachus, have all been dealt with in accordance with the rules laid down in 721 supra. The remainder of the Comedy is entirely taken up with the Anthesterian banquet, for which the Boeotian luxuries have so opportunely arrived. These, τόδε τὸ φορτίον, Dicaeopolis now takes into the house; he presently throws out (what purports to be) the feathers of the birds which he has plucked for cooking (988); then we find him engaged in the process of cooking (1005-47); and finally he packs them up in his refreshment-basket (1098-1142) and departs with them to the feast.

970. ὑπαὶ πτερύγων] Both here and in Birds 1426 we have the form ὑπαὶ (not ὑπὸ) with πτερύγων, because in each case

the poet is quoting an old song, ὁ τρόπος ποιητικός says the Scholiast, μιμεῖται δὲ τὸ μέλος.

971. εἶδες ὦ κ.τ.λ.] Between the marketing scenes and the banqueting scenes Aristophanes interposes a strophe and antistrophe containing an idyllic description of War and of Peace. War with its terrible devastation of the quiet Athenian homesteads and its destruction of their vineyards is depicted as a drunken reveller, breaking in upon some happy company, upsetting the furniture, and throwing everything into confusion. Peace who is here, as in *Lysistrata* 1114, represented by *Διαλλαγῆ*, *Reconciliation*, is described as a beautiful damsel, whose surpassing loveliness the old Acharnians have never perceived till now, and in whose companionship they long to enjoy the simple blessings of a country life. Each

Now for myself I'll carry all these things  
Indoors, to the tune *o' merles an' mavis'es wings*.

CHOR. Have ye seen him, all ye people, seen the man of matchless art,  
Seen him, by his private treaty, traffic gain from every mart,  
Goods from every neighbour;  
Some required for household uses; some 'twere pleasant warm to eat;  
All the wealth of all the cities lavished here before his feet,  
Free from toil and labour.

War I'll never welcome in to share my hospitality,  
Never shall the fellow sing Harmodius in my company,  
Always in his cups he acts so rudely and offensively.  
Tipsily he burst upon our happy quiet family,

strophe commences with a few lines in commendation of Dicaeopolis and his private treaty. Save that, as in the very similar system, Wasps 1275-91, the concluding line of each strophe is a trochaic tetrameter catalectic, the entire Chorus is in that cretico-paeonic metre which Aristophanes so much affected in his younger days, and which in these earlier comedies is always constructed with such artistic care. The first six lines, usually crushed up into three or four, are given in the text exactly as they stand in the Ravenna MS.; lines 4, 5, and 6 each consisting of a paeon and a cretic, a very melodious metre, the beauty of which is altogether lost in the ordinary arrangement. The nine lines which follow allow of no exchange of paeons and cretics; as in the similar system in the Wasps, each consists of three paeons followed by one

cretic. This was a famous metre, πολυθρύλλητον Hephaestion calls it in his thirteenth chapter. Ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, he says, ἐνιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τοὺς πρώτους καλουμένους παιῶνας παραλαμβάνειν, πλὴν τῆς τελευταίας χώρας, εἰς ἣν τὸν κρητικὸν παραλαμβάνουσιν. Οὕτω γοῦν τὸ πολυθρύλλητον τετράμετρον συντιθέασιν οὐ παράδειγμα ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους Γεωργῶν (from which he cites a couplet, and continues), κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δράμασιν ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης, καὶ ἐν Σφηξίν (1275) ὃ μακάρι' Αὐτόμενες, ὡς σε μακαρίζομεν.

980. τὸν Ἀρμόδιον] That is, the Scolium of that name; the various forms of which are collected in the Commentary on Wasps 1225. See also infra 1093. War, they mean, shall never take part in our friendly festivities.

982. πάντ' ἀγάθ' ἔχοντας] In the piping times of Peace they had πάντ' ἀγαθὰ, as Dicaeopolis, and only Dicaeopolis, has

εἰργάσατο πάντα κακὰ κἀνέτρεπε κἀξέχει,  
 κἀμάχετο, καὶ προσέτι πολλὰ προκαλουμένον,  
 πῖνε, κατάκεισο, λαβὲ τήνδε φιλοτησίαν, 985  
 τὰς χάρακας ἦπτε πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ πυρὶ,  
 ἐξέχει θ' ἡμῶν βία τὸν οἶνον ἐκ τῶν ἀμπέλων.

εἶδες ὡς ἐπτέρω-

[ἀντ.]

ταί τ' ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἅμα καὶ μεγάλα δὴ φρονεῖ  
 τοῦ βίου δ' ἐξέβαλε δείγμα τάδε τὰ πτερὰ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

ὦ Κύπριδι τῇ καλῇ

καὶ Χάρισι ταῖς φίλαις

ξύντροφε Διαλλαγῇ,

ὡς καλὸν ἔχουσα τὸ πρόσωπον ἄρ' ἐλάνθανες. 990

πῶς ἂν ἐμὲ καὶ σέ τις Ἔρωσ ξυναγάγοι λαβῶν,  
 ὥσπερ ὁ γεγραμμένος, ἔχων στέφανον ἀνθέμων;  
 ἢ πάνυ γερόντιον ἴσως νενόμικās με σύ;

now (978 supra); but when War came blustering in everything was changed, πάντα κακὰ εἰργάσατο.

985. φιλοτησίαν] The κύλιξ φιλοτησία (Lys. 203) was the *loving-cup*, the *cup of kindness* handed round for each guest to drink, as a pledge of peace and friendship. This custom, well known in our Oxford colleges and elsewhere, still prevails in modern Greece.—Dodwell i. 157. The loving-cup is frequently mentioned in ancient writers. In Achilles Tatius ii. 2 Dionysus is said to have given men their first taste of wine in a loving-cup. In Heliodorus, Aethiopes iii. 11, the loving-cup is going round, when it is found that one of the guests can drink nothing but water. Theagenes therefore takes a cup of water, pledges the guest in it, and says

ἀλλὰ σύγε ταύτην δέχου τὴν φιλοτησίαν ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡδίστων σοι προσέπιον' καὶ φιλίαν ἦδε ἡμῖν ἡ τράπεζα σπενδέσθω. Athenaeus xi. 106 defines it as κύλιξ τις ἣν κατὰ φιλίαν προῦπινον and cites passages in which it is mentioned. According to Aelian, Socrates called his cup of hemlock τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων φιλοτησίαν, "the loving-cup which the Athenians had sent him" (V. H. i. 16); and Phocion, about to drink the same fatal draught, desired his son μηδὲν Ἀθηναίους μνησικακήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλοτησίας, ἣν νῦν πίνω (V. H. xii. 49).

987. ἀμπέλων] Not merely did he spill the wine in the casks; but by cutting down the vines themselves he destroyed the perennial supply of wine stored up within their veins. The destruction of the vines is throughout the play held

Breaking this, upsetting that, and brawling most pugnaciously.  
 Yea when we entreated him with hospitable courtesy,  
*Sit you down, and drink a cup, a Cup of Love and Harmony,*  
 All the more he burnt the poles we wanted for our husbandry,  
 Aye and spilt perforce the liquor treasured up within our vines.

Proudly he prepares to banquet. Did ye mark him, all elate,  
 As a sample of his living cast these plumes before his gate?

Grand his ostentation!

O of Cypris foster-sister, and of every heavenly Grace,  
 Never knew I till this moment all the glory of thy face,

RECONCILIATION!

O that Love would you and me unite in endless harmony,  
 Love as he is pictured with the wreath of roses smilingly.  
 Maybe you regard me as a fragment of antiquity:

up by these old Acharnians as the head and front of the calamities brought upon them by the War. The short line *εἶδες ὡς ἐπτέρω* which immediately follows the word *ἀμπέλων* had, no doubt from its not commencing at the margin of the page, dropped out altogether at a very early time, and the word *ἀμπέλων* in the MSS. is at once succeeded by *ταί τ' ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον κ.τ.λ.* But a corrector of the Ravenna MS. wrote in strong dark letters before the *ται* the letters *ἐπτέρ* (there was no room for the *ω*), and the Scholium contemporaneous with the text contains the full word *ἐπτέρωται*, so that there can be no doubt about the propriety of restoring this word to the text. There is still a cretic wanting, and I have ventured to supply *εἶδες ὡς* from the commencement of the strophe.

988. *Κύπριδι*] Cypris was one of the commonest names for Aphrodite, given her because she was *ἡ Κυπρογένει* 'Αφροδίτη, Lys. 551. It was in the sea which laves the coasts of Cyprus that she rose from the foam "Naked, a double light in air and wave To meet her Graces, where they decked her out For worship without end."

989. *Διαλλαγῇ*] He apostrophizes Peace under the name of *Διαλλαγῇ*, because *Εἰρήνη* could not be brought into this metre.

992. *ὁ γεγραμμένος*] He is alluding, the Scholiast tells us, to a picture by Zeuxis in the Temple of Aphrodite at Athens, representing Eros as a lovely boy, wreathed with roses. It can have been only recently painted, since Zeuxis had not, at the date of the Acharnians, arrived at the height of his reputation.

ἀλλά σε λαβὼν τρία δοκῶ γ' ἂν ἔτι προσβαλεῖν·  
 πρῶτα μὲν ἂν ἀμπελίδος ὄρχον ἐλάσαι μακρὸν, 995  
 εἶτα παρὰ τόνδε νέα μοσχίδια συκίδων,  
 καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἡμερίδος ὄρχον, ὃ γέρων ὀδί,  
 καὶ περὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐλαῖδας ἅπαν ἐν κύκλῳ,  
 ὥστ' ἀλείφεισθαί σ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάμει ταῖς νουμηνίαις.

KHP. ἀκούετε λεῶ' κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς χόας

1000

994. τρία προσβαλεῖν] Προσβάλλειν is equivalent to the Latin *auctarium adiciere*, to throw into the bargain. Reconciliation may think him somewhat old for a bridegroom, but if she will marry him he will throw three things into the bargain, make her three wedding presents, perform three feats of husbandry. These feats consist in replacing the vines and fig-trees which War has broken down; and they are three in number, because he will plant three rows of fruit-trees in his little plot. The centre row will be formed of fig-trees; with a row of vines trained on vine-poles on the one side, and a row of lofty climbing vines on the other. All this will he do himself ὃ γέρων ὀδί (or as we should say "old as I am"), and more than this; for in a circle round his vineyard he will plant a belt of olives, and so secure a constant supply of oil for his use and hers on the solemn feast days. In the fourth of Aelian's Country Letters the writer borrows, with little alteration of language, almost the whole of this description.

And, all the grotto surrounding, the arms of a vine went straying

With green leaf-masses abounding, and clusters heavily-weighing. (WAL.)

998. ἐλαῖδας] The olive belt is over and above the three promised rows of fruit-

995. ὄρχον] Ὀρχος, στίχος (a row) ἀμπέλων ἢ ἐτέρων φυτῶν.—Scholiast. Hence the space between the rows is called μετόρχιον, Peace 568. Observe the caressing way in which the old farmer speaks of his fruit-trees. The vines are ἀμπελίδες, *darling little vines*, and the figs are νέα μοσχίδια συκίδων, *tender little shoots of dear little fig-trees*. Compare Peace 596, 597.

997. ἡμερίδος] This was a vine, not confined to low vineyard poles, but allowed to attain its full height on lofty trellis-work or otherwise. It seems to have derived the name of ἡμερίς, *vitis domestica*, from the fact that it was originally so trained (as afterwards) in vineyards, but on the walls of the dwelling-house. It is what Keble calls the "household vine" as distinguished from the vine grown in the field; "Nor may our household vine or fig-tree hide The broken arches of old Canaan's pride," *Christian Year*. It was an ἡμερίς, and not an ordinary ἄμπελος, which stretched its tendrils about the grotto of Calypso (*Odyssey* v. 69).

trees; it was to form a boundary round about the little plantation, χωρίον. So



Ah, but if I get you, dear, I'll show my triple husbandry.  
 First a row of vinelets will I plant prolonged and orderly,  
 Next the little fig-tree shoots beside them, growing lustily,  
 Thirdly the domestic vine; although I am so elderly.

Round them all shall olives grow, to form a pleasant boundary.

Thence will you and I anoint us, darling, when the New Moon  
 shines.

CRIER. O yes! O yes!

Come, drain your pitchers to the trumpet's sound,

"the Syrian meadows are bounded by groves of olive," says Lord Beaconsfield in *Contarini Fleming* vi. 4; an account of his own travels.

999. ἀπ' αὐτῶν] With the oil from the olives. The new moon—not the astronomical new moon, but the first appearance of the young moon, glittering in the evening sky—was a time of religious solemnity everywhere in the ancient world. Cf. *Wasps* 96. With this the business of the stage recommences, and by a turn of the eccyclema the interior of the house of Dicaeopolis is exposed to view. He himself is discovered, with his kitchen-knaves around him, busily engaged in cooking the thrushes, the eels, and the other good things which the Boeotian has brought him.

1000. ἀκούετε λαφ] A Crier enters to give notice that the drinking competition which took place on the Pitcher Day (οἱ Χόες) is now about to commence. And the rest of the Comedy is devoted to the preparations (varied by sundry interruptions) for the banquet at which this competition came off, and to the result

of the competition. The Pitcher Day doubtless derived its name from this contest, when a prize was given to the competitor who could soonest "floor" (to use an expressive vulgarism) a χοῆρες ἄγγος, a vessel containing nearly three quarts of wine. The origin of the contest was traced by antiquaries to the arrival of Orestes at Athens to stand his trial before the Areopagus. As nobody would like to share the cup (see *Knights* 1289) with a matricide, and yet all were desirous of sparing the feelings of Orestes, the king (Demophoon or Pandion) had a separate χοῆς placed before each citizen, and declared that whoever emptied his first should receive for a prize an Attic πλακοῦς. See the Commentary on *Frogs* 216 and to the authorities there cited add the Scholiast on 961 *supra*. On one occasion Dionysius of Sicily offered a golden crown as the prize, and it was won by the philosopher Xenocrates, *Athenaeus* x. 49; *Ael. V. H.* ii. 41; *Diog. Laert.* iv. 8. But at this period it would seem that the prize was really an ἀσκός or wine-skin. The Ravenna Scholiast says that on this day ἀγὼν ἦν

πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος· ὃς δ' ἂν ἐκπίῃ  
πρώτιστος, ἄσκον Κτησιφῶντος λήψεται.

ΔΙ. ὦ παῖδες, ὦ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἤκούσατε ;  
τί δρᾶτε ; τοῦ κήρυκος οὐκ ἀκούετε ;  
ἀναβράττετ', ἐξοπτᾶτε, τρέπετ', ἀφέλκετε 1005  
τὰ λαγῶα ταχέως, τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνείρετε.  
φέρε τοὺς ὀβελίσκους, ἵν' ἀναπείρω τὰς κίχλας.

ΧΟ. ζηλῶ σε τῆς εὐβουλίας,  
μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς εὐωχίας,  
ἄνθρωπε, τῆς παρούσης. 1010

ΔΙ. τί δῆτ', ἐπειδὴν τὰς κίχλας ὀπτωμένας ἴδητε ;

ΧΟ. οἴμαί σε καὶ τοῦτ' εὖ λέγειν. ΔΙ. τὸ πῦρ ὑποσκάλευε.

περὶ τοῦ ἐκπιεῖν τινὰ πρῶτον χόα· καὶ ὁ πῶν  
ἐστέφετο φυλλίνφ στεφάνφ, καὶ ἄσκον οἴνου  
ἐλάμβανεν' πρὸς σαλπγγὸς δ' ἔπινον. And  
to the like effect Hesychius and others.  
At the banquet the Pitcher-competitors  
filled their pitchers with wine, and when  
the trumpet gave the appointed signal  
raised them simultaneously to their lips,  
and drained the contents, the man who  
drained his first receiving an ἄσκος full  
of wine. In the present competition the  
Victor is promised not a mere ordinary  
wine-skin, but the skin of Ctesiphon  
filled with wine, and Ctesiphon being  
a man of enormous corpulence the prize  
would be one of unusual value. As to  
'Ἀκούετε λεφ', our *O yes! O yes!* see the  
note on Peace 551. It was commonly  
followed by the infinitive, as here by

πίνειν. On κατὰ τὰ πάτρια Bergler observes  
"scil. ἔθη' Thuc. ii. 2 καὶ ἀνείπεν ὁ  
κῆρυξ εἴ τις βοῦλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν  
πάντων Βοιωτῶν ζυμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ'  
αὐτοὺς τὰ ὄπλα ubi Scholia ad illud κατὰ  
τὰ πάτρια habent, ἔθη δηλονότι."

1002. Κτησιφῶντος] 'Ὡς παχὺς καὶ προ-  
γᾶστωρ ὁ Κτησιφῶν σκόπτεται.—Scholiast.  
The idea of flaying a man and using his  
skin as a wine-bag is not unfamiliar in  
Greek literature. Its first appearance,  
I suppose, was made in Solon's lines,  
where he describes the opinion which  
the Athenians held of his moderation  
in retiring from the position of sole  
legislator without acquiring wealth for  
himself or aspiring to the Tyranny of  
Athens.

Not a knowing hand is Solon ; not a man profound and deep,  
Who the gifts the Gods provided had not sense enough to keep.  
Wealth within his net and Kingship ! yet he threw the catch away !  
O could I be Lord of Athens only for one glorious day,  
Let them slay me then and flay me, make a wine-bag of my skin,  
Yea and utterly destroy us, me and all my kith and kin.

In our old fashion. Whoso drains<sup>a</sup> his first,  
Shall have, for prize, a skin of—Ctesiphon.

DI. Lads! Lassies! heard ye not the words he said?  
What are ye at? Do ye not hear the Crier?  
Quick! stew and roast, and turn the roasting flesh,  
Unspit the haremeat, weave the coronals,  
Bring the spits here, and I'll impale the thrushes.

CHOR. I envy much your happy plan,  
I envy more, you lucky man,  
The joys you're now possessing.

DI. What, when around the spits you see the thrushes roasting  
gloriously?

CHOR. And that's a saying I admire. DI. Boy, poke me up the charcoal fire.

ἀσκὸν ὕστερον δεδάρθαι, κάπιτετρίφθαι γένος, Plutarch's Solon, chap. 14. So ἀσκὸν δείρειν, Clouds 442. Cf. Knights 370 δερῶ σε θύλακον κλοπῆς.

1003. ὦ παῖδες κ.τ.λ.] Dicaeopolis, all excitement at the news, calls to his household to set to work immediately to prepare the dinner which he must take with him to the banquet. We shall find presently that he himself wins the race, τὸν χάρα πρῶτος ἐκπέπωκα (infra 1202), and claims the prize, ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἀσκὸν, infra 1225.

1005. τρέπετ', ἀφέλκετε] Ἀναστρέψατε τὰ ὀπτιώμενα κρέα, καὶ τὰ ὀπτηθέντα ἐξέλκετε. —Scholiast.

1006. τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνείρετε] For in the competition the drinkers were crowned with garlands which (at all events at the first institution of the contest) were afterwards deposited in

the Temple of Dionysus or given to his priest. See the Commentary on Frogs 216. And cf. infra 1091, 1145.

1008. ζηλωσε] The unwonted savour of the roasting and stewing meat has quite subdued the hearts of the old Acharnians, and they become the mere humble adulators of their whilom antagonist. This little metrical system, and the corresponding one, infra 1037-46, bear a strong resemblance to those in the Peace (856-67 and 909-21).

1009. εὐωχίας] The Chorus begin by congratulating Dicaeopolis on his good counsel, εὐβουλία, in concluding his Private Peace; though the real subject of their congratulation, they hasten to add, is rather the present good cheer εὐωχία, and the knowing way in which he is catering for himself, αὐτῷ διακονεῖται.

- ΧΟ. ἤκουσας ὡς μαγειρικῶς 1015  
 κομφῶς τε καὶ δειπνητικῶς  
 αὐτῷ διακονεῖται;
- ΓΕ. οἴμοι τάλας. ΔΙ. ὦ Ἡράκλεις, τίς οὐτοσί;  
 ΓΕ. ἀνὴρ κακοδαίμων. ΔΙ. κατὰ σεαυτὸν νυν τρέπου.  
 ΓΕ. ὦ φίλτατε, σπονδαὶ γάρ εἰσι σοὶ μόνῳ, 1020  
 μέτρησον εἰρήνης τί μοι, κὰν πέντ' ἔτη.  
 ΔΙ. τί δ' ἔπαθες; ΓΕ. ἐπετρίβην ἀπολέσας τῶ βόε.  
 ΔΙ. πόθεν; ΓΕ. ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔλαβον οἱ Βοιωτίοι.  
 ΔΙ. ὦ τρισκακόδαιμον, εἴτα λευκὸν ἀμπέχει;  
 ΓΕ. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι νῆ Δί' ὥπερ μ' ἔτρεφέτην 1025  
 ἐν πᾶσι βολίτοις. ΔΙ. εἴτα νυνὶ τοῦ δέει;  
 ΓΕ. ἀπόλωλα τῶφθαλμῶ δακρύων τῶ βόε.  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι κήδει Δερκέτου Φυλασίου,  
 ὑπάλειψον εἰρήνη με τῶφθαλμῶ ταχύ.  
 ΔΙ. ἀλλ', ὦ πόνηρ', οὐ δημοσιεύων τυγχάνω. 1030

1018. οἴμοι τάλας] The First Interruption. Dercetes, an Athenian farmer, enters in great tribulation. His farm was at Phyle, just on the Attic side of a pass between Boeotia and Attica, and his two oxen, τῶ βόε, have been carried off by Boeotian raiders, who appear to have been very busy about this time. See infra 1077. There seems to have been something quaint about the dual τῶ βόε, since in this little dialogue of nineteen lines Aristophanes introduces it thrice, each time at the termination of a line. The interruption is intended to show the hardships of the ordinary citizen who is at War, as compared with the happy lot of Dicaeopolis who is at Peace.

1019. κατὰ σεαυτὸν νυν τρέπου] Ἄντι τοῦ

ἐν σεαυτῷ ἔχε τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν, μὴ ἐπιμίγνυσο ἡμῖν κακοδαιμονῶν.—Scholiast. The entire line is repeated in Clouds 1263.

1021. πέντ' ἔτη] He is treating the σπονδαὶ as a liquid (see on 187 supra), and should have said five *drops*, as infra 1033, 1034; but for "drops" he substitutes "years" to show what he really wants.

1024. λευκὸν ἀμπέχει] For the mourning colour has always been *black*. οὐδεὶς δι' ἐμὲ μέλαν ἱμάτιον περιβάλετο, No one through any act of mine has had to put on mourning, said Pericles on his death-bed, Plutarch, . Pericles, chap. 38. And indeed the custom is very frequently mentioned. Sozomen, speaking of a penitent, says λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα ἀπέθετο· οἷα δὲ πενθῶν, μέλαιναν περιβαλλό-

- CHOR. O listen with what cookly art  
And gracious care, so trim and smart,  
His own repast he's dressing.
- FARMER. Alas! Alas! DI. O Heracles, who's there?  
FAR. An ill-starred man. DI. Then keep it to yourself.  
FAR. O—for you only hold the truces, dear—  
Measure me out though but five years of Peace.  
DI. What ails you? FAR. Ruined! Lost my oxen twain.  
DI. Where from? FAR. From Phyle. The Boeotians stole them.  
DI. And yet you are clad in white, you ill-starred loon!  
FAR. They twain maintained me in the very lap  
Of affluent muckery. DI. Well, what want you now?  
FAR. Lost my two eyes, weeping my oxen twain.  
Come, if you care for Dercetes of Phyle,  
Rub some Peace-ointment, do, on my two eyes.  
DI. Why, bless the fool, I'm not a public surgeon.

μενος, ἐκαθέζετο κλαίων.—H. E. ii. 9. 7.

1026. ἐν πᾶσι βολίτοις] For the ordinary phrase ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς, in the midst of every kind of blessing, he substitutes ἐν πᾶσι βολίτοις, which means literally in the midst of every kind of cow dung. δέον εἶπέν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς (in all good luck), βολίτοις (in all good muck) εἶπε παρ' ὑπόνοιαν.—Scholiast. Muck for luck is Mr. Green's suggestion; muckery for luxury Dr. Merry's. For other variations from the ordinary phrase see Wasps 709 ἔζων ἐν πᾶσι λαγῶις, and Lucian's "De morte Peregrini" 16 ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν.

1030. δημοσιεύων] In ancient Greece the State itself was accustomed to retain certain physicians, who kept as it were a public dispensary, and took no

fee from their patients. See Plutus 407 and the Commentary there. Perhaps the most notable instance of this custom is afforded by the famous Democedes of Croton, who, according to Herodotus (iii. 131), was engaged as a public physician in successive years, at an ever-increasing salary, by Aegina, Athens, and Samos. Physicians so hired were said δημοσιεύειν, Plato, Gorgias 70 (514 D), Politicus (259 A). Pittalus, who is again mentioned infra 1222, and Wasps 1432, was doubtless himself one of these δημοσιεύόντων ἰατρῶν. Dodwell, travelling in Greece at the beginning of the nineteenth century, found the same custom still prevailing there. "Physicians in Greece," he says, "are paid a yearly salary by the government

Hands  
order  
of

- ΓΕ. ἴθ' ἀντιβολῶ σ', ἦν πως κομίσωμαι τὸ βέε.  
 ΔΙ. οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κλᾶε πρὸς τοῦ Πιπτάλου.  
 ΓΕ. σὺ δ' ἀλλά μοι σταλαγμὸν εἰρήνης ἔνα  
 εἰς τὸν καλαμίσκον ἐνστάλαξον τουτονί.  
 ΔΙ. οὐδ' ἂν στριβλικίγξ· ἀλλ' ἀπιὼν οἴμωζέ ποι. 1035  
 ΓΕ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων τοῖν γεωργοῖν βοιδίοιν.  
 ΧΟ. ἀνὴρ ἐνεύρηκέν τι ταῖς  
 σπονδαῖσιν ἠδὺ, κοῦκ ἔοικεν  
 οὐδενὶ μεταδώσειν.  
 ΔΙ. κατὰ χειρὶ σὺ τῆς χορδῆς τὸ μέλι· τὰς σηπίας στάθενε· 1040  
 ΧΟ. ἤκουσας ὀρθιασμάτων; ΔΙ. ὀπτᾶτε τὰ γχέλεια.  
 ΧΟ. ἀποκτενεῖς λιμῶ με καὶ  
 τοὺς γείτονας κνίσση τε καὶ 1045  
 φωνῇ τοιαῦτα λάσκων.  
 ΔΙ. ὀπτᾶτε ταυτὶ καὶ καλῶς ξανθίζετε.  
 ΠΑ. Δικαιόπολι. ΔΙ. τίς οὐτοσί; τίς οὐτοσί;

or the public, and do not receive fees from their patients."—i. 146 n.

1034. *καλαμίσκον*] The Scholiast interprets this to mean "a tube of bronze or silver such as physicians use"; but Dercetes was a farmer, not a physician, and had doubtless brought with him a hollow reed, which indeed is the literal meaning of the word.

1035. *στριβλικίγξ*] Ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ βράνιδα, στρίβος δὲ καλεῖται ἡ λεπτή καὶ ὀξεία βοή, λίκιγξ δὲ ἡ ἐλαχίστη βοή τοῦ ὀρνέου.—Scholiast. With *λίκιγξ* as the twitter of a bird compare the -*λιλιξ* of Birds 262.

1040. *χορδῆς*] *A sausage*. The Scholiast both here and on 1119 *infra* says

*χορδὴ καλεῖται τὸ παχὺ ἔντερον τοῦ προβάτου*.

1044. *λιμῶ*] Elmsley would appropriate this word to the Chorus, and the *κνίσση* and *φωνῇ* to the neighbours; *me quidem fame enecabis, vicinos vero tuos nidore et clamore*. But no one has adopted this interpretation; and it seems clear that both Chorus and neighbours are represented as being done to death by one and the same process, viz. by the pangs of hunger, sharpened by the smell of dinner and<sup>1</sup> by the lordly commands which Dicaeopolis keeps on issuing to his kitchen-knaves.

1048. *Δικαιόπολι*] The Second Interruption; intended, like the First, to

FAR. Do now; I'll maybe find my oxen twain.

DI. No, go and weep at Pittalus's door.

FAR. Do, just one single drop. Just drop me here  
Into this quill one little drop of Peace.

DI. No, not one twitterlet; take your tears elsewhere.

FAR. Alas! Alas! my darling yoke of oxen.

CHOR. He loves the Treaty's pleasant taste;  
He will not be, methinks, in haste  
To let another share it.

DI. Pour on the tripe the honey, you! And you, the cuttle richly  
stew!

CHOR. How trumpet-like his orders sound. DI. Be sure the bits of eel  
are browned.

CHOR. The words you speak, your savoury rites,  
Keep sharpening so our appetites  
That we can hardly bear it.

DI. Now roast these other things and brown them nicely.

GROOMSMAN. O Dicaeopolis! DI. Who's there? who's there?

illustrate the discomforts incident to a state of war. A newly-married couple, fearing that they may be separated during their honeymoon by a summons for the husband to take part in some military expedition, send each a separate messenger to Dicaeopolis to petition for a few drops of Peace. The latter's impatience at this renewed interruption of his culinary operations is shown by his testy repetition of the words *τίς οὔσι*; The first to address Dicaeopolis is the bridegroom's messenger, the chosen friend who stood by him during the wedding day, and at even drove off with the newly-wedded

pair, the bride sitting in the carriage between the two men. Hence he was commonly called the *πάροχος*, Birds 1740. That *παράνυμφος* and *πάροχος* are names for the same person is plain upon all the authorities. *Πάροχος παράνυμφος*.—Hesychius. *παρόχους τοὺς παρανύμφους ἐκάλεσαν*.—Etym. Magn. (s. v. ἀρμάτειον μέλος). *πάροχοι λέγονται οἱ παράνυμφοι παρὰ τὸ παροχεῖσθαι τοῖς νυμφίοις*.—Scholiast on Birds 1737, Suidas. *ὁ δὲ καλούμενος παράνυμφος, νυμφευτῆς ὀνομάζεται καὶ πάροχος*.—Pollux iii. 40. Apparently, in the present case, the wedding is only just over.

- ΠΑ. ἔπεμψέ τίς σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα  
ἐκ τῶν γάμων. ΔΙ. καλῶς γε ποιῶν, ὅστις ἦν. 1050
- ΠΑ. ἐκέλευε δ' ἐγχείαι σε, τῶν κρεῶν χάριν,  
ἵνα μὴ στρατεύοιτ', ἀλλὰ βινοίη μένων,  
ἔς τὸν ἀλάβαστον κύαθον εἰρήνης ἕνα.
- ΔΙ. ἀπόφερ' ἀπόφερε τὰ κρέα καὶ μὴ μοι δίδου,  
ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐγχείαιμι μυρίων δραχμῶν. 1055
- ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τίς ἐστίν; ΠΑ. ἡ νυμφεύτρια  
δεῖται παρὰ τῆς νύμφης τί σοι λέξαι μόνω.
- ΔΙ. φέρε δὴ, τί σὺ λέγεις; ὡς γέλοιον, ᾧ θεοί,  
τὸ δέημα τῆς νύμφης, ὃ δεῖταί μου σφόδρα,  
ὅπως ἂν οἰκουρῇ τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου. 1060
- φέρε δεῦρο τὰς σπονδάς, ἵν' αὐτῇ δῶ μόνῃ,  
ὅτι γυνή 'στι τοῦ πολέμου τ' οὐκ ἀξία.  
ὑπεχ' ᾧδε δεῦρο τοῦξάλειπτρον, ᾧ γυναί.  
οἶσθ' ὡς ποιεῖτε τοῦτο; τῇ νύμφῃ φράσον,  
ὅταν στρατιώτας καταλέγωσι, τουτφί 1065  
νύκτωρ ἀλειφέτω τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου.  
ἀπόφερε τὰς σπονδάς. φέρε τὴν οἰνήρυσιν,

1053. ἀλάβαστον] *A perfume-box*, "an alabaster box of ointment." τὴν μυροθήκην.—Scholiast, here and at *Lys.* 947. τὴν τοῦ μύρου λήκυθον Ἀττικοὶ καλοῦσιν ἀλάβαστον, Photius s.v. λήκυθος. Perfumes were in great request at weddings (*Peace* 862, *Plutus* 529); and the groomsmen would naturally be provided with a perfume-box.

1054. ἀπόφερ' ἀπόφερε] Here, as in *Peace* 1221, the double ἀπόφερε indicates the haste of the speaker to get rid of the things. He will not retain them a moment under the prescribed conditions.

1056. νυμφεύτρια] The bridegroom's envoy having signally failed in his mission the messenger from the bride advances. She is the νυμφεύτρια, which for convenience sake we translate "bridesmaid," though her functions were totally different from those of our English bridesmaids. She was, in fact, a person sent from the bride's old home to superintend the arrangements made for her reception and comfort in her new home. By Hesychius, Photius, and Suidas she is described as ἡ συμπεμπομένη ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων τῇ νύμφῃ, and by Pollux iii. 41 as ἡ διοικουμένη τὰ περὶ



- GR. A bridegroom sends you from his wedding-banquet  
These bits of meat. DI. Well done, who'er he is.
- GR. And in return he bids you pour him out,  
To keep him safely with his bride at home,  
Into this ointment-pot one dram of Peace.
- DI. Take, take your meat away; I can't abide it.  
Not for ten thousand drachmas would I give him  
One drop of Peace. Hey, who comes here? GR. The bridesmaid  
Bringing a private message from the bride.
- DI. Well, what have *you* to say? What wants the bride?

*Affects to listen.*

O heaven, the laughable request she makes  
To keep her bridegroom safely by her side.  
I'll do it; bring the truces; she's a woman,  
Unfit to bear the burdens of the war.  
Now, hold the myrrh-box underneath, my girl.  
Know you the way to use it? Tell the bride,  
When they're enrolling soldiers for the war,  
'To rub the bridegroom every night with this.  
Now take the truces back, and bring the ladle.

τὸν γάμον γυνή. Pollux adds that she was also called *θαλαμείτρια*; and that she managed the preparations in the bridal chamber may be gathered from Plutarch, *Lycourus* 15.

1065. *καταλέγωσι*] *Are making up the κατάλογος or list of soldiers required for immediate service.* These lists, when made up, were affixed to the statues of the *Ἐπόνομοι* in the agora: see *Peace* 1183 and the note there. They would naturally distinguish between those whose services were required as cavalry and those who were to serve as hoplites. And Mantiheus therefore says (*Lysias*,

*Oration xvi*) that, on the occasion of the memorable march to Haliartus, finding that he was *κατειλεγμένος ἰππέυειν*, and knowing that the cavalry would be in little, and the infantry in great, peril, he went to the officer making up the list and asked him *ἐξαλείψαι με ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου*, not wishing to be in safety whilst other citizens were in danger. He therefore, according to his own account, did from patriotic motives what some did for the purpose of escaping service altogether. See *Knights* 1369 and the *Commentary* there.

1067. *ἀπόφερε τὰς σπονδάς*] *The grooms-*

- ἵν' οἶνον ἐγγέω λαβὼν ἐς τοὺς χόας.  
 ΧΟ. καὶ μὴν ὀδί τις τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακῶς  
 ὥσπερ τι δεινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐπέιγεται. 1070
- ΚΗΡ. ἰὼ πόνοι τε καὶ μάχαι καὶ Λάμαχοι.  
 ΛΑ. τίς ἀμφὶ χαλκοφάλαρα δώματα κτυπεῖ;  
 ΚΗΡ. ἰέναι σ' ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τήμερον  
 ταχέως λαβόντα τοὺς λόχους καὶ τοὺς λόφους·  
 κάπειτα τηρεῖν νιφόμενον τὰς εἰσβολάς. 1075  
 ὑπὸ τοὺς Χόας γὰρ καὶ Χύτρον αὐτοῖσιν τις  
 ἤγγειλε ληστὰς ἐμβαλεῖν Βοιωτίους.  
 ΛΑ. ἰὼ στρατηγοὶ πλείονες ἢ βελτίονες.  
 οὐ δεινὰ μὴ 'ξείναι με μηδ' ἐορτάσαι;  
 ΔΙ. ἰὼ στράτευμα πολεμολαμαχαϊκόν. 1080

man and bridesmaid depart; the treaties, brought out six lines above for the purpose of filling the ointment-box of the bridesmaid, are taken in again, and Dicaeopolis returns to his preparations for the banquet.

1068. ἐς τοὺς χόας] *Ut vinum infundam in congiis*, Bergler, followed by Brunck, and generally. And this seems quite right, since the mention of the vessels into which the wine is to be poured is necessary to complete the sentence. See supra 1051, 1053. Blaydes's interpretation, "in festum chorum," as supra 961, is out of place here.

1069. τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακῶς] See the Commentary on Knights 631. This and the following line, though probably not a parody of any particular passage, are obviously intended to bear a tragic impress. They may remind the reader of the opening scene in Shakespeare's

Henry the Fourth, Part II. A messenger is coming for Lamachus with tidings of war and toil and trouble; and he has hardly delivered his message when another arrives for Dicaeopolis with tidings of peace and joyous festivity. As to the jingle between μάχαι and Λάμαχοι see supra 269.

1072. τίς ἀμφί] One of the three houses at the back of the stage was, as we know, the house of Lamachus; and possibly the military character of its occupant may have been indicated throughout by bronze shields and other bits of armour suspended on its wall. However χαλκοφάλαρα may be merely a soldierly epithet. It reminds us, as Mitchell observes, of the famous glyconics in which Alcaeus (Athenaeus xiv. 23) describes a warrior's mansion:

μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος  
 χαλκῶ· πᾶσα δ' Ἄρη κεκρό-  
 μηται στέγη.

- I'll fill the winecups for the Pitcher-feast.  
 CHOR. But here runs one with eyebrows puckered up.  
 Methinks he comes a messenger of woe.  
 CRIER. O toils, and fights, and fighting Lamachuses !  
 LAM. Who clangs around my bronze-accountred halls ?  
 CRIER. The generals bid you take your crests and cohorts,  
 And hurry off this instant ; to keep watch  
 Amongst the mountain passes in the snow.  
 For news has come that at this Pitcher-feast  
 Boeotian bandits mean to raid our lands.  
 LAM. O generals, great in numbers, small in worth !  
 Shame that I may not even enjoy the feast.  
 DI. O expedition battle-Lamachaeon !

Lamachus now comes out of the house, as he did supra 572 ; but then he was already fully armed ; now he is unarmed, being called forth in the midst of his preparations for the festive banquet. His language is that of tragedy, *τραγικώτερον λέγει*, as the Scholiast says ; and Mueller cites Eur. Bacch. 60, 61 :

Βασιλειά τ' ἀμφὶ δάματ' ἐλθοῦσαι τάδε  
 κτυπεῖτε Πενθέως.

1074. τοὺς λόχους καὶ τοὺς λόφους] We have had this jingle before, supra 575. *νιφόμενον*, in the *snowstorms*, literally *snowed upon*, as Mitchell observes, citing Hdt. iv. 31, Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 3.

1076. ὑπὸ τοῦς Χόας] *Immediately upon*, about the time of, the *Pitcher Feast*. Cf. supra 139. The Scholiast thinks that the words τοὺς Χόας καὶ Χύτρον signify one day only, ἐν μᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ἀγοραὶ οἷ τε Χύτροι καὶ οἱ Χόας ἐν Ἀθήναις. And so Suidas. But although this had been the case originally, yet it is certain

that before the time of Aristophanes the two functions had been separated, the Χόες being celebrated on the twelfth and the Χύτροι on the thirteenth of Anthesterion. See the Commentary on Frogs 216. Indeed Aristophanes would not have added the words καὶ Χύτρον unless they conveyed some additional meaning. And doubtless they were both days of revelry, on either of which it might be hoped to take the Athenians unawares.

1078. πλείους ἢ βελτίους] Compare Hecabe's description of her Achaean captors, ὁ μείζον' ὄγκον δορὸς ἔχοντες ἢ φρενῶν, Troades 1158. The word πολεμολαμαχαϊκὸν two lines below is merely a comic compound of πόλεμος and Λάμαχος. It cannot be connected, as Mitchell and others suppose, with ἄχος or Ἀχαϊκός. How distasteful the ridicule of Dicaeopolis was to Lamachus we see from 1195 infra.

ΛΑ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, καταγελάς ἤδη σύ μου ;

ΔΙ. βούλει μάχεσθαι Γηρύνῃ τετραπτῖλῳ ;

ΛΑ. αἰαί,

οἶαν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀγγελίαν ἠγγειλέ μοι.

ΔΙ. αἰαί, τίνα δ' αὖ μοι προστρέχει τις ἀγγελῶν ;

ΑΓΓ. Δικαιόπολι. ΔΙ. τί ἔστιν ; ΑΓΓ. ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ταχὺ 1085

βάδιζε, τὴν κίστην λαβὼν καὶ τὸν χθα.

ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου γάρ σ' ἱερεὺς μεταπέμπεται.

ἀλλ' ἐγκόνει· δειπνεῖν κατακωλύεις πάλαι.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἐστὶν παρεσκευασμένα,

κλῖναι, τράπεζαι, προσκεφάλαια, στρώματα,

στέφανοι, μύρον, τραγήμαθ', αἱ πόρνοι πάρα,

ἄμυλοι, πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦντες, ἴτρια,

1090

1082. Γηρύνῃ] Geryon was that king in the Far West, the "lifting" of whose cattle (to use a Scotch expression for a Scotch custom) constituted the Tenth Labour of Heracles. We know from Hesiod (Theog. 287) that he had three heads; from Aeschylus (Agam. 843) that he had three bodies; and from Stesichorus (Scholiast on Hesiod ubi supra) that he had six hands and six feet, and, what is more to the present purpose, that he was *ὑπόπτερος*, furnished with wings. See also Lucian, *Toxaris* 62, *Plautus*, *Aulularia* 509. But what is there about Dicaeopolis that resembles the four-winged Geryon? The Scholiast thinks that as he speaks he catches up either a locust (supra 871) or some of the feathers lying about (supra 988). But it is perhaps more probable that during the culinary operations he stuck some of the *πτερύ-*

γων κιλῶν καὶ κοψίχων about his person, and has not yet removed them.

1086. κίστην] Τότε γὰρ οἱ καλοῦντες ἐπὶ δεῖπνον στεφάνους καὶ μύρα καὶ τραγήματα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα παρτίθεισαν, οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι ἔφερον ἐφήματα. τὴν κίστην, τὴν ὀψοθήκην.—Scholiast. It appears again as an *ὀψοθήκη* in the Knights. See Knights 1211, &c. The κίστη delineated in Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*, Plate 136, is a large oblong wicker-basket with flat top and bottom, and straight perpendicular sides; but doubtless there were κίσται of all shapes and sizes.

1087. Διονύσου ἱερεὺς] The real priest of Dionysus, we must remember, was at this moment sitting in the centre of the front row of the auditorium, exactly opposite the stage.

1092. ἄμυλοι κ.τ.λ.] This line enumerates the different cakes awaiting

LAM. O dear, what you! Do you insult me too?

DI. What would you fight with Geryon, the four-winged?

LAM. O woe!

O what a message has this Crier brought me!

DI. Oho! what message will this runner bring me?

MESSENGER. Dicaeopolis! DI. Well? MESS. Come at once to supper,

And bring your pitcher, and your supper-chest.

The priest of Bacchus sends to fetch you thither.

And do be quick: you keep the supper waiting.

For all things else are ready and prepared,

The couches, tables, sofa-cushions, rugs,

Wreaths, sweetmeats, myrrh, the harlotry are there,

Whole-meal cakes, cheese-cakes, sesame-, honey-cakes,

them, different in some respects, though in truth the word *πλακοῦς*, *placenta*, as a generic term, includes them all. Thus *ἄμυλοι* are described by the Scholiast on Peace 1195 as *πλακοῦντές τιναί*. See also Chrysippus in Athenaeus xiv. 57. So *σησαμοῦς*, says the Scholiast here, *εἶδος πλακοῦντος*. And *ἴτριον* is similarly described in Ath. xiv. 58. The peculiarity of the *ἄμυλος* (which I have translated *whole-meal cake*) was that the wheat of which it was made was not ground into flour, but first steeped and then squeezed into a sort of pulp. *ἄμυλος δὲ ἄρτος*, says the Scholiast on Theocritus ix. 21, *ὁ ἄνευ μύλου γενόμενος ἀποβρέχοντες γὰρ τὸν πυρρὸν ἀποθλίβουσι*. That it was considered a great dainty is plain. Thus Plutarch, in his little treatise on *εὐθυμία*, chap. 3, speaking of the change from sickness to health, says, "the man who yesterday loathed

eggs and *ἀμίλια* will to-day feed greedily on bare grain." And in Athenaeus viii. 39 one of the guests says jestingly that Ulpian does not live on food befitting men, but picks up fishbones and gristle; like those of whom Eubulus speaks in his Ixion, who

ἐν ταῖς γενναῖς εὐχάϊαις,  
ἀμύλων παρόντων, ἐσθίουσ' ἐκαστοτε  
ἄνηθα, καὶ σέλινα, καὶ φλυαρίας,  
καὶ κάρδαμ' ἰσκευασμένα.

The *πλακοῦς* proper was a rich cake, flavoured with honey, wine, oil, and cheese. The last-mentioned ingredient is singled out infra 1125, and here and elsewhere I have translated *πλακοῦς* *cheese-cake*; but honey formed its special characteristic, and Attic *πλακοῦντες* were accounted the most excellent from the superior flavour of the honey of Hymettus; see the note on Eccl. 223. The *σησαμοῦς* was of course distinguished by

- ὄρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου, καλαί.  
 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα σπεύδε. ΛΑ. κακοδαίμων ἐγώ.
- ΔΙ. καὶ γὰρ σὺ μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν Γοργόνα. 1095  
 σύγκλειε, καὶ δεῦνόν τις ἐνσκευαζέτω.
- ΛΑ. παῖ παῖ, φέρ' ἔξω δεῦρο τὸν γύλιον ἐμοί.  
 ΔΙ. παῖ παῖ, φέρ' ἔξω δεῦρο τὴν κίστην ἐμοί.  
 ΛΑ. ἄλας θυμίτας οἶσε, παῖ, καὶ κρόμμυνα.  
 ΔΙ. ἐμοὶ δὲ τεμάχη· κρομμύοις γὰρ ἄχθομαι. 1100  
 ΛΑ. θρίον ταρίχους οἶσε δεῦρο, παῖ, σαπρού.

its sesame-seeds, and was the ordinary wedding-cake. See Peace 869 and the note there. There were sesame-seeds also in the ἴτριον, which is described by Athenaeus (xiv. 55) as a *πεμμάτιον λεπτόν, διὰ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος γινόμενον*.

1093. τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου] This seems a neat little joke, and I do not know why some editors have been so anxious to get rid of it. All know the famous Scolium (supra 980) beginning *Φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι' οὐ τί πω τέθνηκας, Harmodius dearest, thou art not yet dead*, where the words *Φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι'* are of course in the vocative case. Now Harmodius, though a tyrannicide, was not the most moral of men; and Aristophanes takes the first three words of the Scolium, and by reading *φίλταθ'* as the neuter plural, and combining *Ἀρμόδι' οὐ* into *Ἀρμοδίου*, contrives, without changing a letter, to hint at the irregularities of this popular favourite.

1094. κακοδαίμων ἐγώ] The enumeration of the pleasures which Dicaeopolis is summoned to enjoy puts the finishing touch to the wretchedness of Lamachus, by their contrast with the hardships

which he is summoned to endure. Dicaeopolis reminds him that this is the natural consequence of his having enrolled himself as a votary of War, represented by the Gorgon on his shield, *ἐπεγράφου τὴν Γοργόνα*. *Ἐπιγράφεσθαι* is the ordinary word for enrolling oneself as a client or disciple of some patron. Mitchell refers to Lucian's *Hermotimus 14*, where the Platonists are described as *οἱ τὸν Πλάτωνα ἐπιγραφόμενοι*. It is needless to say that in real life Lamachus was the last man to grumble at any hardships which his duty as a soldier might require him to undergo.

1096. *σύγκλειε*] Not "shut the door," as it is commonly interpreted, for the dishes were immediately to be brought out through the *open* door, but (like the *κλείε πηκτὰ δωματίων* of 479 supra) *close up the house* by wheeling in that portion of it which by means of the *eccyclema* had been exposed to view, after 999 supra. The house would be closed up to its original shape, but the house door would be open.

1097. *παῖ παῖ*] During the next forty-

- And dancing-girls, *Harmodius' dearest ones*.  
 So pray make haste. LAM. O wretched, wretched me!  
 DI. Aye the great Gorgon 'twas you chose for patron.  
 Now close the house, and pack the supper up.  
 LAM. Boy, bring me out my soldier's knapsack here.  
 DI. Boy, bring me out my supper-basket here.  
 LAM. Boy, bring me onions, with some thymy salt. *contrast*  
 DI. For me, fish-fillets: onions I detest.  
 LAM. Boy, bring me here a leaf of rotten fish.

five lines the pleasures of Peace and the hardships of War are illustrated by the concurrent preparations of Dicaeopolis and Lamachus: the one for his festival banquet, the other for his winter campaign. As Lamachus calls for the hard fare of a camp life and the other necessities for his expedition to the snowy mountain passes, Dicaeopolis calls, with insulting mimicry, for the various luxuries he proposes to take with him to the feast. They speak alternately. Very similar in style, though very different in purport, is the dialogue between Mascarille and Albert in Molière's "Le Dépit Amoureux" iii. 10. Lamachus begins by telling his servant to bring out (φέρ' ἔξω, that is out of his house) the γύλιος to hold his provisions. The γύλιος is described by the Scholiast as a sort of wicker basket, σπυριδῶδες πλέγμα ἐν ᾧ τὰς τροφὰς ἔχοντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ πόλεμον, or, as the Scholiast at Peace 527 puts it, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τυρὸν καὶ ἐλαίαι καὶ κρόμμυα. In form, therefore, it was very unlike our soldier's knapsack. As to ἄλας

θυμίαις see supra 772.

1101. θρίον] *A fig-leaf*; commonly used by the Athenians as a wrapper in which to fold up and serve to table some article of food. Here the θρίον which is to be brought to Lamachus contains only rotten fish; that for which Dicaeopolis calls contains beef fat (Knights 954) and probably the other ingredients—honey, milk, eggs, fresh cheese, wheat flour, and brains—constituting the dainty mixture with which, when wrapped up in a fig-leaf and cooked in rich broth, the name θρίον was more usually associated. σκεύασμά τι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ θρίον, says the Scholiast, ὅπερ λαμβάνει ἕτοιον στέαρ ἢ ἐρίφειον, καὶ σεμίδαλι, καὶ γάλα, καὶ τὸ λεκιθῶδες τοῦ φύου πρὸς τὸ πήγνυσθαι, καὶ οὕτως εἰς φύλλα συκῆς ἐμβαλλόμενον ἥδιστον ἀποτελεῖ βρῶμα. οὕτω Δίδυμος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις σκευασία θρίον, ἐγκέφαλος μετὰ γάρου καὶ τυροῦ κατασκευαζόμενος, καὶ ἐλιττόμενος ἐν φύλλοις συκῆς καὶ ὀπτώμενος. See the Commentary on Frogs 134. ἐκεῖ means "at the place where the banquet is to take place."

- ΔΙ. κάμοι σὺ δημοῦ θρίων ὀπτῆσω δ' ἐκέι.  
 ΛΑ. ἔνεγκε δεῦρο τὼ πτερὼ τὼ 'κ τοῦ κράνους.  
 ΔΙ. ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς φάττας γε φέρε καὶ τὰς κίχλας.  
 ΛΑ. καλὸν γε καὶ λευκὸν τὸ τῆς στρουθοῦ πτερόν. 1105  
 ΔΙ. καλὸν γε καὶ ξανθὸν τὸ τῆς φάττης κρέας.  
 ΛΑ. ὄνθρωπε, παῦσαι καταγελῶν μου τῶν ὄπλων.  
 ΔΙ. ὄνθρωπε, βούλει μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὰς κίχλας ;  
 ΛΑ. τὸ λοφέιον ἐξένεγκε τῶν τριῶν λόφων.  
 ΔΙ. κάμοι λεκάνιον τῶν λαγῶν δὸς κρεῶν. 1110  
 ΛΑ. ἀλλ' ἢ τριχόβρωτες τοὺς λόφους μου κατέφαγον ;  
 ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸ δείπνου τὴν μίμαρκυν κατέδομαι ;  
 ΛΑ. ὄνθρωπε, βούλει μὴ προσαγορεύειν ἐμέ ;  
 ΔΙ. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ χῶ παῖς ἐρίζομεν πάλαι.  
 βούλει περιδόσθαι, κάπιτρέψαι Λαμάχῳ, 1115  
 πότερον ἀκρίδες ἢ διὸν ἐστίν, ἢ κίχλαι ;  
 ΛΑ. οἴμ' ὡς ὑβρίζεις. ΔΙ. τὰς ἀκρίδας κρίνει πολὺ.  
 ΛΑ. παῖ παῖ, καθελὼν μοι τὸ δόρυ δεῦρ' ἕξω φέρε.  
 ΔΙ. παῖ παῖ, σὺ δ' ἀφελὼν δεῦρο τὴν χορδὴν φέρε.

1105. καλὸν καὶ λευκόν] *Nice and white*. Like our word *nice*, καλὸν is frequently employed, as here, not as an independent epithet, but to qualify another adjective. καλὸν καὶ λευκόν, *beautifully white*, not "white and also beautiful." So καλὸν καὶ ξανθὸν in the next line; καλὸς καὶ φοινικιοῦς, *Birds* 272. As to the στρουθός, the *ostrich*, commonly called ἡ στρουθὸς ἢ μεγάλη, see Introduction to *Birds* lvii.

1110. λεκάνιον] This is a diminutive of λεκάνη, which signifies any *dish, pan*, or *platter*, and is in these Comedies applied to articles as diverse as a mason's hod, a basin in which to vomit, and the cup in which a shoeblack keeps

his sponge. The translation looks rather to the jingle than to the strict signification of the word.

1112. μίμαρκυν] The other λαγῶ Di-caeopolis will reserve for the banquet, but the μίμαρκυν is too tempting for that; upon this he will begin at once. The μίμαρκυν was a sort of rich broth, prepared from the blood and intestines, usually of the hare, but occasionally of the pig. κυρίως μὲν μίμαρκυν ἢ λαγῶα χορδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἐντέρων χρωῶνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χοίρου. Ἄλλως. μίμαρκυν, σκευασία τις τῆς κοιλίας ἢ τῶν ἐντέρων. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λαγῶου αἵματος καὶ τῶν ἐντοσθίων σκευαζομένην καρύκην.—Scholiasts, Suidas. μίμαρκυν, κοιλία καὶ ἔντερα μετὰ αἵματος



- DI. A tit-bit leaf for me; I'll toast it there.  
 LAM. Now bring me here my helmet's double plume.  
 DI. And bring me here my thrushes and ring-doves.  
 LAM. How nice and white this ostrich-plume to view.  
 DI. How nice and brown this pigeon's flesh to eat.  
 LAM. Man, don't keep jeering at my armour so.  
 DI. Man, don't keep peering at my thrushes so.  
 LAM. Bring me the casket with the three crests in it.  
 DI. Bring me the basket with the hare's flesh in it.  
 LAM. Surely the moths my crest have eaten up.  
 DI. Sure this hare-soup I'll eat before I sup.  
 LAM. Fellow, I'll thank you not to talk to ME.  
 DI. Nay, but the boy and I, we can't agree.  
 Come will you bet, and Lamachus decide,  
 Locusts or thrushes, which the daintier are?  
 LAM. Insolent knave! DI. (*To the boy.*) Locusts, he says, by far.  
 LAM. Boy, boy, take down the spear, and bring it here.  
 DI. Boy, take the sweetbread off and bring it here.

ἔσκενασμένα, μάλιστα δὲ λαγῶν.—Pollux (vi. 56), Hesychius.

1115. βούλει περιδόσθαι] He is speaking, or pretends to be speaking, to his servant. *Will you bet*, he says (see supra 772), and let Lamachus decide between us (ἐπιτρέψαι, see Wasps 521 and the note there) which are the pleasantest food, locusts or thrushes? Locusts were likely to be Lamachus's fare. Thrushes, which Dicaeopolis had been packing up, were esteemed by the ancients the greatest of delicacies; *obeso nil melius turdo*. See the note on Peace 1197.

1117. ἀκριδας] He endeavours still further to aggravate Lamachus by pretending that the latter has accepted

the office of referee, and given] his award in favour of his own probable fare. But there is no real misapprehension, and nothing can be wider of the mark than Mueller's observation "ludit poeta similitudine vocum ἰβριζεις et ἀκριδες." Dicaeopolis knows perfectly well what Lamachus said. The whole idea of the bet is mere chaff; there has been no difference of opinion between Dicaeopolis and his servant.

1119. ἀφελών] *From the fire*, as Mitchell and Merry rightly take it. That it cannot mean ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀβελίσκου, as Paley and Blaydes think, is plain from what immediately follows. As to χορδῇ see on 1040 supra.

- ΛΑ. φέρε, τοῦ δόρατος ἀφελκύσωμαι τοῦλτρον. 1120  
 ἔχ', ἀντέχου, παῖ. ΔΙ. καὶ σὺ, παῖ, τοῦδ' ἀντέχου.
- ΛΑ. τοὺς κιλλίβαντας οἴσε, παῖ, τῆς ἀσπίδος.  
 ΔΙ. καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοὺς κριβανίτας ἔκφερε.
- ΛΑ. φέρε δεῦρο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον.  
 ΔΙ. κάμοι πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον δὸς κύκλον. 1125
- ΛΑ. ταῦτ' οὐ κατάγελῶς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις πλατύς ;  
 ΔΙ. ταῦτ' οὐ πλακοῦς δῆτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις γλυκὺς ;
- ΛΑ. κατάχει σὺ, παῖ, τοῦλαιον. ἐν τῷ χαλκίῳ  
 ἐνορῶ γέροντα δειλίας φευξοῦμενον.
- ΔΙ. κατάχει σὺ τὸ μέλι. κἀνθάδ' ἔνδηλος γέρον  
 κλάειν κελεύων Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσου. 1130

1120. ἀφελκύσωμαι] Ἔλκει τοῦ δόρατος τὴν θήκην.—Scholiast. One boy brings the spear in its case; the other the sweetbread on the spit. Lamachus tells his boy to keep fast hold of the spear whilst he himself draws off the case; Dicaeopolis, in imitation, tells his to keep fast hold of the spit whilst he himself draws off the sweetbread. The ἀντὶ in ἀντέχου implies that the boy was in each case to pull, as it were, against his master, the boy tugging one way and the master the other. On τοῦδε the Scholiast remarks, τοῦ ὀβελίσκου. ὥστε τὰ ἐμπεπαρμένα κρέα ἢ τὴν χορδὴν ἀφελκύσαι.

1122. κιλλίβαντας] *Trestles* used as a painter's easel, or to support a table-board or (as here) a shield. τρισκελῆ ἐστὶ τὴν ξύλα ἐφ' ὧν τιθέασιν τὰς ἀσπίδας διαναπαύομενοι.—Scholiast. Elmsley refers to Pollux vii. 129, ἐφ' οὗ δὲ οἱ πίνακες ἐρείδονται, ὅταν γράφονται, ξύλον ἐστὶ τρισκελῆς, καὶ καλεῖται ὀκρίβας τε καὶ

κιλλίβας, and to Hesychius, κιλλίβαντες· τραπέζων βάσεις καὶ ὑποθέματα· ἢ τρισκελεῖς τράπεζαι.

1123. τῆς ἐμῆς] Λείπει γαστρός, ἢ ἢ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γαστρός τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔκφερε τοὺς κριβανίτας ἄρτους.—Scholiast. *Mei etiam ventris fulcra effer e clibano panes.*—Bergler. It may be that Dicaeopolis, as he says this, “ventrem digito monstrat” (Mueller), or, as Merry puts it, “is patting himself on the place which he describes as τῆς ἐμῆς.” But I strongly suspect that the round protuberant paunch of some corpulent citizen had been compared to the ἀσπίς ὀμφαλοεσσα, which a soldier in battle protruded before him; and that we have here an allusion to that description, an allusion which the audience would at once understand. As to κριβανίτας see supra 86, 87 and the note there.

1124. ἀσπίδος κύκλον] Περιφραστικῶς τὴν ἀσπίδα γοργόνωτον δὲ τὴν ἔχουσαν Γοργόνα.—Scholiast. The epithet γορ-

- LAM. Hold firmly to the spear whilst I pull off  
The case. DI. And you, hold firmly to the spit.
- LAM. Boy, bring the framework to support my shield.
- DI. Boy, bring the bakemeats to support my frame.
- LAM. Bring here the grim-backed circle of the shield.
- DI. And here the cheese-backed circle of the cake.
- LAM. Is not this—mockery, plain for men to see?
- DI. Is not this—cheese-cake, sweet for men to eat?
- LAM. Pour on the oil, boy. Gazing on my shield,  
I see an old man tried for cowardliness.
- DI. Pour on the honey. Gazing on my cake,  
I see an old man mocking Lamachus.

γόνωτον is supposed to be a gird at Euripides who was fond of applying the term -ωτον to a shield. Blaydes quotes from his plays *ἀσπίδα σιδηρόνωτον*, and *χαλκόνωτον*, and *χρυσέωνωτον*. Dicaeopolis retorts with *τυρόνωτον*, because cheese was one of the chief ingredients of a *πλακοῦς*. See on 1092 supra.

1128. *κατάχει*] Lamachus directs his servant to pour oil over the shield *ἵνα γένηται λαμπροτέρα*, as the Scholiast says; for all Hellenic soldiers were careful to keep their shields bright and polished against the day of battle. Thus the Ten Thousand, when called out to be reviewed by Cyrus, *εἶχον τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαθαρμένας*, *Anab. i. 2. 16*; and the Thebans, before the battle of Mantinea, *ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας*, *Hellenics vii. 5. 20*.

1129. *δειλίας φευξόμενον*] *Who will everlong be tried for cowardice*. Cf. Knights 368. Both in this line and in the cognate passage, *Plutus 382*, I have translated the words as if the speaker were

seeing, here in the polished surface of his shield, there in his mind's eye, the actual trial of his opponent. And no doubt that would be the more picturesque and dramatic way of putting it; just as Belisarius, endeavouring to persuade the Neapolitans to surrender their city which he was on the point of capturing, recounts the horrors enacted in a city taken by storm, and declares *ταῦτὰ Νεάπολιν τήνδε, ὅσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ, ταῖς πρότερον ἀλούσαις πόλεσιν ὄρων πάσχουσαν, αὐτῆς τε καὶ ὑμῶν ἐς οἴκτον ἤκω*.—*Procopius de Bello Gothico i. 9*. But it is hardly necessary to say that the language of Aristophanes will not really bear that meaning. The speaker in each case merely says that he sees before him a man who will presently be put on his trial.

1131. *τὸν Γοργάσου*] This is merely another reference to the Gorgon shield. Lamachus was really, as Elmsley points out, the son of Xenophanes, *Thuc. vi. 8*.

- ΛΑ. φέρε δεῦρο, παῖ, θώρακα πολεμιστήριον.  
 ΔΙ. ἔξαιρε, παῖ, θώρακα κάμοι τὸν χόα.  
 ΛΑ. ἐν τῷδε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θωρήξομαι.  
 ΔΙ. ἐν τῷδε πρὸς τοὺς συμπότας θωρήξομαι. 1135  
 ΛΑ. τὰ στρώματ', ὦ παῖ, δῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος.  
 ΔΙ. τὸ δεῖπνον, ὦ παῖ, δῆσον ἐκ τῆς κιστίδος.  
 ΛΑ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτῷ τὸν γύλιον οἴσω λαβών.  
 ΔΙ. ἐγὼ δὲ θοιμάτιον λαβὼν ἐξέρχομαι.  
 ΛΑ. τὴν ἀσπίδ' αἴρου, καὶ βάδιζ', ὦ παῖ, λαβών. 1140  
 νίφει. βαβαιάξ· χειμέρια τὰ πράγματα.  
 ΔΙ. αἴρου τὸ δεῖπνον· συμποτικὰ τὰ πράγματα.  
 ΧΟ. ἴτε δὴ χαίροντες ἐπὶ στρατιάν.  
 ὡς ἀνομοίαν ἔρχεσθον ὁδόν·  
 τῷ μὲν πίνειν στεφανωσαμένῳ,  
 σοὶ δὲ ριγῶν καὶ προφυλάττειν, 1145  
 τῷ δὲ καθεύδειν  
 μετὰ παιδίσκης ὠραιότητος,  
 ἀνατριβομένῳ τε τὸ δεῖνα.

Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος, ξυγγραφέα, τῶν μελέων ποιητὴν, [στρ.

1132. θώρακα] Θώραξ means both a breastplate and the human chest, still called the *thorax* in anatomical language. See Wasps 1194 and the note there. Here the word is leading up to the play on *θωρήσσομαι* in the following couplet: *Bring me my corslet*, says Lamachus; *and bring me mine, that is to say, the Pitcher*, retorts Dicaeopolis. ἔξελε οὖν, φησὶ, κάμοι τὸν χόα, ὃν καλεῖ θώρακα, ὥστε θωρακισθῆναι.—Scholiast. Here, as in Peace 1286, the breastplate, for the sake of preserving the play upon words, becomes in the translation a casque.

1134. θωρήξομαι] *Θωρήσσεσθαι* is used in two significations: (1) *to put on one's breastplate*; (2) *to fortify oneself with wine*, Theognis 508, 884, &c. Lamachus employs the word in the first sense, Dicaeopolis in the second. There is an exactly similar joke in Peace 1286. The verb in the second sense, as indeed Mitchell observes, is used over and over again by Theognis; and the Oxford Lexicographers cite from Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* 32 *ποτῷ φρένα θωρηχθέντες*.

1137. τὸ δεῖπνον] One would have supposed that the entire *δεῖπνον*, with

- LAM. Bring me a casque, to arm the outer man.  
 DI. Bring me a cask to warm the inner man.  
 LAM. With this I'll arm myself against the foe.  
 DI. With this I'll warm myself against the feast.  
 LAM: Boy, lash the blankets up against the shield.  
 DI. Boy, lash the supper up against the chest.  
 LAM. Myself will bear my knapsack for myself.  
 DI. Myself will wear my wraps, and haste away.  
 LAM. Take up the shield, my boy, and bring it on.  
 Snowing! good lack, a wintry prospect mine.  
 DI. Take up the chest; a suppery prospect mine.

CHOR. Off to your duties, my heroes bold.  
 Different truly the paths ye tread;  
 One to drink with wreaths on his head;  
 One to watch, and shiver with cold,  
 Lonely, the while his antagonist passes  
 The sweetest of hours with the sweetest of lasses.

PRAY we that Zeus calmly reduce to destruction emphatic and utter

the exception of the *χοῦς* itself (supra 1086) would be *inside* the *κίστη*, but apparently there was still something to be lashed on to the *outside*, unless indeed Dicaeopolis is giving the direction, just as he uses the diminutive *κίστις*, for the sole purpose of mimicking more closely the language of Lamachus.

1143. *ἴτε δῖ]* So now the two antagonists depart for their different engagements, to meet again some fifty lines later on their return, the one from his warlike, the other from his peaceful, expedition. The Chorus occupy the interval with a song, which though not

strictly speaking a Parabasis is of a distinctly parabolic character. The very words with which the little system of anapaestic dimeters commence, *ἴτε δῖ χαίροντες*, are the usual introduction to a regular Parabasis (see *Knights* 498, *Clouds* 510, *Wasps* 1009, *Peace* 729), whilst the two stanzas which follow have nothing to do with the plot of the Comedy, but are concerned with the poet's own personal grievances and antipathies.

1150. *Ἀντίμαχον]* We know nothing, and it is obvious that the Scholiast knew nothing, about Antimachus beyond the information given by the

ὡς μὲν ἀπλῶ λόγῳ κακῶς ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς·  
 ὅς γ' ἐμὲ τὸν τλήμονα Λήναια χορηγῶν ἀπέκλεισε δείπνων. 1155  
 ὃν ἔτ' ἐπίδοιμι τευθίδος  
 δεόμενον, ἢ δ' ὄπτημένη  
 σίζουσα πάραλος, ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ κειμένη,  
 ὀκέλλοι· κᾶτα μέλ-  
 λοντος λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ κύων  
 ἀρπάσασα φεύγοι.

1160

present passage. We learn from this line that he was an author, a dabbler both in prose and in verse; and further, that he had a disagreeable habit of sputtering out little specks of saliva when talking: προσέρραινε τοὺς συνομιλοῦντας διαλεγόμενος, as the Scholiast expresses it; whence he was called Ψακὰς, *sputter*, or (as here) ὁ Ψακάδος, *son of sputter*. But what was his offence as Choregus? The Scholiast's suggestion that he passed some ψήφισμα injurious to the Chorus is absurd; he is evidently charged with excluding from the theatrical supper some person or persons who expected an invitation. This could hardly be the Chorus or Callistratus, because when Aristophanes was writing these lines he could not know what Chorus he would have, or even whether the play would be ultimately brought out in the name of Callistratus; he only knew that he himself was its author. It seems to me, therefore, that at some previous Lenaeon festival Antimachus had not invited Aristophanes to the supper given to his Chorus after the performance of his Comedy. And as the Babylonians was produced at the Great Dionysia, the

reference must be to the Comedy of the Banqueters (*Δαιταλεῖς*). And this is the conclusion at which Fritzsche (*De Daetalensibus*, p. 9), Bergk (*Preliminary note* to that play in *Fragm. Com. Graec.*), and Mueller and Blaydes here, with many other Commentators, unhesitatingly arrive. No doubt the excuse for leaving Aristophanes out was that the Banqueters was produced in the name of Callistratus.

1156. ὃν ἔτ' ἐπίδοιμι] On this inhospitable Antimachus the poet denounces two comic Woes. The first, like the denunciation in *Knights* 929-40, is concerned with the τευθίς, which was considered a great delicacy by the Athenians. The τευθίς, though by Hesychius, Photius, Suidas, and others treated as identical with the σηπία, is always distinguished from it by Aristotle, and indeed by the Comic writers. Both are cuttles, but the τευθίς is our *calamary* or *squid* (*loligo vulgaris*); the σηπία our common cuttle (*sepia officinalis*). In the present passage Antimachus, possibly an epicure in the matter of cuttles, is supposed to be watching the progress of a cuttle, on its table, across a room towards the

That meanest of poets and meanest of men, Antimachus, offspring of  
Sputter;

The Choregus who sent me away without any supper at all  
At the feast of Lenaea; I pray, two Woes that Choregus befall.  
May he hanker for a dish of the subtle cuttle fish;  
May he see the cuttle sailing through its brine and through its oil,  
On its little table lying, hot and hissing from the frying,  
Till it anchor close beside him, when alas! and Woe betide him!  
As he reaches forth his hand for the meal the Gods provide him,  
    May a dog snatch and carry off the spoil, off the spoil,  
    May a dog snatch and carry off the spoil.

place where he is sitting impatient to enjoy it. For the tables, as we know, were not brought in till the guests were ready to begin the meal, Wasps 1216. The poet likens the cuttle, gliding along on its table, to a stately ship, a very Paralus, the flower of the Athenian navy, sailing on with a goodly freight to the haven where it would be. But just as it touches the shore, *ὀκέλλει*, that is, just as the cuttle is getting within the reach of Antimachus, then may a dog seize and scamper away with the dainty. And this, says the poet, may I yet live to behold, *ἔτ' ἐπίδοιμι*.

1157. *ὠπημένῃ*] *Toasted*. This was the favourite, though of course not the only, way of cooking a *τευθίς*. In the second Thesmophoriazuseae a speaker asks if any *τευθίδες* have been toasted to sustain the women exhausted by their long fast, Athenaeus iii. 64. Metagenes in his *Thurio-persae* says that the rivers about Thurium bore food ready cooked to the town, and even the little rivulets were flowing with toasted

*τευθίδες*: τὰ δὲ μικρὰ ταντὶ ποτάμῳ ἐννευ-  
τευθενὶ ρεῖ τευθίσιν ὀπταῖς.—Ath. vi. 98. Anaxandrides, in the long list of dainties quoted by Ath. iv. 7, enumerates *τευθίδες ὀπταί, σπητιαί ἐφθαί*. And in the Auge of Eubulus a speaker tells a belated guest that the toasted *τευθίς* has already been eaten up, *παριτέτροικται τευθίς ἐξωπημένη*, Ath. xiv. 17; while, in the same chapter, we find Antiphanes describing with much zest how in the process of cooking the *τευθίς* puts off the flashing whiteness of its skin and *ξανθαῖσιν αὔραις σῶμα πᾶν ἀγάλλεται*. Here, as in the *Knights*, it is still *σίζουσα* when served up to be eaten. The epithet *Πάραλος* in the ship-metaphor refers to the famous trireme, one of the two (the other being the *Salaminius*) which, as the fleetest and the best equipped in the Athenian navy, were specially employed on State errands. See *Birds* 1204. As regards the cuttle, it seems to mean simply *marine*. I doubt if it is possible to render it, with Blaydes, "prope salem adiacens."

τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ κακὸν ἔν· κᾶθ' ἕτερον νυκτερινὸν γένοιτο. [ἀντ.  
 ἠπιαλῶν γὰρ οἴκαδ' ἐξ ἰππασίας βαδίζων, 1165  
 εἶτα κατάξειέ τις αὐτοῦ μεθύων τὴν κεφαλὴν Ὀρέστης  
 μαινόμενος· ὁ δὲ λίθον λαβεῖν  
 βουλόμενος, ἐν σκότῳ λάβοι  
 τῇ χειρὶ πέλεθον ἀρτίως κεχρισμένον· 1170  
 ἐπάξειεν δ' ἔχων  
 τὸν μάρμαρον, κᾶπειθ' ἀμαρ-  
 τὰν βάλοι Κρατῖνον.

ΘΕΡ. ὃ δμῶες οἱ κατ' οἶκόν ἐστε Λαμάχου,  
 ὕδωρ ὕδωρ ἐν χυτρίδιφ θερμαίνετε· 1175  
 ὀθόνια, κηρωτὴν παρασκευάζετε,  
 ἔρι' οἰσυπηρὰ, λαμπάδιον περὶ τὸ σφυρὸν.  
 ἀνὴρ τέτρωται χάρακι διαπηδῶν τάφρον,  
 καὶ τὸ σφυρὸν παλίνορρον ἐξεκόκκισε,

1163. κᾶθ' ἕτερον] The Second Woe is a prayer that Antimachus, returning at night to his home on foot, may encounter a highwayman with certain unpleasant results. The highwayman is called not simply "Orestes," but "an Orestes," Ὀρέστης τις, which strongly supports the theory that Orestes had, somehow or other, become a cant name for a highwayman. Cf. Birds 712, 1491; Isaeus, In the matter of Ciron's estate, 4.

1164. ἠπιαλῶν . . . βαδίζων] These participles are nominatives absolute. ἠπιαλὸς κυρίως ὁ μετὰ ρίγους πυρετός. ἠπιαλῶν δὲ εἶπε καὶ βαδίζων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠπιαλοῦντος καὶ βαδίζοντος.—Scholiast. In Wasps 1038 the Sophists are described as ἠπιαλοὶ and πυρετοί.

1172. μάρμαρον] Properly a stone of

bright spar, which may seem a strange description of a πέλεθος. But the μάρμαρος was a missile of the Homeric heroes; and the missile of Antimachus, though only a πέλεθος, is described in Homeric language. Mitchell refers to Iliad xii. 380, where Aias slew a Lycian chief μαρμάρῳ ὀκρίοντι βαλὼν, to Odyssey ix. 499, where the sailors fear lest the blinded Polyphemus should sink their vessel with a similar spar-stone, and to Eur. Phoen. 1401. And as to his aiming at one and hitting another, the same learned commentator refers to Lysias, Against Simon 8, ἔβαλλέ με λίθοις, καὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, Ἀριστοκρίτου δὲ συντρίβει τὸ μέτωπον. The Cratinus who is to be the unintended recipient of this missile is the Cratinus already satirized supra 849.



DULY the first Woe is rehearsed ; attend whilst the other I'm telling.  
It is night, and our gentleman, after a ride, is returning on foot to his dwelling ;

With ague he's sorely bestead, and he's feeling uncommonly ill,  
When suddenly down on his head comes Orestes's club with a will.  
'Tis Orestes, hero mad, 'tis the drunkard and the pad.  
Then stooping in the darkness let him grope about the place,  
If his hand can find a brickbat at Orestes to be flung ;  
But instead of any brickbat may he grasp a podge of dung,  
And rushing on with this, Orestes may he miss,  
And hit young Cratinus in the face, in the face,  
And hit young Cratinus in the face.

ATTENDANT. Varlets who dwell in Lamachus's halls,  
Heat water, knaves, heat water in a pot.  
Make ready lint, and salves, and greasy wool,  
And ankle-bandages. Your lord is hurt,  
Pierced by a stake whilst leaping o'er a trench.  
Then, twisting round, he wrenched his ankle out,

1174. ὁ δὲ μῶες] We have arrived at the closing scene of the play, the return of the representatives of Peace and War from their respective expeditions. But first, a messenger comes hurrying in, to rouse the household of Lamachus, and urge them to make all necessary preparations for the reception of their wounded master. And he gives in burlesque tragedy style a narrative of the injuries which Lamachus has received, and the manner in which he received them. The narrative is full of absurdities and inconsistencies, and the only injury of which Lamachus himself on his entry complains, viz. a thrust

from a hostile lance, is left altogether unnoticed. Many have observed the similarity between the accident to Lamachus here (*διαπηδῶν τάφρον*) and the manner of his death some eleven years later, *ἐπιδιαβὰς τάφρον τινα, καὶ μοναθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν ξυνδιαβάντων, ἀποθνήσκει αὐτὸς τε καὶ πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ.*—Thuc. vi. 101. And it is quite possible that Thucydides selected the particular word *τάφρος* there, in consequence of its occurrence here. Some remarks on the relation between the historian and the dramatist will be found in the Introduction.

καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθον πεσῶν, 1180  
καὶ Γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος.  
πτίλον δὲ τὸ μέγα κομπολακύθου πεσόν  
πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι, δεινὸν ἐξήυδα μέλος·  
“ὦ κλεινὸν ὄμμα, νῦν πανύστατόν σ' ἰδὼν  
λείπω φάος τοῦράνιον· οὐκέτ' εἴμ' ἐγώ.” 1185  
τοσαῦτα λέξας εἰς ὑδρορρόαν πεσῶν  
ἀνίσταται τε καὶ ξυναντᾶ δραπεταῖς,  
ληστὰς ἐλαύνων καὶ κατασπέρχων δορί.  
ὀδὶ δὲ καυτός· ἀλλ' ἀνοιγε τὴν θύραν.

ΛΑ. ἀτταταῖ, ἀτταταῖ. [στρ.  
στυγερὰ τάδε γε κρυερὰ πάθει· τάλας ἐγώ.  
διόλλυμαι δορὸς ὑπὸ πολεμίου τυπεῖς.  
ἐκεῖνο δ' οὖν αἰακτὸν ἂν γένοιτο, 1195  
Δικαιοπόλις εἴ μ' ἴδοι τετρωμένον,  
κᾶτ' ἐγχάνοι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαισιν.  
ΔΙ. ἀτταταῖ, ἀτταταῖ. [ἀντ.

1181. καὶ Γοργόν' κ.τ.λ.] We had a somewhat similar line supra 574, τίς Γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος; but there the word “Gorgon” stood for the shield itself with all its Gorgon emblazonry; here it stands only for the Gorgon emblazonry, which the shock of its bearer's fall had broken from the shield. The application of the line to two such very different incidents seems to show that it was a line familiar to the audience; and indeed I suspect that the entire speech consists of travesties of well-known passages strung together without any regard to consistency.

1182. πτίλον . . . πεσόν] These, like ἦπιαλῶν and βαδίζων a few lines above,

are nominatives absolute. The speaker borrows from an earlier scene both the word πτίλον, a bird's soft down, to describe the great ostrich plume, and the word κομπολακύθου, as the name of the bird from which it came. It is extraordinary that some should have supposed the πτίλον to be the speaker of lines 1184, 1185, and others the ὄμμα to which those lines are addressed.

1184. ὦ κλεινὸν ὄμμα] He means the Sun which in Clouds 285 is called the ὄμμα αἰθέρος. In the following line τοῦράνιον is Arthur Palmer's correction (Quarterly Review, Oct. 1884, p. 365) of the γε τοῦμόν of the MSS.

1187. δραπεταῖς] The runaways are his own soldiers, who take to flight on be-

And, falling, cracked his skull upon a stone ;  
 And shocked the sleeping Gorgon from his shield.  
 Then the Great Boastard's plume being cast away  
 Prone on the rocks, a dolorous cry he raised,  
*Oh glorious Eye, with this my last foul look*  
*The heavenly light I leave ; my day is done.*  
 He spake, and straightway falls into a ditch :  
 Jumps up again : confronts the runaways,  
 And prods the fleeing bandits with his spear.  
 But here he enters. Open wide the door.

LAM. O lack-a-day ! O lack-a-day !  
 I'm hacked, I'm killed, by hostile lances !  
 But worse than wound or lance 'twill grieve me  
 If Dicaeopolis perceive me  
 And mock, and mock at my mischances.

DI. O lucky day ! O lucky day !

holding their leader fall. These he confronts, meeting them face to face, and staying their flight. The *raiders* are the enemy (supra 1077) whom he follows, driving them from the field of battle. It is idle to ask, as some editors have asked, how he could possibly do all this with a broken head and a dislocated ankle, for that constitutes the humour of the passage.

1190. Lamachus re-enters, wounded and dizzy with pain, supported by some rough male attendants.

1191. *στυγερὰ κ.τ.λ.*] The first speech of Lamachus and the first speech of Dicaeopolis are antistrophical the one to the other. Indeed the mocking responses of Dicaeopolis are generally in the same metre as the lines to which

they respond. These two speeches were first exhibited in their proper antistrophical form by Bergk, who is followed by Mueller, Paley, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. But there are slight variations in the rendering of the strophes, and the only edition in which they are given exactly as in the text is that of Hall and Geldart. The four tribrachs with which Lamachus begins represent the first four feet of an iambic senarius, whatever may have been the metre of which they formed a part in the tragic threnody which the poet is here burlesquing. For, as the Scholiast says, *θρηῶν παρατραγῳδεῖ*.

1198. Dicaeopolis re-enters, jovial and dizzy with wine, supported by some gentle female attendants. Apparently

- τῶν τιθίων, ὡς σκληρὰ καὶ κυδώνια.  
 φιλήσατόν με μάλθακῶς, ὦ χρυσίω, 1200  
 τὸ περιπεταστὸν κάπιμανδαλωτόν.  
 τὸν γὰρ χόα πρῶτος ἐκπέπωκα.
- ΛΑ. ὦ συμφορὰ τάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν.  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ τραυμάτων ἐπωδύνων. 1205
- ΔΙ. ἰή, ἰή, χαίρε Λαμαχίππιον.
- ΛΑ. στυγερὸς ἐγώ. ΔΙ. μογερὸς ἐγώ.
- ΛΑ. τί με σὺ κυνεῖς; ΔΙ. τί με σὺ δάκνεις;
- ΛΑ. τάλας ἐγὼ τῆς ξυμβολῆς βαρείας. 1210
- ΔΙ. τοῖς Χουσι γὰρ τίς ξυμβολάς σ' ἔπραττεν;
- ΛΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ Παιᾶν ἰὼ Παιᾶν.
- ΔΙ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τήμερον Παιῶνια.
- ΛΑ. λάβεσθέ μου, λάβεσθε τοῦ σκέλους· παπαῖ,  
 προσλάβεσθ', ὦ φίλοι. 1215
- ΔΙ. ἐμοῦ δέ γε σφῶ τοῦ πέους ἄμφω μέσου  
 προσλάβεσθ', ὦ φίλοι.

he does not see his hapless rival until line 1206 *infra*, ἰή, ἰή, χαίρε Λαμαχίππιον.

1199. κυδώνια] *Quincelike*. The quince, (*pyrus Cydonia*) derived its Greek name from the Cretan city Cydonia, from which it was first brought into Greece. Athenaeus (iii. 20-2) has a good deal of gossip about quinces, citing amongst

other passages a line from the comic poet Cantharus in which, as here, the bosom is compared *κυδωνίσις μήλοισιν*. The translation is necessarily somewhat free. I have availed myself of a drinking song, which I often heard in my boyhood, but of which I can now remember only the lines—

What mortal ever can be richer,  
 As here I stand, my glass in hand,  
 With my dear girl, my friend, and—Pitcher.

1201. τὸ περιπεταστὸν] *Εἶδη φιλημάτων ἐρωτικῶν, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τὴν γλῶτταν τῶν καταφιλοῦντων λείχειν*.—Scholiast. After this verse a line has dropped out answering to the *Δικαιοπόλις εἶ μ' ἴδοι τετραμένον* of the antistrophe.

1209. τί με σὺ δάκνεις;] *Lamachus* responds to the maudlin kisses of *Dicaeopolis* with a savage attempt to bite. His mood seems to be that of the damsel in *Dryden's* version of *Theocritus*:

What mortal ever can be richer,  
 Than he who feels, my golden Misses,  
 Your softest, closest, loveliest kisses.  
 'Twas I, 'twas I, first drained the Pitcher.

LAM. O me, my woful dolorous lot!

O me, the gruesome wounds I've got!

DI. My darling Lamachippus, is it not?

LAM. O doleful chance! DI. O cursed spite!

LAM. Why give me a kiss? DI. Why give me a bite?

LAM. O me the heavy, heavy charge they tried.

DI. Who makes a charge this happy Pitcher-tide?

LAM. O Paeon, Healer! heal me, Paeon, pray.

DI. 'Tis not the Healer's festival to-day.

LAM. O lift me gently round the hips,

My comrades true!

DI. O kiss me warmly on the lips,

My darlings, do!

Let go for shame; you make me mad for spite;  
 My mouth's my own; and if you kiss, I'll bite.

1210. ξυμβολῆς] We have here a play, as the Scholiast observes, on the double signification of ξυμβολή. Lamachus employs it in the sense of a *meeting of hostile forces*, an *hostile encounter*; Dicaeopolis in the sense of a money contribution made by guests to the cost of an entertainment. Brunck quotes some lines of Eubulus preserved by Athenaeus vi. 35 (p. 239 A):

ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἢ φίλον τιν' ἢ ξένον  
 καλέσας, ἔπειτα ξυμβολὰς ἐπράξατο,  
 φυγάς γένοιτο, μηδὲν οἴκοθεν λαβών.

But Eubulus is speaking of an entertainment supplied by the host. In the

present case the guests took their own provisions, so that any cash contribution was out of the question.

1213. Παιώνια] 'Εορτὴ 'Αθήνησιν· ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνος Παιῶνα καλεῖ, ἔπαιξεν ὁ Δικαιοπόλις καὶ φησὶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σήμερον τὰ Παιώνια ἄλλως. ἔστι δὲ ἐορτὴ 'Αθήνησι, Ἀπόλλωνι ἴσως ἀνακεκλιμένη.—Scholiasts. Nothing is known of this festival; and possibly the reference is to the Ἀσκληπιεία, the festival ὅτ' ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἢ θυσία (Aeschines against Ctesiphon 67). Cf. Plutus 636. The worship of Asclepius was always also the worship of Apollo the Healer.

- ΛΑ. ἰλιγγιῶ κάρα λίθῳ πεπληγμένος,  
καὶ σκοτοδινῶ.
- ΔΙ. κάγῳ καθεύδειν βούλομαι καὶ στύομαι  
καὶ σκοτοβινῶ. 1220
- ΛΑ. θύραξέ μ' ἐξενέγκατ' ἐς τοῦ Πιττάλου  
παιωνίαισι χερσίν.
- ΔΙ. ὡς τοὺς κριτάς με φέρετε· ποῦ 'στιν ὁ βασιλεὺς;  
ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἄσκόν. 1225
- ΛΑ. λόγῃ τις ἐμπέπηγέ μοι  
δι' ὀστέων ὀδυρτά.
- ΔΙ. ὀρᾶτε τουτονὶ κενόν.  
τῆνελλα καλλίνικος.
- ΧΟ. τῆνελλα δῆτ', εἶπερ καλεῖς γ',  
ᾧ πρέσβυ, καλλίνικος.
- ΔΙ. καὶ πρὸς γ' ἄκρατον ἐγχείας  
ἄμυστιν ἐξέλαψα.

1218. ἰλιγγιῶ . . . σκοτοδινῶ] These terms are more than once coupled together by St. Chrysostom, "They who go to sea for the first time σκοτοδίνοις ἰλιγγίους κατέχονται."—Epistle v (to Olympias the Deaconess), p. 578 A. And again, "When we look down from a lofty tower ἰλιγγός τις ἡμᾶς εὐθέως καὶ σκοτοδινία λαμβάνει.—Hom. xix in Eph. 140 D. And again, "If you take a child up to a great height, and bid him look down, and then observe him ἰλιγγίων καὶ θορυβοῦμενον καὶ σκοτοδινῶν, you will at once take him down again."—Hom. i in Hebr. 8 A.

1222. Πιττάλου] This eminent physician has already been mentioned supra 1032.

1224. κριτάς . . . βασιλεὺς] The primary

allusion is to the Pitcher-feast, the κριταὶ being the umpires there appointed to see that the rules of the competition were properly observed, and to decide who was the first to drain his Pitcher; and ostensibly it is to them that Dicaeopolis is appealing. But in reality it is the poet's own appeal to the πέντε κριταὶ of the theatrical contest (see the Commentary on Eccl. 1154) to award the prize to the Acharnians. The βασιλεὺς I take to have been the same in both competitions, viz. the ἄρχων βασιλεὺς who, we are told, προέστηκε Δηναίων Pollux viii. 90), presided, that is to say, not merely over the dramatic contests, but over the whole festival of which (I am assuming the identity of the Lenæa and the Anthesteria) the Pitcher-com-

- LAM. My brain is dizzy with the blow  
Of hostile stone.
- DI. Mine's dizzy too: to bed I'll go,  
And not alone. ← ?? why?
- LAM. O take me in your healing hands, and bring  
To Pittalus this battered frame of mine.
- DI. O take me to the judges. Where's the King  
That rules the feast? hand me my skin of wine.
- LAM. A lance has struck me through the bone  
So piteously! so piteously! (*He is helped off the stage.*)
- DI. I've drained the Pitcher all alone;  
Sing ho! Sing ho! for Victory.
- CHOR. Sing ho! Sing ho! for Victory then,  
If so you bid, if so you bid.
- DI. I filled it with neat wine, my men,  
And quaffed it at a gulp, I did.

petition formed a conspicuous part. In both cases the κριται would decide who were entitled to the prize; in both cases the βασιλεὺς would bestow it, giving the ἀσκός to the Victor in the Pitcher-competition, and directing the Victor in the Comedy-contest to be crowned with ivy. At this moment the ἄρχων βασιλεὺς was sitting in the front row of the audience (Haigh's Attic Theatre vii, § 3); and Dicaeopolis, in answer to his own question, would doubtless indicate him by glance or gesture. But the words ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἀσκόν are addressed not to the βασιλεὺς alone, but to the bystanders generally, and from some quarter or other an ἀσκός seems to have been given him.

1227: τουτονὶ κενόν] That is the χά,

which he had been the first to drain. τήνελλα καλλίνικος is the Song of Victory which, though directly addressed to Dicaeopolis as the hero of the drinking contest, is yet intended indirectly to herald the triumph of Aristophanes in the present dramatic competition. For a full account of this Victor's song see the last note in the Commentary on the Birds. It was composed by Archilochus and seems to have run as follows:—

τήνελλα καλλίνικε.  
ᾧ καλλίνικε χαῖρ' ἀναξ Ἡράκλεες,  
αὐτός τε καὶ Ἴόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο.  
τήνελλα καλλίνικε.

1229. ἄμυστιν] *At one gulp*; without stopping to take breath. This seems to have been a Thracian mode of drinking, Horace, Odes i. 36. 14; Callimachus,

ΧΟ. τήνελλά νυν, ὦ γεννάδα·  
χώραι λαβὼν τὸν ἀσκόν.

1230

ΔΙ. ἔπεσθέ νυν ἄδοντες ὦ  
τήνελλα καλλίνικος.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἐψόμεσθα σὴν χάριν  
τήνελλα καλλίνικον ἄ-  
δοντες σὲ καὶ τὸν ἀσκόν.

Fragm. 109 (Bentley). The words *καὶ πρὸς γε* at the commencement of the speech might at first sight seem to introduce a second drinking feat, but apparently they are only intended to enhance the merit of the first. "Not only was I the

first to drain the Pitcher, but I did it without taking breath, and that although it was full of neat wine."

1233. ἄδοντες σὲ καὶ τὸν ἀσκόν] And thus, in marked contrast with the ignoble exit of Lamachus and his rough nurses,



CHOR. Sing ho ! brave heart, the wineskin take,  
And onward go, and onward go.

DI. And ye must follow in my wake,  
And sing for Victory ho ! sing ho !

CHOR. O yes, we'll follow for your sake  
Your wineskin and yourself, I trow.  
Sing ho ! for Victory won, sing ho !

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Dicaeopolis and his boon companions  
quit the stage in triumph, singing their  
songs of victory. This was the right  
and only termination for the Comedy.  
And yet I doubt not that in real life

Aristophanes would have thought it a  
far nobler thing to come back wounded  
in fighting his country's battles with  
Lamachus, than to join in the tipsy  
revelry of Dicaeopolis.

## APPENDIX

### OF VARIOUS READINGS

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ARISTOPHANES, we are told, composed forty Comedies. He was indeed credited with forty-four, but four of these were by the ancient critics pronounced to be spurious. See the First, Third, and Fifth of the Lives at the commencement of this volume. It is probable that few MSS. would contain the whole forty Comedies. One scholar would transcribe certain of the Plays, and another others; and some one must have transcribed the eleven Comedies which have come down to us, in a MS. or MSS. which, or copies or partial transcripts of which, have alone had the good fortune to survive the general wreck of ancient literature. It seems to me that the original transcription of these eleven Plays is due to Suidas, who claims πεπραχέναι certain dramas of Aristophanes, viz. Ἀχαρνεῖς, Βάτραχοι, Εἰρήνη, Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι, Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι, Ἰππεῖς, Λυσιστράτη, Νεφέλαι, Ὀρνιθες, Πλοῦτος, Σφήκες, see Life III. The names, given in alphabetical order, are those of the eleven surviving Comedies. The actual date of Suidas is uncertain; and it is perhaps not impossible that the great Ravenna MS. is really the original transcript in the handwriting of Suidas and his assistants. But we are not to suppose that his selection of these eleven Plays met with any general acceptance as the "Select Plays of Aristophanes"; not one of the Byzantine critics draws any distinction between these and the remaining twenty-nine; and Eustathius, who flourished a century and a half after the date assigned by experts to the Ravenna MS., could hardly have spoken of the Ecclesiazusae as an unfamiliar Play, ἀσυνήθης κωμῳδία (on Iliad xxii. 427), had he even been aware that it was recognized as one

of the eleven standard Comedies of Aristophanes. But since the revival of Greek Literature in Western Europe our knowledge of Aristophanes, apart from references and quotations in other authors, has been restricted to this transcription, whether by Suidas or another, of the eleven Comedies. Numerous as are the Aristophanic MSS. and diverse their contents, not one of them ever travels beyond the eleven: not one of them even recognizes the existence of a twelfth.

The *Acharnians* is found in fourteen MSS.; all of which have been collated by Mr. R. T. Elliott; see his "Textual Criticism of Aristophanes and Aeschylus, Oxford, 1908." But unfortunately his collation has not yet been published; and at present the only MSS. whose readings are known are the following:—

R. The Ravenna MS.

(I possess the facsimile of R and am responsible for the presentation of its readings in this Appendix.)

P. The first Parisian (No. 2712, National Library, Paris).

P<sup>1</sup>. The second Parisian (No. 2715, National Library, Paris).

P<sup>2</sup>. The third Parisian (No. 2717, National Library, Paris).

(These three Parisian MSS. were collated by Brunck for his edition.)

F. The first Florentine (No. 31. 15, Laurentian Library).

F<sup>1</sup>. The second Florentine (No. 31. 16, Laurentian Library).

M<sup>3</sup>. The fourth Milanese (No. L. 41, St. Ambrose Library).

I. The first Roman (No. 67 in the Vaticano-Palatine Library).

Marco Musuro seems to have had access to I or a very similar MS., and it was afterwards used by Kuster.

The great Venetian MS. (V), a manuscript second in value only to the Ravenna, does not contain the *Acharnians*, the only one of the eleven Plays which it omits, with the exception of the three *γυναικεία δράματα*, the *Lysistrata*, the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and the *Ecclesiazusae*. Nevertheless the text of the *Acharnians* is singularly free from cor-

ruptions; and there is perhaps no other Comedy of Aristophanes in which the early editions, that is to say, the editions before Brunck, present so few variations. In most of the Plays new readings are perpetually being introduced by Junta, Fracini, Grynaeus, and other editors; but here such variations are exceedingly rare. The text of the latest editions before Brunck varies but slightly from the text prepared by Marco Musuro for the Aldine edition, the *Editio Princeps* of Aristophanes.

The editions of the *Acharnians* in my own possession, from which the following synopsis is compiled, are as follows:—

- (1) Aldus. Venice, 1498.
- (2) Junta. Florence, 1515.
- (3) Fracini. Florence, 1525 (sometimes called the second Junta).
- (4) Gormont. Paris, 1528.
- (5) Cratander. Basle, 1532.
- (6) Zanetti. Venice, 1538.
- (7) The second Junta. Florence, 1540 (sometimes called the third Junta).
- (8) Farreus. Venice, 1542 (hardly more than a reprint of Zanetti).
- (9) Grynaeus. Frankfort, 1544.
- (10) Gelenius. Basle, 1547 (sometimes called Froben).
- (11) Frischlin. Frankfort, 1597.
- (12) Rapheleng. Leyden, 1600 (sometimes called Plantin).
- (13) Portus. Geneva, 1607.
- (14) Scaliger. Leyden, 1624 (called Scaliger's because containing a few notes of his).
- (15) Faber. Amsterdam, 1670 (hardly more than a reprint of Scaliger's with the addition of Le Fevre's *Ecclesiazusae*).
- (16) Kuster. Amsterdam, 1710.
- (17) Bergler. Leyden, 1760 (posthumous. The text is Burmann's).
- (18) Brunck. London, 1823 (originally published at Strasburg, 1783).

- (19) Invernizzi. Leipsic, 1794–1823. (The notes to the Acharnians are by Dindorf.)
- (20) Elmsley's Acharnians. Oxford, 1809.
- (21) Bothe's first edition. Leipsic, 1828.
- (22) Bekker. London, 1829.
- (23) Dindorf. Oxford, 1835.
- (24) Mitchell's Acharnians. London, 1835.
- (25) Weise. Leipsic, 1842.
- (26) Bothe's second edition. Leipsic, 1845.
- (27) Blaydes's Acharnians, first edition. London, 1845.
- (28) Bergk. Leipsic, 1857 (reprinted 1888).
- (29) Meineke. Leipsic, 1860.
- (30) Albert Mueller's Acharnians. Hanover, 1863.
- (31) Holden. London, 1868.
- (32) Green's Acharnians. London, 1870.
- (33) Paley's Acharnians. Cambridge, 1876.
- (34) Merry's Acharnians. Oxford, 1885.
- (35) Blaydes's second edition. Halle, 1887.
- (36) Hall and Geldart. Oxford, 1900.
- (37) Van Leeuwen. Leyden, 1901.

It is necessary to enumerate these editions, because the readings mentioned (in this Appendix) of the printed editions are founded on, and confined to, the foregoing list. If, for example, I say that all editions before Elmsley read so-and-so, I mean that all those *in this list* do so. I do not know, and cannot answer for, the readings in any other editions. However I believe that the list contains all the editions of Aristophanes which are of any importance from a textual point of view.

There are few, if any, greater Aristophanic scholars than Elmsley, but two circumstances detract from the value of his edition of the Acharnians. (1) He was acquainted with the readings of the Ravenna MS. only through Invernizzi's collation which, like the Egyptian queen, is, alas! unparalleled for its blundering inaccuracy. And (2) he was

himself so dissatisfied with it that he suppressed it before very many copies had been sold; and it is now chiefly known through a German reprint, and the reproduction of a great part of its notes in Bekker's *Variorum* edition. Copies of the English edition are very rare: I have the good fortune to possess one, but have never seen a second; and in some respects the German reprint is more convenient, since the voluminous and valuable *Addenda* appended to the English edition are in the German incorporated with the original notes at the foot of the page, and distinguished from them by being placed in brackets. It is obvious therefore that some of the notes do not represent Elmsley's final views; which they were we cannot tell; but probably he felt that he was wrong, or at all events doubted if he were right, in elevating the *common usage* of the Comic poets into inflexible laws, every offence against which is to be punished by immediate correction.

Dr. Sandys, in his interesting *History of Classical Learning*, vol. iii, p. 309 (published in 1908), speaking of Elmsley, says:—

“Porson held him in high esteem until he found him appropriating his own emendations without mentioning his name. Porson's property was thus annexed by Elmsley in his review of Schweighaeuser's *Athenaeus*, and in his edition of the *Acharnians*. Elmsley attempted to suppress the latter, but found to his dismay that it had already been reprinted at Leipzig.”

This is a very serious charge to bring against a great and honoured memory; but Dr. Sandys evidently makes it in good faith, and is quite unaware that these so-called annexations are entirely mythical. After Porson's death some of his most intimate friends and disciples became jealous of the great and growing reputation of Elmsley. There was no ground for such jealousy, for Porson's marvellous skill as a textual critic is quite unapproached and unapproachable. Nevertheless it existed, and with it arose a disposition to say that anything of value in Elmsley's work must, somehow or other, have been derived from Porson. In the *Edinburgh Review* of October, 1803, Elmsley had written a very brilliant review of Schweighaeuser's *Athenaeus*. Whatever merit it had must of course be attributed to Porson. But how could Elmsley have known

anything about Porson's unpublished emendations of Athenaeus? Oh, says one, they met somewhere at a dinner-party, and Porson told him. No, says another, it was no doubt at some second-hand bookstall. It is very possible, says the Rev. J. Selby Watson in his "Life of Porson" (chap. 22), that both these statements are true. It is, however, quite certain that both these statements are false. The authors of these bright suggestions had not access to Porson's "Notes on Athenaeus." We have.

Elmsley, in the review in question, made twenty-one emendations in the text of Athenaeus, all good, but none requiring any remarkable ingenuity. There is nothing like Porson's substitution of *νόμον* for *μόνον* in the Birds, or Elmsley's substitution of *δημοῦ* for *δὴ παῖ* in the Acharnians. Of the twenty-one passages so emended, fifteen are not even mentioned by Porson; three he corrects in a totally different way from that proposed by Elmsley; and there remain only three in which their suggestions tally. And these three emendations are of the most obvious character, and would naturally suggest themselves to any ordinary scholar. Thus (1) in Athenaeus iii. 34 (p. 87 F) some lines of Poseidippus are quoted which enumerate a string of dainties unconnected by any copula, except in one place where Schweighaeuser gives *ἐγγέλια καὶ κάραβους*. Here *ἐγγέλια* is a *vox nihili*, and the superfluous *καὶ* is obviously a repetition of the first syllable in *κάραβους*. And both Porson and Elmsley suggested, as any competent scholar would have suggested, that for the two objectionable words *ἐγγέλια καὶ* we should read *ἐγγέλεια*, an extremely familiar form in Attic Comedy, and indeed found in line 1043 of this very Play. (2) The next passage is from Epicharmus (Ath. iii. 64, p. 105 B):

ἐντὶ δ' ἄστακοί, κολύβδαιναί τ' ἔχουσαι τὰ πόδια  
μικρὰ, τὰς χεῖρας δὲ μακρὰς, κάραβος δὲ τῶνυμα.

It is plain that the words *ἐχουσαι τὰ πόδια μικρὰ* belong to *κάραβος*, and it would have been difficult to emend the line, had not Schweighaeuser in a footnote given from one of his MSS. what is really the correct reading *ἐχοστα πόδι' ἔχει*. All that Porson and Elmsley

did was what any competent scholar would have done, viz. to write τ' ἔχουσα in proper form τε, χὸς τὰ πόδι' ἔχει. (3) In Ath. iii. 70 (p. 107 F) Schweighaeuser writes a line of Alexis as αἰσχυρόμενον ἦπαρ καὶ καπρίσκους καταφαγοῦ without metre or meaning. Here, as in the first example, the καὶ represents the first syllable of the following word. And καταφαγοῦ can be nothing but a genitive case. All therefore that is required to make the line a good senarius is to omit the καὶ, and annex the final letter of καπρίσκους to the following word: αἰσχυρόμενον ἦπαρ καπρίσκου σκατοφάγου (an adjective found in Plutus 706). Of all Elmsley's twenty-one emendations, these are positively the only three in which Porson had anticipated him. And considering the enormous number of Porson's conjectures on Athenaeus, it is really marvellous that he had not anticipated many more of the younger scholar's emendations.

The story about the Acharnians is, if possible, even more obviously fabulous. The dinner-party and bookstall have disappeared; and in their place comes a really remarkable suggestion that Elmsley must have surreptitiously obtained access to Porson's MSS. in a room in which they were after his death deposited by the authorities of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Watson, who quoted it from an anonymous article, prudently disclaimed all responsibility for such nonsense: a responsibility which Dr. Sandys does not hesitate to assume. Now apart from the fact that Elmsley's Acharnians must have been through the press, if not actually published, before the alleged date of the alleged clandestine entry, we have here again the circumstance that Porson's Aristophanic notes, published by Dobree in 1820, entirely disprove the suggestion that Elmsley was in any way indebted to Porson's MSS. There is not the slightest similarity between Porson's notes and Elmsley's notes. Porson did little for the Acharnians, and any one who compares the two works cannot fail to be struck by the extreme wealth of Elmsley's contributions and the extreme paucity of Porson's.

Dobree, the collaborator with Porson, and the inheritor of his literary traditions, observes in his preface to Porson's "Notes on Aristophanes" that he has disregarded the conjectures of recent critics with the single



exception "Elmsleii ut in Attica scena regnantis." His words are "Criticorum, praesertim recentiorum, coniecturas conquirere supersedi; unius Elmsleii scripta, ut in Attica scena regnantis, negligere nolui." It is inconceivable that he should have adopted that tone, had he imagined that Elmsley had acted unhandsomely towards Porson in regard to these very "Notes on Aristophanes." And again in his own *Adversaria* on the *Acharnians* there is no scholar whom he quotes so often, and with such unvarying respect as Elmsley. It was doubtless in allusion to, and in derision of, these ridiculous cock-and-bull stories that he said that Elmsley must indeed have been ἀρχεκλεπίστατος.

And indeed Elmsley needed not to borrow of any man: he was in the very foremost rank of critical scholars, and contributed almost, if not quite, as much as Porson himself to the settlement of the text of Aristophanes. But their methods were very different. So soon as Porson took up a corrupt passage of any Greek author he seems to have perceived intuitively how it ought to be restored. It shook itself into shape the moment it reached his hands. Elmsley was a model of laborious industry, comparing passage with passage till at length he struck out light. And no man was ever more scrupulous than he in acknowledging his obligations to his predecessors. For one curious instance see the note in this Appendix on line 448.

The scholars of the last century were most generous in their appreciation of Elmsley's work. I may perhaps be allowed to cite two instances, one from a foreign contemporary of his own, and another from a recent English critic whose loss we are now deploring.

"Est enim Elmsleius, si quis alius, vir natus augendae accuratiori Graecae linguae cognitioni, ut cuius eximia ac plane singularis in pervestigandis rebus grammaticis diligentia regatur praeclaro ingenio, mente ab auctoritatibus libera, animo veri amantissimo, neque aut superbia, aut gloriae studio, aut obtrectandi cupiditate praepedito. His ille virtutibus id est consequutus ut, quum doctrina eius maximi faciendae sit, non minus ipse sit amandus atque venerandus. Ea autem maxima est et non interitura laus non UTILEM tantum, sed etiam BONUM VIRUM esse."—HERMANN, *Medea*, p. 407 (A. D. 1822).

"Feliciter autem contigit huic fabulae ut eam unam ex Aristophanis fabulis edendam curaverit vir ξύνασις ἡκριβομένην ἔχων (*Ran.* 1483), eruditissimus et

sagacissimus, et hoc literarum genere maxime excellens, Petrus Elmsleius, qui una cum Porsono, Dobraeo, et Hermanno criticae scientiae accuratoris fundamenta posuit."—BLAYDES, Acharnians, p. xvi (A. D. 1887).

Such testimonies as these from men who had followed in Elmsley's footsteps and tested his work, and they might be multiplied a hundred-fold, stand in marked contrast to the obloquy cast upon his memory by Dr. Sandys.

It is high time that these attempts to aggrandize one great scholar at the expense of another should come to an end. It was unjustifiable in the first instance to make them; it is ludicrous to persist in them after their falsity has been so completely exposed by the publication of Porson's own notes on Aristophanes and Athenaeus. Porson and Elmsley are amongst the brightest stars of English scholarship, and Elmsley's position, if not so brilliant, is as fully assured as the position of Porson.

I ought perhaps here to repeat what I have stated in Comedies previously published, viz. that the word *vulgo* in my Appendix is intended to comprise all editions in the foregoing list not otherwise accounted for. And also that words cited from the text are intended to bear the accent required by their position in the text, and not that required by their altered position in the Appendix.

2. πάνν δὲ βαῖά MSS. vulgo. Elmsley altered δὲ into γε, and so Mueller and Van Leeuwen. Dobree proposed to alter it into τῖ. But the meaning is *Not only few, but very few*. Some unnecessary objections have also been raised to the comic τέτταρα at the end of the line; and Herwerden would read ἦσθην δὲ βαῖά πάνν, τρι' ἄττ' ἢ τέτταρα, and Van Leeuwen ἦσθην δὲ βαῖ' ἄττ' ἐνθάδ', εἰ καὶ ταῦτ' ἄρα.

3. ψαμμοκοσιογάργαρα. It is very

doubtful whether this compound should commence with ψαμμο- or ψαμμα-; or in other words, whether the section introducing the idea of 100 is -κοσιο- or -ακοσιο-. ψαμμο- is read by R. and all the MSS. except (according to Blaydes) P., by the Scholiast, and after him by Suidas in four places (s.v. and also s.vv. γάργαιρε, καρκαίρω, and κοσσιο), by all editors before Elmsley; and by Bekker, Weise, Bergk, Paley, and Van Leeuwen afterwards. And the Scholiast and

Suidas emphasize their testimony by giving *-κοσιο-* as representing the 100. *φαμμα-* was introduced by Elmsley before the reading of R. and the MSS. generally was known; and is read by Eustathius on Iliad xiv. 292' and Hesychius s.v. And one MS. of Suidas gives *φαμμακοσίους* in the quotation from the *Χρυσούν γένος* of Eupolis. Blaydes says that P., Suidas in all four places, and Brunck have *φαμμα-*; but he is in error as regards Suidas and Brunck, and if P. so reads one would have expected Brunck to notice it. Elmsley is followed by Bothe and subsequent editors except as aforesaid. However on the whole it seems safer to abide by the reading of the MSS. generally.

4. *τί δ' ἦσθην* MSS. vulgo. *τί ἦσθην* Elmsley (but in his Additional Note he prefers *τί ἀρ' ἦσθην*), Van Leeuwen.

7. *ταῦθ' ὡς ἐγανώθην* MSS. vulgo. "Malim *τούτοις ἐγανώθην*," Elmsley. But cf. *τί δ' ἦσθην* above and *ἄδυνήθην ἕτερον* and *ἦσθην ἕτερον* just below.

10. *κεχίγη* Bentley, Bergler (in notes), Elmsley, recentiores, except Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, and Paley. *ἐκεχίγη* Etym. Magn. s.v. *ἐπεποιήκειν*, and so Brunck, who also alters the preceding *δὴ* into *δῆτ'*. All the MSS. except R. have *κεχίγη*, and so vulgo; and of course the first augment is often omitted in the pluperfect. *κεχίγη* R.

12. *ἔσειε* MSS. vulgo. *σεισαι* Valckenaer (at Eur. Hipp. 446), Brunck.

18. *κοίας* R. I. and (originally) F., Bentley, Porson, Elmsley, recentiores. *κοίας γε* F. (as altered), the other MSS., and all editions before Elmsley.

24. *ἦκοντες, εἶτα δ' ὥσπιόνται* MSS. vulgo. The *δὲ* after *εἶτα* has created

some difficulty, and Dobree hesitatingly suggested *εἶτα διωσπιόνται*, which is approved by Meineke in his V. A. and adopted by Holden and Merry. Others would substitute a verb for the participle *ἦκοντες*, Haupt suggesting *ἦξουσιν*, Vollgraaf *πάρεισιν*, and R. J. T. Wagner (Rheinisches Museum 60. 3) *εὔδουσιν*.

25. *ἀλλήλοισι περὶ πρώτου ξύλου* MSS. vulgo. *ἀλλήλοισι περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ξύλου* Meineke, Blaydes. *ἀλλήλοισι περὶ πρώτον ξύλου* Naber, Van Leeuwen.

26. *ἄθροισι* (with varying accent and breathing) MSS. vulgo. Suidas has the disyllabic form *ἄθροισι*. Moeris says *ἄθροισι Ἀττικῶς, ἀθρόοις Ἑλληνικῶς*, whilst Thomas Magister says *ἀθρόοις Ἀττικῶς οὐκ ἀθροισι*. These two statements, though apparently, are not really, contradictory. Thomas Magister means that *ἀθρόοις* was used by the chief Athenian writers; and Moeris, that while *ἄθροισι* is found in some Attic writers, and nowhere else, *ἀθρόοις* belongs to the language of the great Athenian writers which afterwards became the universal language of Hellenic prose. See the Introduction to the Knights. Yet Meineke, against the authority of all the MSS., introduces *ἄθροισι* into the text of Aristophanes, and is followed by Mueller, Holden, Merry, and Van Leeuwen.

35. *ἦθει* MSS. except P. F. (*ἦδ' εἰ* R.) vulgo. *ἦδη* P. F. Brunck, Bekker, Meineke. *ἦδην* Elmsley, Bothe. *ἦδειν* Suidas (s.v. *πρίων*), Weise.

45. *ἦδη τις εἶπε* MSS. vulgo. Bergks suggested, and the suggestion does not seem to have been intended as a joke, *Ἀλαντὶς εἶπε*. Hamaker proposed *σίγα, σιώπα*.

47. *ἀθάνατος. ὁ γὰρ* MSS. vulgo. Elmsley, objecting to a tribrach followed by

an anapaest, reads ἀθανάτος γ' ὁ γὰρ. But there is no rule against this combination, see infra 68; and even if there were it would not apply to a passage like the present, where there is a full stop between the two feet, see Eccl. 315. And nobody has followed Elmsley, nor has Fritzsche's suggestion (at Thesm. 730) ἀθάνατος γὰρ met with any better fortune.

52. ποιῆσθαι MSS. vulgo. Elmsley suggested, but did not read, ποιῆσαι (as six lines below), which is introduced into the text by Meineke, Mueller, Holden, and Van Leeuwen.

54. κῆρυξ. All printed editions except Bekker, Dindorf, Bothe's second, and Blaydes's first; but Blaydes reverts to the common reading in his second edition. P<sup>1</sup>. had κῆρυξ; altered into Πρύτανις, and Πρύτανις is read by the four excepted editions. R. gives no name, and it does not appear what the other MSS. have. See the Commentary.

58. ποιῆσαι MSS. (except R.) vulgo. ποιῆσθαι R., Hall and Geldart. But the middle form seems to be excluded by the ἡμῖν in the preceding line.

59. κάθησο σίγα R. F. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. κάθησο, σίγα P. M<sup>3</sup>. Bergler (in notes), Meineke, Holden, Blaydes.

60. πρυτανεύητε MSS. vulgo. Meineke has in his text πρυτανεύητε, which (as he does not mention it) is probably a clerical error.

61. οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως R. F. Invernizzi, Elmsley, recentiores, except Weise. οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>1</sup>., all editions before Invernizzi, and Weise afterwards.

62. ἄχθομαι γ' ὁ R. vulgo. ἄχθομαι γὰρ P<sup>1</sup>. I. Brunck, but in his notes he pro-

posed τοῖς, which is read by Elmsley, and in his first, but not in his second, edition by Blaydes. ἄχθομαι γὰρ ὡς P. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>.

68. ἐτρυχόμεθα διὰ τῶν Καῦστρίων πεδίων I. Bentley, Brunck, and Bekker. And I have no doubt that this reading would have been universally adopted were it not for the supposed (but really non-existent) rule that an anapaest must not follow a tribrach, see on 47 supra. All editions before Brunck have the same reading except that they give the verb as ἐτρυχόμεσθα, treating Καῦστρίων as a trisyllable; and so P. F. and (as corrected) P<sup>1</sup>. And so R. except that it has παρὰ for διὰ. For ἐτρυχόμεθα M<sup>3</sup>. has ἐτρυχώμεθα; P<sup>1</sup>. (originally) and F<sup>1</sup>. ἐπευχώμεθα; and P<sup>2</sup>. ἐπαχώμεσθα. Invernizzi takes ἐτρυχόμεθα from Brunck and παρὰ from R. Whilst the reading was ἐτρυχόμεσθα διὰ τῶν Bentley wrote "vel dele articulum, vel potius lege ἐτρυχόμεθα." The first of his alternatives is followed by Bergk, Meineke, Green, and Hall and Geldart, but the article is plainly necessary. Elmsley (comparing Peace 989) omitted the preposition, reading ἐτρυχόμεσθα τῶν κ.τ.λ., and taking the sense to be "we pined for the Caystrian plains"; and so Bothe and Paley. But even supposing that the words could bear that meaning, why in the world should the envoys pine for the Caystrian plains? Those are the very plains through which they would be travelling. Dindorf reads ἐτρυχόμεσθα παρὰ Καῦστριον πεδίων; adopting R.'s reading where it differs from all the others, and rejecting it where it agrees with them all. Yet he is followed by Weise, Mueller, Holden,

and Merry. Blaydes, after various changes of opinion, settles upon ἀνὰ τὸ Καύστριον πεδίων, every word of which differs from every MS. He also suggested παρὰ Καύστριον ποταμῶν which Van Leeuwen reads.

71. σφόδρα γὰρ MSS. vulgo. Brunck, in my copy of his edition, reads γὰρ, and says in his note "Valet γὰρ nimirum et ironicum est. Sic occurrit saepissime, ad suppressa quaedam referendum e sententia facillime supplenda, ut hic; *Optima causa est cur queraris; nam longe melior erat mea conditio, quæm*—" Yet he is said to have afterwards read γ' ἄρ', and is followed in so doing by Invernizzi, Elmsley, Mueller, and Holden. τὰρ' Mehler, Bergk, and Meineke. But γὰρ, besides being the reading of all the MSS., gives a far better sense.

73. ξειζόμενοι δὲ MSS. vulgo. According to Invernizzi R. has ξειζόμενοι γὰρ which he brings into the text, and is followed by Elmsley, who says "ξειζόμενοι γὰρ Rav. Particula respicit ad ἀπολλύμενοι v. 71. Ex interpretatione Scholiastæ natum videtur δὲ." Dindorf takes another view. "γὰρ R.," he says, "quod referri potest ad ἀπολλύμενοι v. 71. Sed repetitum videtur ex σφόδρα γὰρ." And all the most recent editions (Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen) give γὰρ as the reading of R. But all this is a mere hallucination. R. does not read γὰρ. Like all the other MSS. it reads ξειζόμενοι δὲ.

78. δυναμένους καταφαγεῖν καὶ I. P<sup>1</sup>. Bentley, Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker; and so Meineke in his Vind. Aristoph. All the other MSS., and all editions before Brunck, and Dindorf and Mueller

afterwards, read δυναμένους καταφαγεῖν τε καὶ, contra metrum. Bentley wrote "dele κατα vel τε." And κατα is omitted by Brunck and (save as aforesaid) subsequent editors. In favour of the retention of κατα is the Scholiast's remark ἐμφαντικῶς ἡ κατα; against it is a line of Theophilus quoted by Dindorf from Athenæus x. 10 (p. 417 A), ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων πλείστα δυνάμενος φαγεῖν. Elmsley reads δυνατοὺς καταφαγεῖν τε καὶ, which Dindorf in his notes approves.

79. λαικαστάς τε MSS. vulgo. λαικαστάς γε Elmsley (in notes), Blaydes, Bergk.

84. τῇ πανσελήνῳ. These words, forming the commencement of the envoy's speech in the MSS. and vulgo, were by Elmsley transferred, with a note of interrogation, to Dicaeopolis; and this is followed by Mueller, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. But it seems plainly wrong. There is no reason for his suggesting this date, and no humour in his doing so. The humour consists in the envoy taking the question seriously, and honouring it with a reply.

85. παρτίθει δ' P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. And this is right, if the colon be restored after ἐξέλιξε, as in R. and the older editions. But the colon having accidentally dropped out, it seemed as if both verbs were governed by εἶτ', and Dindorf therefore read παρτίθει θ', which is adopted by Blaydes, Bergk, and all subsequent editors except Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. R. has καὶ παρτίθειτ'. Cobet suggested παρτίθεις.

93. τὸν γε σὸν R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. vulgo. τὸν τε σὸν (*tam regis oculum quam tuum*) Elmsley, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores.

And, according to Blaydes, the same reading is found in P.

95. *ναύφρακτον* MSS. vulgo. *ναύφαρκτον* Dindorf, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

96. *ἡ περὶ ἄκραν*. So Bothe suggested, and so Blaydes and Van Leeuwen read. See the Commentary. *ἡ περὶ ἄκραν* MSS. vulgo.

98. *ἀπέπεμψεν* R. Kuster, recentiores. *ἄπεμψε* all editions before Portus. *ἀπέπεμψε* P. Portus and the editions known as Scaliger's and Faber's. *ἐπέπεμψε* F. *ἔπεμψε* P<sup>2</sup>. *ἔκπεμψε* I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>.

100. *ἐξάρξ' ἀπισσόναι σάτρα* Brunck, Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except as hereinafter appears. *ἐξάρξαν ἀπισσόνα σάτρα* P., all editions before Brunck; and Elmsley and Hall and Geldart afterwards. And so, with *ἐξάρξας* for *ἐξάρξαν*, M<sup>3</sup>. Bergk, Paley, and Van Leeuwen. And, with *ἀπίσσομαι* for *ἀπισσόνα*, P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. And, with *ἀπισσόνει* for *ἀπισσόνα*, P<sup>2</sup>. R. has *ἐξάρξας πισσόναστρα*, which Invernizzi retains.

101. *ξυνήκαθ'* MSS. vulgo. *ξυνίεθ'* Cobet, Van Leeuwen.

104. *λήψι* all printed editions. *λήψει* R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. *λήψη* P. F.—*Ἰαογαῦ* MSS. vulgo. The Scholiast says *τὸ αὐτὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ βαρβαρίζων ἔφη*, whence *Ἰαον αὐτὸ* is read by Bergk, Meineke, and Paley, but Meineke repents in his *Adnotatio Critica*.

105. *τί δαι* Elmsley, Dindorf, Bothe, Bergk, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *τί δ' αὐ* MSS. vulgo. Brunck suggested but did not read *τί οὖν*.

106. *ὅ τι*; Reiske, Brunck, recentiores. *ὅτι* MSS. editions before Brunck.

107. *χρυσίων* MSS. vulgo. Elmsley

suggested *χρυσόν*, which is read by Dindorf, Blaydes, and Green. But see the next line.

108. *ὅδε γε* Bentley, Elmsley, recentiores. *ὀδί γε* MSS., all editions before Elmsley. Brunck, thinking the mid-syllable of *ἀχάνας* short, read *σὺ μὴν* in the next line; and Fritzsche (at *Thesm.* 804) on the same hypothesis suggested *σὺ μὲν οὖν*; but it is no doubt long.

111. *πρὸς τουτοῖ* MSS. vulgo. *πρὸς τουτοῖ* (*ego te adiuro per hanc scuticam*) Reiske, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Van Leeuwen.

112. *Σαρδιανικόν* R. Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Kuster, recentiores. *Σαρδιανικόν* Gelenius and subsequent editors except Rapheleng before Kuster. *Σαρδειανικόν* Grynæus. *Σαρφειανικόν* edd. before Zanetti. *Σαρδιανικόν* P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. I. *Σανδανικόν* P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>.

After 113 and 114. *ἀνανεύει* and *ἐπινεύει*. These stage-directions are found in R. and apparently in all the MSS. as in the text; and they are found in all editions before Blaydes's first. But all the editions before Brunck placed them at the commencement of lines 113 and 114, where they might be mistaken for a part of the text. To prevent this mistake, and to show that they are only stage-directions, *παρεπιγραφαί*, Bentley enclosed them in brackets. Brunck restored them to their proper places, but enlarged them into *ἀνανεύει ὁ Ψευδαρτάβας* and *ἐπινεύει ὁ Ψευδαρτάβας*. And so Bothe and Weise. Invernizzi, from R., gave them as in my text, and so Bekker, Dindorf, and Hall and Geldart. Elmsley placed them at the end of the two lines. But save as aforesaid all editors subsequent to Dindorf simply

omit them, a proceeding as improper as it is inconvenient, for in all probability they come from the hand of Aristophanes himself. See the Appendix to Thesm. "After 129." And in doing this they think that they are following Bentley, who would never have tolerated such an absurdity. Thus Mueller says "Parepigraphē ἀνανεύει, iam a Bentleio unciis inclusa, delenda est." The existence of these stage-directions is fully recognized by the Scholiast, who says τὸ ἀνανεύει καὶ ἐπινεύει παρεπιγραφῆ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ σαφὲς γενέσθαι ὅτι ἀρνούμενος ἀνένευσεν, ὁμολογῶν δὲ κατένευσεν. I should like to have restored the παρεπιγραφῆ wherever the Scholiast tells us that there was one; but we do not always know what the exact words may have been. But wherever the MSS. give them they should be religiously preserved. See also Appendix to Birds "After 222."

115. ἀνδρες. The aspirate was added by Elmsley.

116. κοῦκ R. Invernizzi, Elmsley, recentiores. οῦκ the other MSS. and all editions before Invernizzi.

119. ἐξυρημένε Suidas (s.vv. Κλεισθένην and Στράτων), Frischlin, Portus, recentiores, except Kuster to Invernizzi, Bekker, and Merry. ἐξυρημένε MSS. vulgo.

120. τοιόνδε γ' ᾧ R. Bekker, Hall and Geldart. It is surprising that R.'s reading has not been generally followed, since the γε is as necessary as the δε is impossible. Yet τοιόνδε δ', the reading of P<sup>1</sup>. and P<sup>2</sup>., is adopted by all editors except as herein mentioned. τοιόνδε θ' ᾧ P. F. τοιόνδε δὴ Elmsley, Porson.

126. στρατεύομαι. All MSS. except R. and all editions before Brunck. στρα-

τεύομαι R. Kuster, referring to Clouds 131, proposed στραγγεύομαι, which spoils the sense, but is adopted by Brunck and all subsequent editors. See the Commentary.

127. τοὺς δὲ ξενίζειν MSS. vulgo. τοῦσδε ξενίζειν Brunck, apparently by an oversight. τοῦσδε ξενίζειν Blaydes, Van Leeuwen, in the sense of *To think of feasting these men.*—οὐδέποτ' ἴσχει γ' ἢ θύρα Suidas (s.v. ἴσχειν), Brunck, Invernizzi, Elmsley in his text, Bekker, and Bothe in his second edition. οὐδέποτ' ἴσχει θύρα R. οὐδέποτέ γ' ἴσχ' ἢ θύρα P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. editions before Brunck. οὐδέποτ' ἴσχ' ἢ θύρα I. P<sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately Elmsley, in his Additional Note, struck out a novel idea which has wrought great havoc in the text of Aristophanes. "Rarissime in hoc metro anapaestum inchoat ἂν, γὰρ, δὲ, μὲν, ἄρα aut ulla enclitica. In his undecim fabulis exempla circiter quinquaginta praebet Brunckius." Only FIFTY examples in the eleven Plays! One would have thought, as has been truly observed, that a much smaller number would have some weight in an induction. "And of these," Elmsley proceeds to say, "the greater part can be easily amended." But why should any of the fifty be tampered with? Why is a poet to be compelled to use a particular collocation of words more than fifty times, or be never allowed to use it at all? There is no more respected name than Elmsley's in Aristophanic criticism, but he was rather too fond of erecting the general usage of the poet into a Draconian law, from which no departure was in any case to be allowed. However he proceeds to

alter several of the fifty passages, and, amongst others, the present line. Here he proposes οὐδέποτε γ' ἴσχει θύρα, and (save as herein appears) is followed by all subsequent editors. But the article is required with θύρα, and the γε is obviously more in place after ἴσχει than after οὐδέποτε. Van Leeuwen reads οὐδένα παρ' ἴσχει θύρα.

131. ποιῆσαι MSS. vulgo. But Elmsley, though he did not read, suggested, in his note on 58 supra, that the right reading was, ποιήσον. And this is adopted by Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Blaydes (2nd ed.), and Van Leeuwen.

133. κεχήνυτε Elmsley, Bothe, Dindorf, Mueller, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. κεχήνατε MSS. Scholiast, Suidas s.v. vulgo.

136. οὐκ ἄν ἤμεν MSS. vulgo. Not understanding why Theorus uses the plural in this line, and the singular afterwards, Elmsley proposed οὐκ ἔμειν' ἄν, which is read by Van Leeuwen. Blaydes in his first edition read οὐκ ἀπὴν ἄν, which is adopted by Mueller; and in his second edition οὐκ ἄν ἦν ἄν. Meineke (V. A.) proposes οὐκ ἄν ἦ μὰ Δι'.

139. ἐπ' αὐτὸν . . . ἠγωνίζετο. On the suggestion of Nauck these words were taken from Theorus and given to Dicaeopolis by Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Green, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. But this can hardly be right. Dicaeopolis would not have used the εἶρ' at the commencement of the next line; nor indeed would he have interrupted Theorus except to cavil at his statements; nor could he have known the particular season of which Theorus was speaking. Moreover he would be agreeing with this

part of the envoy's speech, though at its close he protests that he does not believe a word of it.

143. ἦν ἀληθὴς R. P<sup>2</sup>. F. and (with -ὠς written over the -ῆς) P<sup>1</sup>. Invernizzi, Dindorf, Green, Paley, and Hall and Geldart. ἦν ἀληθῶς P. vulgo. Dobree said "Cogitabam ὡς ἀληθῶς. Sed ἀληθὴς Rav. quod non videtur temere spernendum." Yet ὡς ἀληθῶς is read, on the supposed authority of Dobree, by Holden, Merry, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. Meineke (V. A.) proposes νῆ Δι' ἀληθῶς.

146. ἀλλᾶντας (or ἄλλαντας) R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. vulgo. ἀλλάντος P. Brunck, Bekker.

147. ἦντιβόλει MSS. vulgo. ἦντεβόλει Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Green, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. See Appendix to Knights 667.

152. ἐνταυθαῖ MSS. (except R. which has ἐνταῦθα), Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Weise, Bergk, Paley, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. ἐνταυθι Elmsley, recentiores except as aforesaid. But there is no ground for objecting to the form ἐνταυθαῖ. This line was omitted in all editions before Brunck. Kuster, however, quoted it from I. in his notes.

153. ἔθνος R. P. F. Brunck, recentiores. γένος P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Brunck.

154. μέντ' R. I. Bekker. μέν γ' the other MSS. and vulgo.—ἦδη σαφές. R. F. F'. I. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. ἦδη σαφῶς P. P<sup>1</sup>. ἦδη σαφῶς (hoc quidem probe noram) Elmsley, Porson.

158. ἀποτέθρακεν (or -ε). Hesychius s. v., Suidas (s. v. and s. v. Ὀδομαντες and πέος), Bentley, Porson, Elmsley, recentiores. ἀποτέθρακεν R. P. M<sup>3</sup>. and (originally) P<sup>1</sup>. ἀποτέθρακεν ἄν I. F<sup>1</sup>. and (as corrected) P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before



Brunck, except Scaliger and Faber, who have ἀποθεβριακεν ἄν. ἀποθέβρακε; τίς; P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi.

159. εἴν τις δύο δραχμὰς R. Invernizzi, recentiores. The same words are read in all MSS. and editions, but not in the same order. εἴν δραχμὰς δύο τις I. P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Invernizzi. The other MSS. have εἴν τις δραχμὰς δύο, or δύο δραχμὰς εἴν τις.

165. οὐ καταβαλέετε τὰ σκόροδα; This question was given to Theorus in all editions before Brunck who, from his Parisian MSS., rightly continued it to Dicaeopolis. He is followed by every editor except Paley.

167. περιείδεθ' MSS. (περὶ ἴδεθ' R.) vulgo. περιόψεσθ' Blaydes.

176. μήπω, πρὶν ἂν γε στῶ τρέχων Brunck, recentiores, except as herein-after appears. μήπω γε πρὶν ἂν στῶ τρέχων MSS. editions before Brunck, and Dindorf and Weise afterwards; but in his notes Dindorf adopts Brunck's reading. μήπω γε πρὶν ἂν ἔσω τρέχω Bothe. μήπω γε πρὶν ἂν ἔστῶ τρέχων Meineke. μήπω γε πρὶν γ' ἂν στῶ τρέχων Bergk, Green, Hall and Geldart. μήπω πρὶν ἂν σωθῶ τρέχων Van Leeuwen, after a suggestion by Herwerden and Merry.

178. τί δ' ἔστιν; MSS. vulgo. τί ἔστιν; Elmsley; but in his Additional Note he proposes τί ἔστ'; "nam longe rarius quam putaram anapaestum in hoc metri genere inchoat ultima vocis syllaba." And he proceeds to alter a great many passages to make them conform to this arbitrary rule. See on 127 supra. τί δ' ἔστ'; Blaydes, Mueller, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

183. ἀμπελίον see the Commentary. ἀμπέλων MSS. and editions.

194. ἀλλ' αὐταῖ σπονδαὶ P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. vulgo. ἀλλ' αὐταῖ (not αὐταί, as commonly stated) σοὶ σπονδαὶ R. Bothe. ἀλλ' αὐταῖ σπονδαὶ σοὶ Invernizzi, Bekker. But Elmsley proposed to omit σπονδαὶ and read either δὴ σοὶ or γὰρ σοὶ, and the latter reading is approved by Dindorf and adopted by Merry. Bothe proposed τοὶ σοὶ, which is read by Dindorf, Blaydes, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, and Van Leeuwen.

197. μὴ 'πιτηρεῖν MSS. vulgo. Indeed nobody has altered the text, but owing to the meaning of the line having been generally misunderstood, various alterations have been proposed. Hamaker proposed μηκέτι μετρεῖν, Bergk μὴ 'παγείρειν, and Blaydes μὴ πορίσασθαι. Blaydes also says that the Scholiast explains ἐπιτηρεῖν by παρασκευάζεσθαι, but this is an error. The Scholiast is referring to the language of the proclamation, not to the language of Aristophanes.

198. ὅπη (or ὅπη) R. I. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck; and Bekker, Bergk, Paley, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. ὅποι P. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

199. σπένδομαι MSS. vulgo. Meineke (V. A.) proposed and Blaydes reads σπεῖσομαι, so destroying the dramatic turn of the line.

202. ἄξω R. Gelenius, Portus, recentiores. αὐξω the other MSS. and all editions, except Gelenius, before Portus.

203. φευξοῦμαι R. Elmsley, Bekker, Bothe, Bergk, Paley. φεύξομαι the other MSS. and editions.

206. μνηύσατε R. Bekker, Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Bergk, recentiores, except Blaydes. μνηύετε the other MSS. and editions.

210-18. As regards these two cretico-paeonic systems there is one paeon more in the strophe than in the antistrophe. And therefore in order to equalize the two some would take a paeon from the strophe, and others add one to the antistrophe. Bentley proposed to omit *ἐξέφυγεν* as a mere gloss on *ἀπεπλίξατο*, and this is done by Elmsley. Brunck omitted *οὔτος* and *τότε*: Porson proposed to omit *ελαφρῶς ἄν*. Hermann proposed to substitute *δδ' ἄν ὁ* for *δδε φαύλως ἄν ὁ*. And Hirschig for *ἕπ' ἐμοῦ τότε διωκόμενος* would read *ὁ διωκόμενος*.

220. *Λακρατείδη*. *Λακρατίδη* MSS. vulgo. This is one of the three passages, the others being Knights 327 and Peace 1154, in which Aristophanes is supposed to have introduced into a trochaic tetrameter a proper name which is not in conformity with the metre. "In order to reduce these refractory names into tetrameter trochaics, Aristophanes has twice used a choriambus, and once an Ionic *a minore* in the place of the regular trochaic dipodia."—Elmsley. Ed. Review, xxxvii. 72. This seems extremely improbable, since there was no necessity for Aristophanes to use these names; and Elmsley himself, in his note here, would insert *γε* after *Λακρατίδη* in the present line, and *ὄν* after *αἴτησον* in Peace 1154. But Bentley proposed here to read *Λακρατείδη*, and the name is found, so spelled, in inscriptions, see Wordsworth's "Athens and Attica," chap. 28. And *Λακρατείδη* is approved by Dindorf in his note, and read by Bothe, Weise, Bergk, and all subsequent editors except Green.

221. *ἐγχάνη* MSS. all editions before

Brunck; and Bekker, Dindorf, Green, Paley, Merry, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. *ἐγχάνοι* Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. But this is a *threat* not a *wish*.

226. *αἴρεται* MSS. vulgo. *αἴρεται* Blaydes.

230. *ἀντεμπαγῶ* R. Suidas (s. vv. *σκόλοψ* and *σχοῖνος*), Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἀν' ἐμπαγῶ* P. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck. *ἄτε ἐμπαγῶ* P<sup>1</sup>. *αὐτ' ἐμπαγῶ* M<sup>3</sup>.

231. *ὀξύς, ὀδυνηρός*. If the strophe is correct there is a foot missing here, see on 210-18 supra. Hermann, having regard to the passages cited in the Commentary, would supply *καὶ σκόλοψ* before these words; whilst Bergk proposed to supply *ἀνιάρως* after them, and this is done by Blaydes. With Dindorf and almost all subsequent editors I have preferred to leave a lacuna.

234. *Βαλλήναδε* F. and (as corrected) P<sup>1</sup>, Scholiast, vulgo. *Παλλήναδε* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. and Portus to Kuster inclusive. But Bergler restored the true reading; and Bothe is the only editor who has since read *Παλλήναδε*.

236. *ἐμπλήμην* R. F. (originally, but in both MSS. it is altered into *ἐμπλείμην*) Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. *ἐμπλείμην* MSS. (save as aforesaid) and all editions before Brunck.

238. *σίγα πᾶς* R. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *σίγα πας* (contra metrum) the other MSS. and all editions before Brunck.

242. *προῖτω 'ς*. F. A. Wolf, Dindorf, Meineke, Green, Merry, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. And this agrees with *σησάτω* in the next line. *προῖθ' ὡς* MSS. editions before

Brunck; and Invernizzi and Paley afterwards. *προῖθ' ἐς* (or *εἰς*) Brunck and subsequent editors except as aforesaid.

244. MH. The lines attributed to the wife of Dicaeopolis in the text are so attributed in Aldus and the editions generally. But R., and apparently the other MSS., continue them to Dicaeopolis; and this is followed, perhaps rightly, by Elmsley and some subsequent editors.

247. *καλόν γ' ἔστ'*. Brunck was the first to place a full stop after these words, but he is followed by almost all subsequent editors, and is, I think, plainly right; the sentences which follow being a prayer (with *δὸς* understood), and not a statement of fact.

254. *οἴσεις* R. Invernizzi, recentiores. *οἴσει* the other MSS. and editions.

256. *ἦττον βδεῖν*. This is Elmsley's suggestion which was first introduced into the text by Blaydes in his first edition, and is adopted by Meineke, Mueller, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *ἦττον βδεῖν* MSS. vulgo. Brunck, by some strange mistake, makes the line run *πολὸν ἦττόν σου βδεῖν*, and in his note suggests *γαλῆς Σε μηδὲν ἦττον βδεῖν*. I had myself thought of *ἦττον βδῶν*, but Elmsley's suggestion is better.

263. *Βακχίου* Scaliger, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *Βακχίου* MSS. editions before Brunck.

271. *πολλῶ* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Scaliger, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *πολλῶν* P<sup>1</sup>, editions before Brunck.

278. *ρόφήσεις* MSS. all editions before Elmsley; and Bothe, Bekker, Bergk, and Paley afterwards. *ρόφήσει* Elmsley, recentiores, except as aforesaid. See Appendix at Knights 360.

282. *παῖε πᾶς*. This, a conjecture of Bergk from Rhesus 685, is adopted by Blaydes, Bergk, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Merry, and Van Leeuwen. *παῖε* MSS. vulgo. *παῖε παῖ* (by analogy to *παῖε παῦ*) Burges, Dindorf, Weise.

291. *εἶτα δύνασαι πρὸς* P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. *ἔπειτα δύνασαι νῦν πρὸς* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Invernizzi.

294. *οὐκ ἴστε γ'* P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. And this is far superior to all the proposed alterations. *οὐκ ἴστε τ'* F. *οὐκ ἴστε* P. *οὐκ ἴσατ'* R. Invernizzi. *οὐκ ἴστ'* ἔτ' Elmsley. *οὐκ οὔδατ'* Dindorf, Weise, Blaydes. *ἀκούσατ'* Hamaker, Bergk, Mueller, Holden, Van Leeuwen. Dobree suggested *οὐκ ἴστε μ'*; and Meineke reads *οὐκ ἴστε μᾶλλ'*, which is adopted by Green and by Hall and Geldart.

295. *ἀκούσωμε* Elmsley, recentiores: an alteration required both by the metre and by the ordinary Greek idiom. *ἀκούσομεν* R. F. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Invernizzi. *ἀκούσομαι* editions before Invernizzi. *ἀκούσομαι* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>.

296. *πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσητ'* Bentley, Elmsley, recentiores; and so Dobree. See on 176 supra *πρὶν γ' ἀκούσητ'* R. Invernizzi. *πρὶν γ' ἂν ἀκούσητ'* P. M<sup>3</sup>. *πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητέ γ'* F. P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck. *γε πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητ'* Brunck.—*ἀνάσχεσθ'* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Invernizzi, recentiores. Elmsley refers to Lys. 765 *ἀνάσχεσθ' ὄγαθαί*. *ἀνάσχοισθ'* P. editions before Invernizzi. *ἀνάσχεθ'* P<sup>1</sup>.

299. *μοι σὺ* Hermann, Elmsley, recentiores. *σύ μοι* R. Invernizzi. *σὺ* (without *μοι*) F. M<sup>3</sup>. *δὴ σὺ* P<sup>1</sup> F<sup>1</sup>. editions before Elmsley.

300, 301. R. has *ὃν ἐγὼ κατατεμῶ τοῖσιν ἰππεύσιν ποτ' ἐς καττύματα*. And this is, substantially, the reading of all the MSS. and of all editions before Brunck.

It not only fails to correspond with the antistrophe: it is in itself thoroughly unmetrical. Only two plausible modes of emending it have been suggested. (1) Elmsley conjectured *τεμῶ* and omitted the *és*. Bentley had long before suggested the omission of *ποτε*, which, though found in all the MSS. and recognized by the Scholiast who says that it is superfluous (*περιττεύει*), is omitted by Suidas under *κατατεμῶ* and also under *καττύματα*. These alterations (with the omission of the final *ν* in *ἰππεύσω*) bring the line to the reading in my text *δν ε̄ | γῶ τεμῶ τοῖσιν ἰππεύσει καττύματα*. And this is the form adopted by Meineke, Holden, and Van Leeuwen. (2) On the other hand Bothe, while accepting the omission of *ποτ' és*, preferred to omit the *έγῶ* rather than the *κατα-*, and read *δν | κατατεμῶ τοῖσιν ἰππεύσει καττύματα*. And this, which is possibly quite as good as the former, is adopted by Dindorf and save as herein appears subsequent editors. But it introduces a fourth, instead of a first, pæon at the commencement of 301, which though admissible is rarely found, and is not found in the antistrophe. Hermann suggested *δν ε̄ | γῶ κατατεμῶ ποθ' ἰππεύσει καττύματα*, which is read by Hall and Geldart, but I think that we want the article with *ἰππεύσει*. Brunck, adopting the vulgar reading, changed *έγῶ* into *έγωγε*, and Bekker, following Reisig, reads *δν κατατεμῶ γῶ τοῖσιν ἰππεύσιν ποτ' és καττύματα*, so converting a pæonic into a trochaic line. The older critics do not seem to have observed that lines 285-302 are antistrophical to lines 336-46.

307. *πῶς δέ γ' MSS.* vulgo. *πῶς δ' έτ'* Elmsley, Dindorf, Blaydes, Meineke,

recentiores, except Paley and Hall and Geldart. Bergk proposed *πῶς δέ γ' ἄν καλῶς Λάκωσιν*.

317. *λέγω MSS.* (except R.) and vulgo. *λέξω* R. Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, Weise, Bergk, Mueller, and Paley.

318. *τήν κεφαλὴν MSS.* vulgo. And this is unquestionably right, for there is no rule against the admission of a dactyl in the fifth foot of a trochaic tetrameter. See Wasps 496, Birds 1078, and the passage cited from Hephaestion in the Appendix to the latter line. Yet on the supposition that such a rule exists many conjectures have been made, and some even admitted into the text. *τήν δέρην* Brunck, Dindorf, Weise. *τὸν λάρυγγ'* (a conjecture made, but not adopted, by Elmsley) Blaydes. *τὸν Κέφαλον* (a conjecture by Porson) Bothe. Meineke writes *πάνθ' ὄσ' ἄν λέγω λέγειν*. Blaydes in his first edition had *τήνδ' ἔχων οὔτω λέγειν*. Mr. Richards (C. R. xv. 354) suggests *τὸν περι ψυχῆς δραμεῖν*.

321. *οἶος MSS.* (except R.) all editions before Invernizzi; and Dindorf, Weise, Bergk, and Green afterwards. *οἶον* R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

323. *τᾶρα* (or *τᾶρα*) Elmsley, recentiores, except Bekker and Weise. *γ' ἄρα* (or *γ' ᾶρα*) MSS. vulgo.

325. *ννί* R. P. Brunck, recentiores. *νῦν γε* P<sup>1</sup>. editions before Brunck. *νῦν F.* P<sup>2</sup>.—*δήξομ' ἄρ' ἰμάς* (or, since Dindorf, *δήξομᾶρ' ἰμάς*) Bentley, Dawes (p. 94), Brunck, Elmsley, Bekker, recentiores. *δήξομαι γ' ἄρ' ἰμάς* P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck. *δήξομαι γὰρ ἰμάς* P. P<sup>2</sup>. *δείξομ' ἰμάς ἄρ'* R. *δήξομ' ἰμάς ἄρ'* (supposing it to be R.'s reading) Invernizzi, Bothe.

326. ἀνταποκτενῶ γὰρ ὑμῶν MSS. vulgo. For ὑμῶν Reiske suggested ἡμῖν, which is read by Bergk and Paley.

329. τοῖς Ἀχαρτικοῖσιν ἡμῖν R. and apparently all the MSS. Bekker, recentiores, except Bothe. But all the editions before Bekker for ἡμῖν have ὑμῶν. Before Kuster's time the note of interrogation came *after* ὑμῶν. Kuster placed it before ὑμῶν, joining that word to what follows; and this was continued till Bekker's time, and so Bothe. Elmsley, following a suggestion of Bentley, transposed ὑμῶν and μῶν, making the next sentence commence μῶν ὑμῶν.

336. ἀπολείς ἄρ' ὀμῆλικά. This is Reisig's admirable conjecture, which was first brought into the text by Blaydes in his first edition, and is adopted by Bergk and all subsequent editors except Paley, who by some unaccountable misunderstanding supposes that the line is dactylic, and obelizes the words. Reisig's conjecture is so certain that it is hardly worth while to mention the others. The MSS. have ἄρα τὸν ἥλικά, and so vulgo. Bentley proposed σὺ τὸν ἥλικά, Elmsley δὲ τὸν ἥλικά; while Dindorf and Weise read ῥα τὸν ἥλικά, and Bothe in his second edition reads ἄρα γ' ἥλικά.

338. νυνὶ Bentley, Elmsley, Dindorf, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. νῦν MSS. (except P<sup>1</sup>.) all editions before Elmsley. Bothe in his first edition had νῦν τοι, but reads νυνὶ in his second. P<sup>1</sup>. (an inveterate conjecturer, see the note on Eccl. 987, 988, and the prefatory note to the Appendix of the same Play) saves the metre by reading γὰρ νῦν, and this is followed by Hall and Geldart.—

εἶ σοι δοκεῖ MSS. (except R.) vulgo. εἶ τί σοι δοκεῖ R. Bekker. ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ Elmsley, Blaydes. εἶ τοι δοκεῖ σοι Bergk, Paley; but as the latter does not carry out Bergk's further alterations, he leaves the line absolutely unmetrical.— τὸν τε Λακε- MSS. (except R.) vulgo. τὸν Λακε- R. τὸ Λακε- Bergk.

339. αὐτὸν ὅτι (or ὅ,τι) τῷ τρόπῳ σοῦ ὅτι MSS. and all but two editions, Bergk reading αὐθ' ὅτῳ, and Blaydes αὐτὸν ὀποίῳ. Brunck in my copy has τοῦ for σοῦ, but that, I think, can only be a clerical error. Scaliger had suggested ὅτῳ and Bentley ὅτῳ. But I think that all these alterations give a wrong meaning to the line. I think it means: *But now say, if you will, of the Lacedaemonian himself that he is dear to thy mood; that is, to thee.* The words τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον are the independent accusative.— φίλος R. Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Meineke, recentiores, except Green, Merry, and Blaydes. φίλον the other MSS. and editions.

341. λίθους νῦν (or νῦν) μοι Bentley, Brunck, Elmsley, recentiores. νῦν μοι λίθους MSS. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi afterwards.

347. ἄρ' ἅπαντες or ἄρα (or ἄρα) πάντες ἀνασεύειν MSS. vulgo. But Elmsley observed that the meaning was ἐμέλλετε ἄρα παύσασθαι τῆς βοῆς, and that the poet might have said in the same sense ἀνήσειν τῆς βοῆς. To my mind the meaning suggested by Elmsley is diametrically opposed to the meaning of Aristophanes. Dicaeopolis is reproaching the Chorus for their senseless violence which all but caused the death of the Acharnian hamper. However Dobree took up Elmsley's idea and

proposed ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα πάντως ἀνήσειν τῆς βοῆς. And this new line, quite different both in sense and words from the Aristophanic, is introduced into the text by Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. Blaydes in his first edition had ἄρ' ἀνήσειν ἅπαντες τῆς βοῆς, and Mueller reads ἄρ' ἅπαντες ἀνήσειν τὴν βοήν.—βοήν R. (as corrected) Tyrwhitt, Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf, Weise, Mueller, Green, Paley, Merry, βοῆς the other MSS. and (originally) R. and vulgo. μετὰ βοῆς Grynaeus and Brunck, and this is approved by Scaliger and Kuster.

348. ὀλίγου τ' MSS. vulgo. But as the conjunction shows that the alteration of the preceding line is as wrong as it is unauthorized, it must of course be made away with; and ὀλίγου γ' is read by Elmsley and Blaydes; and ὀλίγου δ' by Meineke and Holden.—ἀπέθανον. In every edition down to and including Portus there is a comma both before and after the words ἄνθρακες Παρνάσσιοι, which probably induced Tyrwhitt to consider them as vocatives and to propose ἀπεθάνετ', though no doubt his chief reason was the absence of the article. This, in the form of the aspirate, was added by Dawes in his note on Thesm. 941 (935 in this edition). R. and all editions before Brunck (and Invernizzi and Bekker afterwards) read Παρνάσσιοι, but of course the reference is not to *Parnassus*, but to *Parnes*. And the only question is what is the proper form of the adjective belonging to the latter mountain. Bentley proposed Παρνήθιοι, and this is approved by Dindorf in his notes and read by Weise. The MSS. (other than R.) have Παρνάσιοι,

and so Brunck. But Elmsley adopted Παρνήσιοι as the right form ("A Parnethe fit Παρνήσιος ut a Tricorytho Τρικορύσιος in Lys. 1032"), and save as aforesaid he is followed by all subsequent editors.

366. ἰδοὺ θεᾶσθε MSS. (except R.), all editions before Elmsley; and Bothe, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart since. Blaydes refers to Soph. Trach. 1079 ἰδοὺ, θεᾶσθε πάντες ἄθλιον δέμας. ἰδοὺ θεᾶσαι R. Elmsley, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

376. ψήφω δακεῖν all printed editions except Bothe, and Hall and Geldart, and except that Brunck, apparently by an oversight, has δάκνειν. ψηφοδακεῖν R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. ψηφηδακεῖν P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. I. Bothe, Hall and Geldart. I wish that I had the courage to follow them. Lucian, amongst other writers, uses the word ψηφοφορέω, which in later writers became ψηφηφορέω. And I strongly suspect that Aristophanes used some such compound here.

384. ἐνοκέασασθαί μ' (both here and in 436 *infra*) MSS. vulgo. Elmsley would prefer to read γ' for μ'; and so Blaydes does in his first edition; in his second he reads ἐνοκενάσ' ἐμαντὸν. Some would eject the line here, and some where it occurs below. But see Appendix on Knights 96.

385. στρέφει R. F. vulgo. στρέφη P. M<sup>2</sup>. στρέφεις I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Blaydes. στρέφειν P<sup>2</sup>.—τεχνάξεις R. F. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, recentiores. τεχνάξει F<sup>1</sup>. editions before Brunck.—πορίζεις MSS. vulgo. πορίζει Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

387. ἐμοῦ γ' ἔνεκα. R. Gelenius, Portus, recentiores. ἐμοῦ γ' εἵνεκα all editions before Gelenius; and Frischlin and

Rapheleng afterwards. The reading of the other MSS. does not appear.

390. τὴν Ἄιδος κυνήν Brunck, recentiores, except Bekker. τὴν Ἄιδος κυνήν MSS. editions before Brunck; and Bekker afterwards.

391. εἶτ' ἐξάνοιγε MSS. vulgo. ἀλλ' ἐξάνοιγε Suidas (s. v. Σίσυφος), Elmsley, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. The MS. reading is quite unexceptionable. Suidas merely made a mistake in quoting it.

392. σκῆψιν ἀγών (or ἀγών or αγών) R. F. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Porson, Elmsley, recentiores. σκῆψιν ἂν ἀγών P<sup>1</sup>. (one of the futile conjectures of that MS.) all editions before Elmsley. The aspirate was first added by Bentley.—οὐκ εἰσδέξεται (or εἰσδ-) MSS. vulgo. οὐχὶ δέξεται Cobet, Meineke, Van Leeuwen.

393. ὄρα ἴστιν ὄρα μοι R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Bothe, Weise, and Hall and Geldart. ὄρα ἴστιν ἦδη the other MSS. and editions. It is far more likely that ἦδη should have taken the place of ὄρα μοι than vice versa.

395. Κηφισοφῶν (as the speaker's name) Scholiast, all editions before Elmsley; and Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Green, Paley, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. Θεράπων Elmsley, Weise, Blaydes, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, and Merry. Θυρωρός Van Leeuwen. R. (which Elmsley did not know) has Θεράπων; it does not appear what the other MSS. read. For τίς οὗτος R. alone has τί οὗτος.

396. οὐκ ἔνδον, ἔνδον ἔστιν MSS. vulgo. κοῦκ ἔνδον, Invernizzi (who seems to have somehow confused this line with 399, where R. does read κοῦκ ἔνδον) and Elmsley. And so, with τ' after the

second ἔνδον, Bothe, Holden, and Van Leeuwen. οὐκ ἔνδον ὦν ἔστ' ἔνδον, Cobet, which is very like what a prose writer would have said.

400. τραγῳδίαν MSS. Brunck, recentiores. τραγῳδίαν Scholiast, all editions before Brunck, "probante Bentleio ad Phalaridem, p. 297," says Elmsley. But that is hardly a fair way of putting it. In Bentley's time the only known reading was τραγῳδίαν, and this passage was brought forward as proof that, contrary to his statement, τραγῳδία might be used for "Tragedy." To which Bentley replied that "the very jest and wit of this passage consists in this, that the poet calls Euripides's Plays *Comedies*. And so the Scholiast interprets it τραγῳδίαν δὲ εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ κωμῳδίας." And he goes on to show that Euripides was accused of debasing the grandeur of Tragedy, by introducing low and despicable characters, and making his persons discourse in a mean and popular style but one degree above common talk in Comedy. Had the true reading in this passage been τραγῳδίαν, as all men then supposed it to be, nothing could be more just than Bentley's argument; but he certainly never intended to uphold τραγῳδία against the MS. reading τραγῳδίαν.

401. οὐτωσὶ MSS. (except R.) vulgo. οὐτωσὶ R. and the edition known as Faber's.—σοφῶς R. Bentley, Tyrwhitt, Markland (at Eur. Suppl. 649), Brunck, recentiores, except Bothe. σαφῶς the other MSS. all editions before Brunck; and Bothe afterwards.—ἵποκρίνεται R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise, Hall and Geldart, and Blaydes. ἀπεκρίνατο the other MSS., all editions

before Invernizzi; and Weise and Hall and Geldart afterwards. ἀποκρίνεται Blaydes.

405. εἴπερ πόποι' R. F. P. Invernizzi, recentiores. εἴπερ δὴ ποτ' I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. editions before Invernizzi.

406. καλεῖ σε MSS. vulgo. καλεῖ σ' ὁ Brunck. καλῶ σ' ὁ Cobet, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, and Merry. καλῶ σε Van Leeuwen.—Χολλείδης Elmsley, Blaydes, Bergk, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Paley, Merry, and Hall and Geldart. The name is so spelled on inscriptions; and however Aristophanes spelt it, it seems better to write it in a form which shows that the penultimate is long. Χολλίδης MSS. vulgo. Χωλίδης Van Leeuwen.

411. καταβάδην; οὐκ ἐτός χωλοὺς ποιεῖς vulgo. The transcriber of R. seems to have lost his head over this line, writing it καταβήνι οὐκ ἔτως προχοὺς μόνους ποιεῖς, the word μόνους being surrounded with dots to show, I presume, that it ought to be omitted.

413. ἐλεινήν MSS. vulgo. ἐλεινήν (following Porson in Preface to Hecuba, p. 4) Elmsley, Dindorf, Bothe, Meineke, Holden, Green, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.—πτωχοὺς R. Bentley, Tyrwhitt, Brunck, recentiores. χωλοὺς, as two lines above, P. editions before Brunck.

415. τοῦ παλαιοῦ δράματος MSS. vulgo. Bergk observed "forte τον," and του is accordingly read by Meineke, Mueller, Holden, and Paley. Yet it is quite plain from the dialogue which follows that Dicaeopolis is referring not to any, but to one particular, Tragedy.

416. με λέξαι MSS. both Juntas, Gormont, Grynæus, Kuster, recentiores. And Scaliger in a note had suggested

the same. με λέξαι the other editions before Kuster.

421. οὐ Φοῖνικος, οὐ MSS. vulgo. οὐ Φοῖνικος, οὐκ Brunck, Elmsley, Bothe.

429. χωλός, προσαυτών MSS. vulgo. Dobree proposed to insert a colon after χωλός, which seems to convert a very humorous passage into nonsense, and is done by Meineke, Mueller, and Holden. R. by some oversight omits the words δεινός λέγειν.

441. ὄσπερ εἰμί Suidas (s. v. εἶναι. Under φαινόμενα some MSS. read ὄσπερ and others ὡσπερ), Brunck, recentiores, except Weise, Bergk, and Paley. ὡσπερ εἰμί MSS. vulgo. And though I have followed Suidas, I have done so with much doubt.

442. εἰδέναι μ' ὄς εἶμ' I. F<sup>1</sup>. and all printed editions except Invernizzi and Blaydes. εἰδέναι μ' ὄστις εἶμ' R. F. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. Invernizzi. Blaydes in both his editions reads εἰδέν' ὄστις εἶμ', "quod multo elegantius," he says.

446. εὐδαιμονοίης MSS. vulgo. Athenæus v. 2 (p. 186 C) gives, not as the actual words of Eurípides, but as a saying of Arcesilaus when he was sitting at a banquet next to a voracious eater of the name of Telephus, εὐ σοι γένοιτο, Τηλέφφ δ' ἀγῶ νοῶ. And Brunck, very wantonly, introduces the phrase of Arcesilaus into the text of Aristophanes and reads here εὐ σοι γένοιτο. And this is followed by Weise, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, and Merry. And Van Leeuwen goes further, and introduces a phrase of his own for which there is no authority whatever εὐ σοὶ μὲν εἴη. The Scholiast tells us that in the Telephus itself the line began καλῶς ἔχοιμι.—φρονῶ MSS. vulgo. Here again Brunck intro-



duces the language of Arcesilaus and reads *νοῶ*. Here however he is only followed by Invernizzi and Weise.

447. *ἐμπίπλαμαι* R. F. P. P<sup>a</sup>. all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi, Dindorf, Blaydes (first edition), Mueller, and Green afterwards. *ἐμπίπλαμαι* I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. The former is the right form, see Appendix to Birds 1310; and though of course it would yield to the necessities of metre, there is no such necessity here, as is shown by Dindorf and Mueller.

448. *δέομαί γε* R. F. P. Brunck, recentiores. *δέομαι και* I. P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck. Elmsley too has *και* in his text; but in his note says "Malim *δέομαί γε*, omisso *καί*." Then in his Additional Note he takes himself to task. "Vide meam indiligentiam. *δέομαί γε* non monito lectore, sed tamen ex codd. ut videtur, dedit Brunckius. Nam plerumque post *ἀπάρ* una alterave voce interposita sequitur *γε*, nisi imperet aut interroget verbum cui praemittitur ea particula."

452. *λιπαρῶν τ'* *Εὐριπίδῃ* R. (as corrected) P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>a</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except Van Leeuwen. *λιπαρῶν τ' Εὐριπίδῃν* P. M<sup>3</sup>. all editions before Brunck. Whilst this was the reading, Bentley proposed *λιπαρῶν. Εὐριπίδῃ*, which was long afterwards again suggested by Bergk, and is read by Van Leeuwen. R. has *λιπαρῶν τ'*. *Εὐριπίδῃν* with the last letter in *Εὐριπίδῃν* blotted out.

454. *τί δ', ὦ τάλας, σε* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Bentley, Elmsley, recentiores, except Weise. *τί δ', ὦ τάλας, γε* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. I. M<sup>3</sup>. editions before Elmsley, and Weise afterwards. —*ἔχει* R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. P. has *ἔχει* with

*s* written above; and *ἔχεις* is suggested by Scaliger, and read by Kuster to Invernizzi, and Weise.

459. *κοτυλίσκιον* Athenaeus (xi. 57, p. 479 B) cites this line as an example of the form *κοτυλίσκιον*, and so does Eustathius on Iliad xxii. 494. On these authorities Brunck introduced the word here, and he is followed by Elmsley and all subsequent editors. The MSS. have *κυλίσκιον* and so all editors before Brunck, and Invernizzi afterwards. But Toup, in his notes on Suidas, pointed out that *κυλίσκιον* was not right, and proposed *κυλίχιον*. The true reading however is doubtless that preserved by Athenaeus and Eustathius.—*ἀποκεκρουσμένον* MSS. all editions before Bekker, and Weise and Hall and Geldart afterwards. Bekker gives *ἀποκεκρουμένον* (erroneously describing it as R.'s reading), and he is followed by subsequent editors except as aforesaid.

460. *φθείρου* R. Invernizzi, Elmsley, recentiores. *φέρου* the other MSS. and all editions before Invernizzi, except Junta which has *φέρε*.—*τόδ'* R. Invernizzi, Elmsley, recentiores, except Weise who gives *τάδ'*. *ταῦτ'* P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Invernizzi.—*ἴσθι δ'* R. Bergk. *ἴσθ'* the other MSS. and editions.

461. *οὔπω μὰ Δι' οἴσθ'* MSS. vulgo. *οὔπω μὰ Δι'. οἴσθ'* Bothe, Meineke, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart.

463. *σπογγίω* R. Kuster, Bergler, Invernizzi, Bekker, Bergk, and Paley. *σφογγίω* the other MSS. and editions. But Aristophanes invariably writes the word *σπόγγος*, Wasps 600; Thesm. 247; Frogs 482, 487; Anagyris, Fragm. 19.

472. *οὐ δοκῶν με κοιράνους* all MSS.

except R. and all editions except Invernizzi, Elmsley, and Bothe. οὐ δοκῶν γε τυράννου R. οὐ δοκῶν με τυράννου Invernizzi. οὐν, δοκῶν γε κοιράνου Elmsley. οὐ δοκῶν γε κοιράνου Bothe.

475. ὁ φιλάτιον καὶ γλυκίτατον P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. Hall and Geldart. γλυκίτατον καὶ φιλάτιον (without ὁ) R. ὁ γλυκίτατον καὶ φιλάτιον Paley. γλυκίτατον ὁ φιλάτιον editions before Elmsley (except that Farreus has γλυκίτατος). ὁ γλυκίτατον καὶ φιλάτιον Elmsley, Dindorf, recentiores, except Paley and Hall and Geldart. And Bekker reads the same except that he omits the ὁ. The reading of the editions before Elmsley made the second syllable of φιλάτιον long, and Bentley therefore proposed φιλαίτατον. It seems to me that φιλάτιον, the reading of all the MSS. so far as their reading is known, and of Suidas, is in any wise to be retained, as a comic quasi-diminutive, exactly suited to the verbal novelties of the present play; and no one can fail to perceive how tame the substitution of φίλτατον renders the line. The only question is whether we should accept the reading of the Parisian MSS.; or, with Paley, prefix ὁ to the reading of R. and so have a tribrach for the final foot, as in Frogs 1203. I am not sure that the tribrach is inadmissible in such a line as this; and the reading of the Parisian MSS. is not beyond exception: but on the whole it seems better to adopt it.

479. πηκτὰ δωμάτων MSS. vulgo. Scaliger suggested, and Brunck reads, πακτὰ δωμάτων.

480. ἐμπορευτέα MSS. (except P.) vulgo. εἰπορευτέα P. "An ἐκπορευτέα?" Bentley; and Dawes in his note on line 487 so

quotes the verse. But the answer to Bentley's question must be in the negative: Dicaeopolis is not in the house of Euripides.

487. παράσχες εἰποῦσ' MSS. (except that P. has παρέσχες) vulgo. παράσχες εἰπέ θ' Hamaker, Blaydes. Blaydes also suggests λέξον παρασχοῦσ' and Meineke (V. A.) παράσχες εἰροῦσ'.—δοκῆ I. and (corrected from δοκεῖ) R. Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. δοκεῖ P. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck. δοκοῖ P<sup>1</sup>.

488. ἀγαμαι καρδίας MSS. vulgo: *I am well pleased with my heart*, like the ἀγαμαι λόγων of Birds 1744. Bergler refers to Rhesus 244 ἀγαμαι λήματος, *I admire his courage*. Dawes proposed ἀγ' ἐμὴ καρδία, which is adopted by Brunck and Weise. Porson proposed, and Dobree approved, ἀγαμαι καρδία.

490. ἀλλ' ἴσθι νυν Hermann, Elmsley, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Blaydes and Hall and Geldart, who, following a suggestion of Meineke, read εἰ ἴσθι νυν. The MSS. and all editions before Elmsley, and Bothe and Bekker afterwards, have simply ἴσθι νυν. Weise marks a lacuna before ἴσθι.

495. λέγει R. Invernizzi, recentiores. λέγειν P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. I. all editions before Invernizzi.

496. ἄνδρες οἱ θεώμενοι MSS. (except R.) vulgo. ἄνδρες ὁ θεώμενοι R. Invernizzi. ἄνδρες οἱ θεώμενοι Blaydes.

500. καὶ τραγῳδία R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. P. has τραγῳδία here, and τραγῳδίαν in the preceding line. χῆ τραγῳδία Brunck, Weise. "Recte abest articulus. Monuit Porsonus ad Hec. 788 saepius ἰππικὴν et μουσικὴν sine articulo usurpari. Hoc de omnibus artibus verum est."—Elmsley.

509. μισῶ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους MSS.

(except R. and I.) vulgo. *μισῶ μὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους* R. I.

510. *καυτοῖς* R. F. Suidas (s.v. *Ταίναρον*), Tyrwhitt, Invernizzi, Elmsley, recentiores. *καυτός* P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Invernizzi.

512. *ἔστιν ἀμπέλια κεκομμένα* MSS. (except R.) vulgo. *ἔστιν ἀμπέλια διακεκομμένα* R. Invernizzi. Bergk in a note to his first edition suggested *ἔστ' ἀμπέλια διακεκομμένα*, and this is read by Hall and Geldart. But Bergk withdraws the note in his second edition; since *κόπτειν*, not *διακόπτειν*, is the proper form in this connexion. Meineke proposed *ἔστι τὰμπέλια κεκομμένα*, which is adopted by Mueller and Van Leeuwen.

516. *τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐχί* R. P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except Elmsley. *τοῦθ' ὄτ' οὐχί* P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck (but *ὄτ'* would stand for *ὄτε*). *τοῦτο οὐχί* P; *τοῦτό γ' οὐχί* Elmsley.

520. *ἴδοιεν* R. F. P. Suidas (s.v. *σίκνον*), Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. *εἶδεν* P<sup>2</sup>. and (with *εἶδειεν* superscript) P<sup>1</sup>. editions before Brunck.

521. *χονδρούς ἄλας* Elmsley, recentiores, except Weise. *χονδράς ἄλας* R. *χόνδρους ἄλως* P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Elmsley, and Weise afterwards.

526. *οἱ Μεγαρήs* R. Brunck, recentiores. *οἱ Μεγαρεῖs* the other MSS. and all editions before Brunck.

528. *κάντεῦθεν* MSS. vulgo. Athenaeus iii. 25 (p. 570 A), citing this passage, writes *κάκειθεν*, and this is approved by Meineke and read by Holden and Merry. But though a very good reading, if supported by any authority, it was probably only a slip of memory on the part of Athenaeus.

531. *ἤστραπτ'* Bentley, Bothe, Weise,

Blaydes in his first edition, and all subsequent editors except Bergk and Paley. And it is so written by Pliny in his very interesting epistle to Tacitus, Ep. i. 20. *ἤστραπτειν* MSS. vulgo. Enger (Preface to *Lysistrata*, p. xix) collects a number of passages in which he supposes the final *ν* to have been improperly added by transcribers for the purpose of preventing the elision of the vowel. I think that he goes too far, but in the present line I prefer *ἤστραπτ'* as giving a more forcible rhythm.

533. *μίτ' ἐν γῆ* Bentley, Brunck, Elmsley, recentiores. *μίτ' ἐν γῆ* MSS. (except that I. has *ἐργῆ* for *ἐν γῆ*) all editions before Brunck. And the reading was replaced (from R.) by Invernizzi, to whom metre was an unknown thing. There is a precisely similar mistake in *Knights* 610.

538. *οὐκ ἠθέλομεν δ'* R. Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Hall and Geldart. *κοῦκ ἠθέλομεν* P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. Fritzsche (at *Frogs* 488), misled by Bekker's note into supposing that R. had *κοῦκ ἠθέλομεν δ'*, proposed to amend it by reading *οὐκ ἠθέλομεν δ'*, which in truth is R.'s reading.

541. *ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει* MSS. vulgo. Blaydes reads *ἐσπλεύσαν σκάφει*, but in his note prefers *ἐσπλεύσαν σκάφος*.

542. *ἀπέδοτο φήνας* MSS. vulgo. For *φήνας* Mueller reads *κλέφνας* and Van Leeuwen *χῆν' ἦ*; whilst Bergk conjectures *ἀφήνας*, and Meineke (V. A.) *σήνας*. Reiske proposed to write the line *ἀφείλετ' Ἀθήνας κυνίδιον Σερίφιον*, and Hamaker *ἀπέδοτο δήσας Κύθιον ἢ Σερίφιον*. And the last three words are substituted by Blaydes for *κυνίδιον Σερίφιον*.

556. *ἡμῖν* R. F. P. P<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. Dobree,

Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe, Weise, Meineke, Blaydes in his second edition, and Van Leeuwen. ἰμῖν I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. Blaydes in his first edition read ἡμῖν, but in his second preferred ἰμῖν "propter vicinum ἔδρατε." But the pronoun is connected with οἰόμεθα, not with ἔδρατε.

563. ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαιρών Bentley, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Paley. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χαιρών MSS. (except that one or two have οὐδὲν) vulgo. The reason for the change of course is that οὐ τι is regularly used in this phrase, Wasps 186, Frogs 843; to which Blaydes adds Oed. Tyr. 363, Phil. 1299, Eur. Or. 1593. It is therefore strange to find Paley saying "No change is necessary, cf. Aesch. Theb. 1035, Peace 195, Thuc. i. 35"; where οὐδὲ is found in a totally different connexion.

566-71. ἰὼ Δάμαχ' κ.τ.λ. Except that for metrical reasons I have in the first line adopted Hermann's α̅ βλέπων for ἰὼ βλέπων, and in the sixth Dobree's τειχομάχας for τειχομάχος, I have throughout this little Chorus followed the reading and arrangement of the Ravenna MS. According to that MS. the system consists of seven lines, not six as the editions make it, nor eight as the Scholiast says. Of these seven lines, two (the fourth and fifth) are trochaic dimeters, one brachycatalectic, the other catalectic; the five other lines being dochmiac. The ordinary dochmiac is υ - | - υ - |, and the first and third lines are pure dochmiac dimeters; but in the other lines the innumerable variations of the dochmiac make their appearance. The dactyl (εἴτε τις) at the commencement of a trochaic dimeter is

very common. See Birds 396 and the Appendix there.

566. δ̅ βλέπων Hermann, Elmsley, Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe, who in his second edition has δ̅ βλέπων. ἰὼ βλέπων MSS. editions before Elmsley; and Bothe in his first edition.

569. εἴτε τις ἔστι ταξιάρχος ἢ στρατηγός ἢ R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. M<sup>3</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, Holden, Green, and (with πάρεστι for τις ἔστι) Blaydes in his second edition. R. has it carefully divided into two lines, as in my text, but all the printed editions have it in one line. I do not know how it is written in the other MSS. εἴτ' ἔστι τις ταξιάρχος ἢ στρατηγός ἢ I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck, except Grynaeus, who omits the τις. Elmsley struck out the words ἢ στρατηγός and substituted a third τις, for the purpose of making the line dochmiac; and he is followed by Dindorf, Weise, Meineke, Mueller, and Meriy, but it seems impossible to omit ἢ στρατηγός, which is found in every MS.; and the Scholiast recognizes that the metre is not dochmiac throughout. Fritzsche (at Thesm. 833) with far greater probability omits the τις and makes the line an iambic trimeter; and this is followed by Blaydes in his first edition, Bergk, Paley, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

570. τειχομάχας Dobree, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk, recentiores. τειχομάχος MSS. vulgo. τειχομάχος γ' Elmsley. For the ἢ which precedes this word Cratander, possibly by a clerical error, has εἰ, and so all subsequent editions, except Gelenius, before Brunck. Hamaker

proposed *πεζομάχας*, Meineke and Herwerden, each in his V. A., *τευχομάχας*.

571. *ἔχομαι μέσος* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Frischlin, Brunck, recentiores. *ἰσχομαι μέσος* P<sup>1</sup>. editions, except Frischlin, before Brunck. This seems to be one of P<sup>1</sup>'s unfortunate emendations, intended to give an iambic ending to the Chorus.

575. *ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρος*. This line is attributed to Dicaeopolis by P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. and almost all editors; to the Chorus by R. and Invernizzi; and to the Semichorus by Brunck, Elmsley, and a few other editors. Meineke, at the suggestion of Hamaker, omits it. For *λόφων* (MSS. vulgo) R. has *φίλων*.

580. *οὐκ οἶδ' ἄνω* MSS. vulgo. Bergk changed *πω* into *πῶς*, which he gave to Lamachus; and this absurdity is approved by Meineke, and adopted by Mueller. In his V. A. Meineke proposes *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως Ἔπο τοῦ δέους τῶν σῶν*, a still greater absurdity. Blaydes suggested *οὐκ οἶδ' ἔτι*, which is adopted by Van Leeuwen.

581. *ἠλιγγιῶ* P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *ἠλιγγιῶ* R. *εἰλιγγιῶ* Suidas (s. vv. *εἰλιγγιῶ* and *ἠλιγγιῶ*), Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Blaydes, Meineke, Mueller, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. And so R. spells it infra 1218. According to the Scholiast and Suidas the verb is spelled with an *ει*, the noun with an *ι*.

588. *πῆλον γάρ ἐστιν*; These words commence the speech of Dicaeopolis in the MSS. and vulgo. Bothe, not understanding the passage, destroyed all its humour by transferring them to Lamachus who, he imagines, was about to say "This is the *πῆλον* of an ostrich" when he is interrupted by Dicaeopolis. And this manifest corrup-

tion of the text is followed by Blaydes, Bergk, and subsequent editors except Green, Paley, and Merry. The words *δρυνθός ἐστιν* are given to Lamachus in the MSS., and editions before Elmsley who rightly gave both lines to Dicaeopolis. Weise is the only editor, after Elmsley, who gave these two words to Lamachus.

590. *οἴμ' ὡς* (that is, *οἴμοι*) MSS. Brunck, recentiores. The same Lamachus says *οἴμ' ὡς ὑβρίζεις*, infra 1117. *οἴμ' ὡς* (that is, *οἴμοι*) Scholiast, editions before Brunck.—*τεθνήξει* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, Bothe, Weise, Mueller, Paley. *τεθνήσει* R. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi and Bekker afterwards. *τεθνήξη* P. *τεθνήση* F. Dawes in his animadversions on Callimachus (Misc. Crit., p. 94) lays down, without giving one *στριβιλικιγξ* of a reason for his statement, that the future *τεθνήξομαι* was not in use. The MSS., here and elsewhere, which had not in his time been collated, show that he was completely wrong. Here, for instance, much as the MSS. vary, there is not one which gives the active form. The only question is between *τεθνήξομαι* and *τεθνήσομαι*. It will be observed that the Ravenna MS. has *τεθνήσει*, and the Ravenna Scholiast's comment on the line is *τὸ τέλειον ἐστὶν οἴμοι*. Ἄττικοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ σ φασὶ *τεθνήσει*, that is to say, they spell it *τεθνήσει* not *τεθνήξει*. Dr. Rutherford, eager to support Dawes's dictum, metamorphoses the Scholium after the following fashion, *τεθνήξεις* Ἄττικοι διὰ τοῦ σ *τεθνήξεις*, and gives as the explanation of these words "that is to say, the second person singular is *τεθνήξεις* not *τεθνήξει*." But even from

his text, which is not the Scholiast's, it would be impossible to extract that meaning. However Dawes's dictum is adopted by Dindorf and (save as aforesaid) subsequent editors.

591. οὐ γὰρ κατ' R. I. Kuster, recentiores, except as herein appears. οὐ κατ' contra metrum) all editions before Kuster. Scaliger suggested οὐ σου κατ', which is read by Elmsley and Holden. οὐ σὴν κατ' Bergk. Meineke suggested οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἰσχύιν σοῦστιν, which is read by Mueller.

592. ἀπεψώλησας MSS. vulgo. Bergk suggested ἀπεψίλωσας, which is read by Holden and Merry, I suppose for decency's sake.

601. οἴους σὺ MSS. all editions before Dindorf, and Bothe, Mueller, Merry, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. This seems the idiomatic construction, and is well supported by the MSS. in other places, as οἶων περ αὐτὸς ὄντων, Xen. Hell. i. 4. 16. οἴος σὺ Dindorf, though he acknowledges that the other construction is frequently found, but attributes it, for no reason, to the customary error of transcribers. And he is followed by subsequent editors except as aforesaid, and except that Holden reads οἴους σε.

608. ὑμᾶς μὲν ἀεὶ R. Suidas (s. v. ἀμηγέπη), Invernizzi, recentiores. ὑμᾶς μὲν ἤδη I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Invernizzi. P. and F. have neither ἀεὶ nor ἤδη.

610. ὄν ἔνῃ (or ἔνῃ or ἐν ἡ with varied or no punctuation between ἐν and ἡ) MSS. vulgo. ἐν ἡ οὐκ Brunck, Weise. ἔτι Invernizzi. Invernizzi wrongly reported R. as having ἐνί, and Elmsley is credited with the suggestion that ἐνί is a shortened form of ἡνί, behold; but that is a mistake; Elmsley made

the suggestion that ἐνῃ (which he read "fortasse pro ἰδὸν dictum est ut ἦν vel ἡνί." However, on the strength of Elmsley's supposed suggestion, ἐνί is read in that sense by Dindorf, Bothe, Holden, Green, and Van Leeuwen. Blaydes reads ἀνῆρ.

611. καίτοι γ' ἐστὶ MSS. vulgo. καίτοι δ' ἐστὶ Rapheleng. καὶ τοῦστιν γε Elmsley, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

612. τί δαί; Δράκυλλος MSS. vulgo. τί δ' Ἀνθράκυλλος Reiske, Mueller, Blaydes.—κεῖ φοριδης MSS. vulgo, except that in the MSS. and early editions the καὶ is written in full. ἡ Εὐφοριδης Elmsley, Meineke, Holden, Merry, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

613. εἶδεν P. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Bergk (at Fragm. 16 of the Γεωργοί, Meineke, Com. Fragm. Graec.), Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores. οἶδεν R. F. M<sup>2</sup>. editions before Blaydes's first; and Bothe afterwards.

615. ἰπ' ἐράνου Bentley, Elmsley, recentiores, except that Blaydes, following a suggestion of Reisig, reads ἰπ' ἐράνων. ἰπὲρ ἐράνου MSS. editions before Elmsley.

621. παράξω R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, recentiores. κατάρξω P<sup>1</sup>. editions before Brunck. καταράξω I. No doubt P<sup>1</sup>. endeavoured to correct the reading of I.; but instead of striking out the initial κα- struck out the third α.

626. ἀνῆρ, the aspirate, or article, was first added by Brunck.

627. τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις R. F. P. P<sup>2</sup>. and (as corrected) P<sup>1</sup>. Suidas (s. v. ἀποδύντες), Invernizzi, recentiores, except Bothe, Weise, and Blaydes. τοὺς ἀναπαίστους I. F<sup>1</sup>. and (originally) P<sup>1</sup>. and the other editions.

632. ἀποκρίνεσθαι all printed editions except Bekker, Bothe, and Hall and Geldart, who follow the MSS. in reading ἀποκρίνασθαι.

633. ἄξιος MSS. vulgo. Both Bentley and Dawes suggested αἴτιος as infra 641, which is adopted by Brunck, Bekker, Weise, and Meineke. On the other hand the αἴτιος of the MSS. and vulgo in the latter line is by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen changed into ἄξιος. One would certainly have expected to find the same word in both lines; but it is safer to follow the MSS. which are unanimous.

634. παύσας MSS. vulgo. πείσας Reiske, Blaydes.

635. μηδ' . . . μηδ' Holden (at Meineke's suggestion), Merry, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. μηδ' . . . μήτ' R. I. which I should prefer, were it not for Elmsley's denunciation of the reading in his note on Medea 4. μήτ' . . . μήτ' the other MSS. and vulgo.

636. ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις Bentley, Porson (Praef. Hec. 48), Elmsley, recitiores, except Bekker. ἡμᾶς οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων MSS. editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi and Bekker afterwards. ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἡμᾶς οἱ πρέσβεις Kuster (in notes), Brunck.

640. εὔρετο πᾶν R. Dawes, Brunck, recitiores, except that some write it ἡῦρετο. εὔρε τὸ πᾶν P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Brunck.

643. ἀπάγουρες MSS. vulgo. "Correxī confidenter προσάγουρες," Blaydes. "Nimis confidenter" perhaps; since ἀπάγειν is the right word for rendering what is due; and is used, as Van Leeuwen points out, in precisely the same connexion in Wasps 707 εἰσὶν γε

πόλεις χίλιαι, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν.

645. ὅστις παρεκιδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν 'Αθηναίοις Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf, recitiores. All the MSS., and save as herein appears all the editions before Bothe's first, have ὅστις παρεκιδύνευσεν (or -νευσ' ἐν) 'Αθηναίοις εἰπεῖν which violates the ordinary rule as to the caesura. We need not suppose that Aristophanes never wrote a line having what we are pleased to call a faulty caesura, but where there was no necessity for it, where the fault can be cured by a mere transposition of the words, it seems permissible to make that transposition. Brunck proposed ὅστις παρεκιδύνευσε λέγειν ἐν 'Αθηναίοις, but there was no conceivable reason for substituting λέγειν for εἰπεῖν which suited the metre just as well, and was accordingly restored by Hermann, and is read by the editors enumerated above. Porson proposed ὅστις·γ' εἰπεῖν παρεκιδύνευσ' ἐν 'Αθηναίοις, but this departs more widely from the MSS. and is adopted only by Elmsley.

646. οὔτω δ' MSS. vulgo. οὔτως Elmsley, putting a full stop at the end of the line, so as to make it refer only to what precedes; and οὔτως, without the full stop, is read by Blaydes, Bothe, and Meineke. Mr. Richards (Class. Rev. xv. 352) would write ὄντως for οὔτω δ' referring to Xen. Hipparch. v. 9, 10.

650. γεγενῆσθαι R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. Blaydes in his first edition proposed τε γενέσθαι, which Meineke approved, and τε γενέσθ' ἂν is read by Mueller and Van Leeuwen. But Blaydes does not repeat the suggestion in his second edition.

651. κὰν τῷ πολέμῳ Blaydes, Bergk,

recentiores, except Green and Hall and Geldart. καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ MSS. vulgo.

655. τοὶ μὴ ποτ' ἀφήθ'. ὡς κωμωδήσει Elmsley, Porson, Dindorf, recentiores, except that Bothe reads ἀφήσθ'. For ἀφήθ' R. has ἀφήσετε, which Invernizzi gives as ἀφήσεθ' and he so reads. ἀφήσηθ' P. P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards. δείσηθ' P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck. With ἀφήσηθ', Scaliger and Bentley proposed to read κωμωδεῖ for κωμωδήσει, and Kuster to omit τοὶ, which Brunck does. Blaydes proposes αὐτὸν μὴ ποτ' ἀφήθ', ὡς κωμωδεῖ; and Richards (Class. Rev. xv. 353) οὗ τοὶ μὴ ποτ' ἀφήθ' ὡς κωμωδεῖ.

656. πολλὰ διδάξειν. Owing to the recurrence of διδάσκων two lines below, Hamaker proposed to read πόλλ' ἔτι δράσειν and Richards πολλὰ ποιήσειν.

657. ὑποτίμων P<sup>1</sup>. Portus, recentiores. ὑποτίμων R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Portus. In this and the following verse οὐθ' . . . οὐδ' and οὐδ' . . . οὐδ' are the readings of R. Of the other MSS. and editions some have all οὐδέ, others all οὐτε, and others otherwise.

671. ἀνακκῶσι R. Bergler (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. ἀνακκλῶσι the other MSS. and the editions before Brunck. The editor of the edition called Scaliger's says "ἀνακκῶσι Vet.;" a very common form in his notes: but to whom he refers as Vet. I do not know. Certainly to none of the older editions in my list.

672. βάπτωσιν Hamaker, Blaydes. μάπτωσιν R. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except Blaydes. μάπτουσι I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Brunck. Bergk suggested μνττωτῶν, and Meineke κάπτωσιν, two absurd conjectures.

674. εὐτρονον R. F. F<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. ἀγροικότονον R. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. Both words are rightly so given by all editions before Brunck; and by Invernizzi, Bekker, Bergk, Meineke, Mueller, and Paley afterwards. ἔντρονον and ἀγροικότερον P. Both errors, condemned by R. and the MSS. generally, are adopted by Brunck, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. No other editors have ἔντρονον, but ἀγροικότερον, first introduced by Brunck, is followed by subsequent editors except as aforesaid. See the Commentary.

685. ὁ δὲ νεανίας κ.τ.λ. The reading in the text is that of all the MSS. and (except as hereinafter mentioned) of all the editions. Unfortunately Elmsley, by some dire mischance, took νεανίας to be the accusative plural, and suggested that it might be better to read νεανίαν. And this is approved by Dindorf in his notes and adopted by Weise, Meineke, and Blaydes, though Meineke recants in his V. A. This has given rise to various emendations. Hamaker, always to the fore with a ridiculous suggestion, proposed to change ἐαυτῷ into ἐσάττει, beginning the following line with κὰς; Meineke, always a good second, proposed ἐσάττων; Mueller not only proposed, but read, ἐταίρω; Kontos proposed ἐάν τῷ σπουδάσας ξυνηγορή, which Van Leeuwen brings into the text. And this was at first approved by Herwerden, but in his V. A. he says "hodie magis placet lenius Richardsi, felicit coniectoris, inventum ἐπ' αὐτῷ corrigentis." Mr. Richards's conjecture will be found in Class. Rev. xv. 353.

690. λύζει MSS. vulgo. The Scholiast remarks, rather incoherently, ἐάν μὲν



διὰ τοῦ ζ, ὀλολίξει. ἐὰν δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ ζ, ἀλύει. This points to a variant ἀλύει, which Meineke promptly foists into the text, but nobody has followed him.

701. προσαισκομέθα MSS. vulgo. But Elmsley suggested that it might be read as two words πρὸς ἀισκόμεθα, which is done by some editors. Elmsley also proposed καὶ προσέθ' ἀισκόμεθα.

702. τί ἀντερεῖ Elmsley (in notes), Dindorf, Blaydes, Meineke, Mueller, and Green. τίς ἀντερεῖ MSS. vulgo. See Plutus 130 and the Appendix there. In both cases the error has probably arisen from a doubt as to the admissibility of the hiatus, τί ἀντερεῖ, διὰ τί ὁ Ζεύς;

703. τῷ γὰρ εἰκὸς MSS. vulgo. πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς Blaydes. Yet he retains τῷ γὰρ εἰκὸς without a murmur in precisely the same connexion, Thesm. 839.

705. Κηφισοδήμω MSS. vulgo. Κηφισοδήμου Hamaker, Van Leeuwen, taking Evathlus to be the son of Cephsodemus.

708. ὄς, and in the next line αὐτήν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν MSS. vulgo. Hamaker proposed ᾧ and Ἀίτοκλῆς παλαίων, Herwerden ᾧ and Ἀνταῖος παλαίων.

709. ἡνέσχετο MSS. vulgo. But the Etym. Magn. s.v. Ἀχαιᾶ has ἡνέσχετ' ἄν, and this is preferred by Elmsley and several more recent editors. Blaydes, who read it in his first edition, discards it in his second.

710. μὲν γ' ἄν Bentley, Dobree (referring to Lys. 720 and to his own note on Dem. de Corona 257. 10), Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. But R. P. F. have simply μὲν, and P<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. and the older editions μὲν ἄν. Kuster in his notes suggested ἄν μὲν, which is read by Brunck and several subsequent editors, and Reiske

μὲντᾶν, which is read by Elmsley and the remaining editors.

712. περιετόξευσεν (or -ε) MSS. vulgo. Blaydes in his first edition read ὑπερετόξευσεν, which has not a shred of authority, and introduces a meaning quite alien to the present passage; but he is followed by Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Merry, and Van Leeuwen.

717. φύγη τις ζημιῶν MSS. vulgo. Difficult as these words are, only three editors have altered the text. Paley for ζημιῶν reads ζημοῖ: whilst φύγη is changed by Blaydes into ὄφλη, and by Van Leeuwen into σφαλῆ.

718. τῷ γέροντι . . . τῷ νέῳ MSS. vulgo. In the proverb on which this line is founded, and in the passage from Antiphanes cited in the Commentary on 717, there is no article with the dative; and Porson, thinking the article improper, proposed to read τὸν γέροντα μὲν γέροντι, τὸν νέον δ' ἔστω νέῳ. But the article is quite right, and is indeed more dramatic. The poet is picturing in his mind two accusers, one old and one young, and two defendants, one old and one young; and says, "Pit the old accuser against the old defendant, and the young against the young."

720. πᾶσι R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. τοῖσι I. P<sup>1</sup>. editions before Invernizzi, and Weise afterwards. P. and F. omit the word, and P<sup>2</sup>. has εἶπε.

724. λαχόντας τοῖσδ' R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. Elmsley, recentiores, except Weise. λαχόντας. τοὺς δ' (as if the "whips" and the "market-clerks" were not identical) editions before Elmsley.

728. φανεράν MSS. (except R.) vulgo. φανερώς R. But it is the στήλη, when

erected, which is to be conspicuous, not the act of erecting it.

730. *ἐπόθουν*, and in the next line *ἀθλίον* MSS. vulgo. Bentley suggested *ἐπόθεν* and *ἀθλίω*, and these forms are adopted by some recent editors. But apart from the singular fact that both the MS. forms are found in Megarian inscriptions, such a change can be justified only on the assumption that Aristophanes put into his Megarian's mouth nothing but the strictest Dorian forms. That is an assumption which we are not at liberty to make; and I have therefore throughout retained the MS. forms, except where there was some special reason for rejecting them. Nor have I thought it necessary to mention, in every case, the alterations proposed by the sticklers for Doricisms.

731. *κόριχ'* (" *misellae filiolae* ") Bekker, Holden, Paley; a diminutive of endearment like *Ἰσμήρυχος*, infra 954; and so Meineke in his V. A. *κόριχ'* R. *κόριά γ'* I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Elmsley, and Bothe afterwards. *κόρι'* P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. *κόρια* *κάθλιον* (or *κάθλιω*) Meineke, Mueller. *κόρι'* Elmsley, Dindorf, recentiores, except as aforesaid. Blaydes suggested *χοιρι'* or *χοιριδι'*; but that idea is obviously introduced for the first time in 738 infra.

733. *ἀκούετε δὴ* P<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Blaydes, Mueller, Holden, Merry, recentiores. The MSS. (except P<sup>2</sup>.) have *ἀκούετον δὴ*, and so vulgo. This makes an anapaest follow a dactyl, a conjunction only tolerable under very special circumstances. I should myself have been disposed simply to omit the *δὴ*, which is so very common after the imperative of *ἀκούω* (see the corresponding line in

Knights 1014 *ἄκουε δὴ νυν;* καὶ πρόσχευ τὸν νοῦν ἐμοί) that a transcriber may well have let it slip in by an oversight. But Bentley's emendation, subsequently confirmed by P<sup>2</sup>., seems right, since the Megarian nowhere else uses the dual. Many other suggestions have been made. Elmsley proposed to substitute *προσέχετον* for *προσέχετ'* ἐμῖν, or the Doric form of *πρόσχετε* for *ποτέχετε*. Bergk proposed *ἄκουε δὴ*, Cobet *ἄκουε δὴ*, *πότεχε τ' ἐμῖν*, which Meineke introduces into the text; though, as the speaker throughout the whole speech addresses the girls in the plural, it is not very likely that he should drop into the singular here.

740. τῶν χοιρίων MSS. vulgo. Hamaker proposed τὸς χοιρία, which Blaydes adopts.

743. *ἄπρατα* Ahrens, Holden, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. τὰ πῶτα P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. τὰ πῶτα R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng.

748. *Δικαίπολιν ὄπα* MSS. vulgo. *Δικαίπολιν γα. πᾶ* Elmsley. *Δικαίπολις δὲ πᾶ* Meineke, Mueller.

749. *Δικαίπολις* R. Bekker, Dindorf, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores, except Van Leeuwen. *Δικαίπολις* the other MSS. and vulgo.

750. *τί ἀνὴρ* MSS. vulgo. *τί;* ἀνὴρ Brunck, recentiores, except Bothe, Weise, and Blaydes. "Dicaeopolis comes forth at the summons. He finds the very first customer to be one of the long-excluded Megarians, and exclaims, as in surprise, 'What! a man of Megara!'"—Paley. But there was no ground for surprise. He had invited, and was expecting, Megarians.—*ἴκομες* Elmsley, recentiores, except Bothe and

Weise. ἴκομεν R. ἤκομες vulgo. ἤκομεν the other MSS.

753. Μεγαρεῖς R. and all the MSS. except P<sup>1</sup>. (but in R. somebody has written η in the open space above the εἰ, leaving however the εἰ untouched) and all editions before Brunck. Μεγαρήs P<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, recentiores.

754. ὄκα μὲν ἐγὼ τηρόθεν R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise, and except that several editors write ἐγὼν. ὄκα μὲν ἐγὼν τηρόθεν P. ὄκα μὲν τηρόθεν P<sup>2</sup>. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὄκα μὲν γα τηρόθεν P<sup>1</sup>. I. all editions before Brunck. ὄκα μὲν ἐγὼν γα τηρόθεν Brunck, Weise.—ἐμπορευόμεαν (or -ην) MSS. vulgo. ἤμπορευόμεαν Bothe. ἐνεπορευόμεαν Van Leeuwen.

761. ἕμῃς τῶν ἀεὶ R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. ἕμῃς ὦν ἀεὶ the other MSS., all editions before Invernizzi, and Weise afterwards; but Junta to Portus punctuate after ἕμῃς. ποῖα σκόροδ' ἄμῃς; ὦν ἀεὶ Meineke.

766. ὡς παχεῖα καὶ καλά. Some would transfer these words to Dicaeopolis, but they seem more humorous in the Megarian's mouth. For καὶ καλά Meineke proposes χῆπαλά, and Blaydes reads χάπαλά. But the vendor's repetition of καλὸς is excellent.

770. θᾶσθε τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας MSS. vulgo: some editors however changing τοῦδε into the Doric τῶδε, Elmsley, objecting to the plural ἀπιστίας, wrote θᾶσθε τῶνδε τὰς ἀπιστίας, *Look at this* (sc. τὸν χοῖρον, cf. Thesm. 1114); *the incredulity of the man!* Paley reads θᾶσθε τῶνδε τὰς ἀπιστίας, saying that τῶνδε is the reading of R. But this is a mistake; τῶνδε is the reading of R. in the following line, not in this. Van Leeuwen reads θᾶσθε τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας.

771. τῶνδε χοῖρον R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe. τῶνδε χοῖρον the other MSS. and all editions (except Invernizzi) before Bekker, and Bothe afterwards. "Masculinum οὗτος est 773; sed ibi κύσθος dicitur."—Blaydes.

772. θυμητιδᾶν (variously accented) R. F. M<sup>3</sup>. Invernizzi, Dindorf, Green. θυματιδᾶν P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>1</sup>. θυμητιδᾶν vulgo. Kuster in his notes proposed θυμητᾶν (the older editions inserting νῦν before μοι), and this is followed by Bergler, Brunck, Elmsley, Bothe, and Blaydes in his first edition. In his second edition however (the νῦν having disappeared) Blaydes writes θυμητᾶων.

775. εἴμεναι MSS. Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe, Meineke, and Mueller. ἤμεναι a corrector of F., editions before Dindorf, and Bothe and Meineke afterwards; but some of the older editions write it ἡμενε. εἴμεν αὐ Mueller. Hamaker proposed, ingeniously enough, εἴμεν οὔτινος; and Meineke (V. A.) ἤμεν ἐκ τίνος. But this would be calling attention to their parentage (supra 741), which is the last thing the Megarian would do. He is speaking merely of their ownership.

777. χοῖριον Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. τὸ χοῖριον R. χοῖρίδιον the other MSS. and all editions before Brunck.

778. οὐ χρῆσθα; σιγᾶς (or σιγῆς) MSS. vulgo. But there was no note of interrogation in the old editions, and the line was translated *non opus est tibi silentio, perditissime*. This was not very satisfactory, and the reading of Greg. Cor. de Dial. Dor. xli οὐ χρῆσθα σιγῆν was adopted by Brunck, Elmsley, Bothe, Dindorf, Weise, Blaydes in his first

edition, and Meineke. But Fritzsche, at Thesm. 554, pointed out that the MS. reading is correct, but that a note of interrogation should be placed after *χρήσθα* and at the end of the line, as in the text; and that the line should be translated *Non vis? tacesne tu, perditissime?* And this is read by Bergk and all subsequent editors except Meineke, and Blaydes, who in his second edition reads (contrary to every MS.) *οὐ χροῖ τυ σιγηῖν.*

782. *πέντ' ἐτών.* These words, in the MSS. and vulgo, are the conclusion of the speech of Dicaeopolis. Elmsley transferred them to the Megarian, and he is followed by Dindorf and most subsequent editors, but not by Bergk or Paley. They seem to me to form a very forced and unnatural commencement of the Megarian's speech, and a very natural conclusion of Dicaeopolis's.

784. *ἀλλ' οὐδέ* MSS. (except R.) and vulgo. *οὐ* R. Dindorf proposed *οὐχί*, which is read by Weise and subsequent editors except Hall and Geldart. I presume that the reason of this defiance of the MSS. is the occurrence of *οὐχί* in the Megarian's reply, which is really no reason at all.

791. *αἱ δ' ἄν* MSS. (except R.) and vulgo. *ἀλλ' ἄν* R. Invernizzi, Dindorf. *αἶ κα* Blaydes, Meineke. *αἶ κα δέ* Hamaker, Van Leeuwen.—*κἀναχνοιαυθῆ τριχί* Ahrens, Bothe, Bergk, Mueller, recentiores. *κἀναχνοιαυθῆ τριχί* (contra metrum) MSS. (except I.) Bekker. *κἀναχνοιαυθῆ γ' ἐν τριχί* I. editions before Brunck. *κἀναχνοιαυθῆ τῆ τριχί* Brunck, Invernizzi. Elmsley saw that these readings would not do, and that the

third syllable of the verb should be long. He therefore wrote *κἀναχνοιαυθῆ*, and is followed by Dindorf and Weise. Meineke in his V. A. rejects the absurd line *παχυθυθῆ δ' ἀναχνοιαυθῆ θ' ὑστριχι* which he gives in his edition, and approves *κἀναχνοιαυθῆ*.

792. *ἔσται* R. Bentley, Invernizzi, recentiores, except Elmsley and Weise. *ἔστι* the other MSS., all editions before Invernizzi, and Elmsley and Weise afterwards.

808. *τί δαί σύ; τρώγοις ἄν; κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ* Elmsley, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart. *τί δέ; καὶ σὺ τρώγοις ἄν;* Ribbeck, Holden, Merry. It would be nearer the MSS. to read *τί δαί σύ; κατατρώγοις ἄν αὐ;* *κοῖ κοῖ*. The MS. readings are very confused. *τί δαί; σῦκα τρώγοις* (or *σὺ κατατρώγοις*, the accent is wrong either way) *ἄν αὐτός; κοῖ κοῖ* R. Bothe. And so (with a triple *κοῖ*) P. F. And so with *αὐτός ἄν* for *ἄν αὐτός* F<sup>1</sup>. Fracini, Gelenius, Portus to Bergler. *τί δέ; σῦκα τρώγοις αὐτός ἄν;* I. and the other editions before Portus. *τί δαί σὺ κατατρώγοις ἄν αὐτός;* P<sup>2</sup>. and (with *αὐτός ἄν;*) P<sup>1</sup>. Kuster proposed *τί; σῦκα τρώγοις αὐτός ἄν;* And Brunck read *τί δαί σύ; καὶ τρώγοις ἄν αὐτός; κοῖ, κοῖ*. This is followed by subsequent editors except as herein appears, though several of them, following Bentley, bracket the line; and Dindorf, Meineke, Green, and Van Leeuwen omit it altogether.

809. *ἀλλ' οὐτι πάσας* R. Dindorf (in notes), Blaydes, recentiores, except Green. *ἀλλ' οὐχί πάσας* the other MSS. and editions. This line forms the conclusion of Dicaeopolis's speech in most of the MSS. and vulgo; but Bothe in his second edition transferred it to the

Megarian, and this is followed by Bergk, Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. And this seems in accordance with R. Neither R. nor Junta give the following line to a new speaker.

813. ἕτερον MSS. editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards; but as all MSS. and editions have ἄτερον in the next line, Brunck was fully justified in giving ἄτερον here, and he is followed by all editions except Bekker.—τούτων MSS. vulgo. τούτο or τουτὶ Elmsley, Bothe, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.—τροπαλίδος R. F. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. τροπαλίδος I. F<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. Elmsley, Dindorf, recentiores.

819. φανῶ MSS. vulgo. Blaydes in his first edition altered this to φαίνω, referring to 912 infra, where however the MSS. are not consistent, and where indeed he himself prefers φανῶ. See also 914 infra. He is, however, followed here by Meineke and Van Leeuwen.

823. φαντάζομαι MSS. vulgo. Valckenauer suggested φαντάδδομαι, like γυμνάδδομαι in Lys. 82, a change only justifiable on the assumption that Aristophanes allowed his Megarian to speak nothing but the strictest Doric, an assumption which there seems no ground for making. The change is however approved by Dindorf in his notes, and is made by Blaydes, Bothe, Meineke, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. φαντάζομαι. ΔΙ. ἰπὸ τοῦ; MSS. vulgo. φαντάζομαι (or φαντάδδομαι) ἰπὸ του. ΔΙ. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Green, Blaydes. But the MS. reading is preferable. In Brunck's alteration the words ἰπὸ του add nothing to the sense.—ἀγορανόμοι Elms-

ley, recentiores, except Weise. ἀγορανόμοι R. F. P. P<sup>2</sup>. οἷδ' ἀγορανόμοι I. editions before Brunck, and in Aldus and most editions the two words are given to the Megarian, as if in answering the question *Who is it that denounces you?* he replied *These market-clerks.* Bentley proposed οἱ ἄγορανόμοι, which is really identical with Elmsley's reading. Brunck, finding in P<sup>1</sup>. ὁ ἀγορανόμοι, read ὁ ἄγορανόμοι, and so Invernizzi and Weise.

826. τῆ (or τή) MSS. editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi, Bekker, and Bothe afterwards. τί δὴ (as Wasps 251) Brunck, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe. Elmsley read τί δαι, as infra 912.

830. τὰ χοιρίδι' ἀπέδου MSS. vulgo. ἀπέδου τὰ χοιρία Elmsley, Bothe, Van Leeuwen.

832. πόλλ'. 'Ἄλλ' ἄμιν R. Elmsley, recentiores. πολλά γ'. 'Ἄλλὰ μὲν I. editions before Elmsley. πόλλ'. 'Ἄλλὰ μὴν F. The other MSS. have πολλά. 'Ἄλλὰ μὲν.

833. πολυπραγμοσύνη R. Dindorf, Blaydes, Meineke, Holden, Green, Merry, and Hall and Geldart. πολυπραγμονεῖς σύ γ' Van Leeuwen. πολυπραγμοσύνης, *the busyboddiness of me!* the other MSS. and editions. But this, as Paley (though he reads it) remarks, would require the article. Willemss proposes πολυπραγμοσύνη 'στίν' εἰς κεφαλὴν, and Herwerden πολυπραγμοσύνη (vocative) νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν τράποι' ἐμοί.

842. πημανεῖ τι (from a conjecture of L. Dindorf at Xen. Cyrop. viii. 7. 15) Dindorf, recentiores. πημανεῖ Suidas s.v. πημανεῖται MSS. editions before Dindorf. Elmsley observed "locum

sanum esse minime crediderim. Non male legeretur *πῆμανεῖ τις*." And this was adopted by Blaydes in his first edition, but in his second he rightly reads *πῆμανεῖ τι*, citing Soph. Oed. Col. 837 *εἴ τι πῆμαινεῖς ἐμέ*, Ajax 1314 *εἴ με πῆμανεῖς τι*, and other passages.

843. *ἐξομόρξεται* MSS. vulgo. *ἐναπομόρξεται* Suidas s.v., Elmsley, Bothe, Meineke.

849. *ἀποκεκαρμένος* Reisig, Blaydes, Holden, Merry. *ἀεὶ κεκαρμένος* MSS. vulgo, except that many of the old editions have *κεκαρμένον*. Bentley suggested *ἀνακεκαρμένος*; Elmsley *αὐ*, *κεκαρμένος*, which is approved by Dindorf and read by Weise, Meineke, and Green; Fritzsche (at Thesm. 846) *εὖ κεκαρμένος*, which is read by Mueller and Van Leeuwen; and Bergk *ἐγκεκαρμένος*. But *ἀποκεκαρμένος* is abundantly supported by the *σκάφιον ἀποκεκαρμένην* of Thesm. 838 and the *σκάφιον ἀποτετιλμένῳ* of Birds 806.

850. *ὁ περιπόνηρος* Bentley, Elmsley, recentiores, except that Bekker gives *οὐδ'* in brackets, and Bothe with a star. *οὐδ' ὁ περιπόνηρος* MSS. editions before Elmsley.

851. *ταχύς* MSS. vulgo. Bentley suggested *παχύς*.

863. *φυσεῖτε* R. *φυσήτε* P. P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo.

865. *προσέπτανθ'* R. P<sup>2</sup>. Invernizzi and all subsequent editors before Blaydes's second edition. *πρόσπεταν* P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. editions before Invernizzi. *προσέπτονθ'* Blaydes in his second edition, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. See Appendix to Birds 48.

866. *Χαιριδεῖς* MSS. editions before Brunck, and Bergk and Paley afterwards. *Χαιριδῆς ceteri*.

867. *νεὶ* F. Brunck, recentiores, except Bergk and Paley. *νεὶ* P. *νῆ* R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. editions before Brunck, and Bergk and Paley afterwards.

868. *Θεῖβαθε* (as supra 862 and infra 911), Elmsley, Holden, Merry, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *Θεῖβαθι* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. vulgo. *Θῆβαθι* I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>.

869. *τᾶνθεια* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *τᾶνθεα* R. F. P. P<sup>2</sup>. *καὶ τὰ ἄνθεα* (or *τᾶνθεα*) I. editions before Brunck. Hall and Geldart give *τᾶνθια*, erroneously supposing it to be R.'s reading.

870. *ἐγὼ φέρω* MSS. vulgo. *ὠὸ φέρω* Elmsley. *ὠὸν φέρω* Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

876, 877. *ὥσπερ εἰ . . . ἐλήλυθας*. This speech of Dicaeopolis is omitted by R., though commented upon by the Scholiast in the margin of that MS. It is found in all other MSS. and in all editions.

879. *πυκτίδας* R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe, who in his second edition reads *πυκτίδας*. *πυκτίδας* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. editions before Dindorf.

880. *ἐνύδριαι* Elmsley (*metri gratia*), Dindorf (in notes), Bothe, Weise, Blaydes, Meineke, Holden, recentiores. *ἐνύδρους* MSS. vulgo, except that Brunck and some others write *ἐνύδρος*. *ἐνύδρεις* Scaliger, in notes.—*ἐγγέλεις* MSS. vulgo; but Dindorf in his notes suggested *ἐγγέλειας*, and Blaydes, Meineke, and Van Leeuwen have *ἐγγέλιαις*.

882. *εἰ φέρεῖς*. The comma after *φέρεῖς* was inserted by Bothe.

884. *κῆπιχάριτται* R. Meineke, Holden, Paley, Merry, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. *κῆπιχάριττα* (with accent either on penult. or on antepenult.) P. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F. M<sup>2</sup>. vulgo.

κῆπιχαρίτως P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. κῆπιχαρίτεν Bothe in his first edition, and κῆπιχάρηται in his second. κῆπιχάρητε Bergk.

893. ἔκφερ' R. Green, Merry. ἴσφερ' the other MSS. and editions. But ἔκφερ' seems certainly right. "For why," says Mr. Green, and the question is repeated by Dr. Merry and Herwerden (V. A.), "should the eel be taken in when the brasier was to be brought out?" To which I may add that the order is given, as the speaker goes on to say, in order that he and the eel may never be separated, μηδὲ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.; but if the eel was to be carried *in*, while Dicaeopolis remains *without*, the order would itself cause the very separation which it was designed to prevent.

894. ἐντετευλιδαμένης MSS. vulgo. Blaydes in his first edition suggested (1) ἐντετευλιδαμένης, which is read by Meineke and Holden; or (2) ἐντετευλιωμένης, which is read by Mueller, Blaydes in his second edition, and Van Leeuwen.

895. πᾶ R. P. Elmsley, Bothe, Meineke, Mueller, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. πᾶ F. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. πεί Brunck, Bekker. R., as is very common, has the iota subscriptum on the line, and Invernizzi takes its reading to be παί, *O boy*, and so edits it.

898. ἰώγα MSS. (except that P. has ἰώγῃ) vulgo. Brunck introduced ἰώνγα, which is adopted by several editors.

899. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκείσ' R. Bekker. ἐνθένδ' ἐκείσ' (or ἐνθένδε κείσ') the other MSS. and editions.—ἄξεις; BO. ἰὼ P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Elmsley, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, recentiores, except Bothe, Green, and Paley, though for ἰὼ some write ἰὼν and Blaydes ἰώνγ'. R. and apparently

all the other MSS. have ἄξεις ἰὼν; making the Boeotian's speech begin with the following line, and so vulgo. Brunck discovered the present reading in P<sup>1</sup>. (a MS. of little value, see the Commentary on Eccl. 987) and described it as a "lectio haud invenusta," though he did not himself adopt it. But it is something more than a "haud invenusta" reading; it seems *necessary* that the Boeotian should express his acquiescence in the alternative proposal of Dicaeopolis. The Scholiast says γράφεται καὶ ἰὼ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγὼ καὶ δύο στιγμαὶ ἐν τῷ ἄξεις, εἶτα τὸ ἰὼ.

900. ἐν Ἀθάναϊς Bekker, Meineke, R. having ἐν Ἀθήναϊς. Ἀθάναϊς (without ἐν) the other MSS. and vulgo. Elmsley, thinking that ἐν was required and not being acquainted with R.'s reading, changed Ἀθάναϊς into Ἀθάνασ', and this (with full knowledge of R.'s reading) is followed by Bothe, Mueller, Holden, and Van Leeuwen. Ἀθάναϊς Bp. Blomfield (Mus. Crit. ii. 584), Blaydes.

905. σιὼ MSS. vulgo. θιὼ Blaydes, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, and Hall and Geldart.

911. Δεός R. M<sup>3</sup>. Elmsley (unaware that any MS. so read), Bekker, recentiores. Ζεός the other MSS. and editions.

912. ταῦτα. τί δαὶ κακὸν MSS. vulgo. ταῦτα. τί δὲ κακὸν Bentley, Bothe, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Green, Merry. ταυταγί. τί δαὶ (omitting κακὸν) Dindorf, Weise. τάδε. τί δαὶ κακὸν Blaydes. ταῦτα. τί δ' ἄδικον Kraus.

913. ἦρω (or ἦρω or ἦρω) R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck. But Brunck finding ἦρα in P., his best MS., and knowing that the Boeotians in some cases change ω into α, read ἦρα, and

has been followed by subsequent editors.

916. *πολεμίον γ'* R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. Invernizzi and most subsequent editors. *πολεμίον* (without *γ'*) I. P<sup>2</sup>. Suidas, s. v. *θρυαλλίς*, vulgo.—*θρυαλλίδας* MSS. vulgo. *θρυαλλίδα* Suidas, ubi supra, Elmsley, Dindorf, Weise, Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Green, and Merry.

917. *διὰ θρυαλλίδος* Bentley, Paley. *διὰ θρυαλλίδας* P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. I. M<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *θρυαλλίδας* (without *διὰ*) P. P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck suggested *τὰς θρυαλλίδας*, and Schutz *διὰ τί* (for *δῆτα*) *τὰς θρυαλλίδας*. But it is plain from the verse which follows that the word should be in the singular. Elmsley read *καὶ θρυαλλίδα*, which is followed by Dindorf, Weise, Holden, and Van Leeuwen. Blaydes *διὰ θρυαλλίδα*, which is followed by Bothe, Bergk, Meineke, Mueller, Green, and Merry. The line is omitted in R.

919. *οἶμοι τίνι τρόπῳ*; This is a conjecture of Elmsley adopted by Dindorf, Blaydes, Meineke, and all subsequent editors except Paley and Hall and Geldart. All other editions have NI. *οἶμαι*. ΔI. *τίνι τρόπῳ*. And that is supposed to be the reading of all the MSS. I do not know about the other MSS.; but it certainly is not the reading of R. which, though it places the *δύο σιγμαι* (our colon, the sign, in the middle of a line, of a new speaker) after *θρυαλλίς*; gives the remaining three words as one sentence *οἶμαι τίνι τρόπῳ*. The accent on *οἶμαι* and its junction with *τίνι τρόπῳ* seem strongly in favour of Elmsley's conjecture.

924. *αἴφνης*. See the Commentary. *αἴ νῆς* F. P<sup>2</sup>. *αἴ νῆες* R. I. M<sup>2</sup>. *αἴ νηῦς* P. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

*εὐθύς* Pierson (on Moeris, s. v. *νῆες*), Brunck, recentiores, except as herein-after mentioned. Bothe had *αἴ νηῦς* in his first edition, and *αἰνῶς* in his second. Fritzsche in note 29 to his essay on the second Thesmophoriazusae proposed a rearrangement of the line, *σελαγοῖντ' ἄν. ΔI. αἴ νῆς, ὧ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενε*, and this is adopted by Blaydes in his first (but not in his second) edition, Holden, and Green.

927. *ἐνδήσας φέρω* MSS. vulgo. But P<sup>1</sup>., an inveterate conjecturer, has *η* over the *ω* in *φέρω*, and *φέρη* is accordingly read by Brunck, Invernizzi, Weise, and Paley. But it is plain that the tying-up was to be done by Dicaeopolis. Elmsley proposed *ἐνδήσω φέρειν*, *pack him up for carriage*; and Dindorf *ἐνδήσω φέρων*, which is read by Merry and Blaydes. *ἐνδήσω σφόδρα* Van Leeuwen.

928. *φορούμενος* MSS. vulgo. But there is a doubt about the quantity of the second syllable of *καταγῆ*, and on the assumption that it is long here, as in 944 infra, *φορούμενος* is changed into *φερόμενος* by Brunck, Elmsley, Bekker, and Paley. The line is omitted by Dindorf, Meineke, Holden, and Van Leeuwen, and bracketed by Bothe, Bergk, Mueller, and Green.

931. *ἄν μὴ φέρων κατάξῃ* MSS. vulgo. The line is quoted by Moeris, s. v. *ἐμπολή*, and there a few MSS. have *μὴ καὶ φέρων κατάξει*, which Elmsley introduces into the text here; and so Blaydes in his second edition.

944. *καταγείη* MSS. vulgo. But on the assumption that the second syllable is short here, as in 928 supra, Cobet proposed *κατεαγοίη*, which Meineke approved, but only Hall and Geldart



have introduced into the text: and indeed an anapaest is inadmissible in this little system. Mueller reads *κατα-είας*, and so Van Leeuwen.

945. *κρέματο* R. P. P.<sup>2</sup>. F. Invernizzi, recentiores. *κρέματό γε* P.<sup>1</sup>. editions before Invernizzi.

947. *γέ τοι θερίδδεν* MSS. vulgo. Blaydes changed *γε* into *γα*, and is followed by Hall and Geldart and Van Leeuwen. Brunck changed *θερίδδεν* into *θερίδδεν*, and is followed by all subsequent editors except Bergk, Paley, and Hall and Geldart. For *τοι θερίδδεν* Blaydes reads *συνθερίδδεν*.

949. *συνθέριξε* MSS. vulgo. *σὺ θέριξε* Meineke, but in his note (having discovered, I imagine, that in this system the acatalectic lines invariably end with a long syllable) he prefers *νῦν θέριξε*, which is read by Mueller and Holden. The MSS. and (except as hereinafter mentioned) the editions have *συνθέριξε καὶ τοῦτον λαβών*, which makes this stanza longer by a dipody than the corresponding stanza in the strophe. Some editors mark a lacuna in the strophe, but there can be little doubt that all the six stanzas are in the same metre. I have followed Bergk and Merry in omitting *τοῦτον λαβών*. Elmsley, Bothe, Dindorf, and Green omit or bracket *συνθέριξε*.

950. *πρόσβαλλ'* MSS. (except F.<sup>1</sup>), Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise and Bergk. *πρόσβαλλ'* F.<sup>1</sup>. *πρόσβαλλ'* all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise and Bergk afterwards.—*ἔπου* MSS. editions (except Blaydes) before Bergk; and Van Leeuwen afterwards. *ἔποι* Fritzsche, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores, except Van Leeuwen.

954. *ἰών* R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise and Blaydes. *ὦ* P. P.<sup>2</sup>. F. I. M.<sup>3</sup>. all editions before Brunck. P.<sup>1</sup>. and F.<sup>1</sup>. have neither *ἰών* nor *ὦ*, and commence the line with *ἴθι δῆ*, obviously one of P.<sup>1</sup>'s conjectures, and so (with *δῆ* converted into *δῆθ'*) Brunck and Weise. Blaydes makes five conjectures, one of which, *λαβών* for *ἰών*, he inserts in his text; but in his Addenda he reverts to Brunck's reading with *ἴθι νῦν* for *ἴθι δῆθ'*.

955. *κατοίσεις* MSS. vulgo. The *κατὰ* is used not, as Mueller supposes, because "Thebae in depressa regione sitae sint," but to convey the idea of *home* as in *κάτειμι, κατέρχομαι, κατάγω*, and many other compounds. *μάλ' οἴσεις* Blaydes in both editions; and in his second he also adopts Bergk's very probable conjecture of *εὐλαβουμένως* for *εὐλαβούμενος*.

959. *τίς ἔστι*; MSS. vulgo. *τί ἔστι*; Elmsley, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe and Hall and Geldart. But cf. infra 1018, 1048.

960. *ἐκέλευε* Elmsley, Blaydes, Meineke, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *ἐκέλευσε* MSS. vulgo. But all MSS. (except I.) and editions have *ἐκέλευε* in the same speech two lines below.—*ταύτης τῆς δραχμῆς* all MSS. (except R.) and all editions before Dindorf. *ταυτησὶ τῆς δραχμῆς* R. *ταυτησὶ δραχμῆς* Dindorf, recentiores. Bekker, reading *ταύτης τῆς*, gave *ταυτησὶ* as R.'s reading, meaning for *ταύτης*, but it was supposed that he meant it for *ταύτης τῆς*, and consequently Dindorf and subsequent editors suppose themselves to be following R.'s reading, which they are not. All MSS. have the *τῆς*.

965. *τρεις κατασκίους λόφους* all printed

editions except Hall and Geldart. *τρεις κατασκίους λόφοις* R. P. *τρισι κατασκίους λόφοις* the other MSS., whence Blaydes thought of *τρισι κατάσκιος λόφοις*, but saw that the *τρεις κατασκίους λόφοις* | *σειει* of the Septem 379 and the *τοὺς λόφοις σειων* of Peace 1178 formed an insuperable objection to the adoption of this conjecture. It is however adopted by Hall and Geldart. But line 967 makes it abundantly clear that *κραδαίων* governs *τοὺς λόφοις*.

967. *ἐπι ταρίχει* Reiske, Dobree, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores. *ἐπι ταρίχη* MSS. vulgo. I have, though with some hesitation, followed Reiske and Dobree because *ἐπι ταρίχει* is such a very common phrase; and the plural *ταρίχη* is almost unknown. The words *τοὺς λόφοις κραδανέτω* seem to be introduced, as Dobree observed, *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.

970. *μικλῶν* MSS. (except R.) vulgo. *κικλῶν* R. Dindorf, who however repents in his notes.

971. *εἶδες ὦ, εἶδες ὦ* MSS. vulgo. Suidas, quoting the lines s. v. *ἀνθηρά*, has *εἶδες ὦ* once only, and this is followed by Elmsley and Van Leeuwen. But it is most unlikely that the expression should have been duplicated by a transcriber.

973. *οἱ ἔχει σπεισάμενος* P. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, Elmsley, Bekker, recentiores. *σπεισάμενος οἱ ἔχει* R. Invernizzi. *σπεισάμενος* (without *οἱ ἔχει*) P<sup>2</sup>. I. *σπεισάμενον* (without *οἱ ἔχει*) editions before Brunck, and Bothe afterwards. *οἶον ἔχει σπεισάμενος* Suidas, s. v. *ἀνθηρά*.

981. *παροίνος ἀνήρ* MSS. vulgo. Elmsley suggested, but did not read, *παροινικός*, and this is read by Blaydes,

Meineke, Holden, and Hall and Geldart. Suidas, s. v. *πάροιθος*, in a quotation full of errors, has *πάροιθος ἀνήρ*, which is converted by Cobet into *πάροιθος ἀνήρ*, and this, though contrary to the metre, is brought into the text by Van Leeuwen. See the Commentary on 971.

983. *κάνετραπε* Elmsley, Bothe, Dindorf, Blaydes, Meineke, recentiores. *κάνετραπε* MSS. vulgo.

986. *μᾶλλον ἔτι* Hermann, Dindorf, Bergk, Mueller, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *μᾶλλον ἐν* MSS. vulgo; contra metrum.

988. *εἶδες ὡς ἐπτέρα*. This line, composed of two cretics, is omitted in all the MSS. and in all the editions before Blaydes's second. In R. the line following 987 begins *ταί τ'*, and this with a lacuna marked before it is read by Dindorf and subsequent editors (except Bothe's second) before Blaydes's second. So F. and M<sup>2</sup>. except that they have *ταί δ'*. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. begin it with *τάδ'* and so or *τᾶδ'* by all editions before Bergler who writes *τὰ μὲν*. P. reads *τᾶδ'*, and *τᾶδ'* is read by Brunck, Elmsley, Bothe, and Bekker; but in his second edition Bothe has *τοῖς*, while Invernizzi has *καί τ'*, supposing that to be R.'s reading. But a corrector of R. had written in the margin before *ταί* the letters *ἐπτέρ* (there being no room for the *ω*), and the full *ἐπτέρωται* is given in the Scholium. The letters *ἐπτέρ* are very strong and dark, and no one could help noticing them; but being written in the margin they were apparently regarded by Bekker as part of the Scholium, and he did not mention them as belonging to the text. It is however clear that they are intended to form

one word with the *ται*, and since Herwerden called attention to them there has been no doubt that the *ται* is a remnant of *ἐπτέρωται*, which is accordingly adopted by Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. There is still one missing cretic, which I have ventured to supply by the words *εἶδες ὡς*. Before *ἐπτέρωται* had been discovered, Schutz had written *οὐκ ἂν οὐτός γ' ἴοι τῷδ'*, Bergk proposed *εἶδες ὦ τόνδ'*; *ἐπείγει*, Walsh *εἶδεν' οὖν, ὡς ἐπήρται*, Hoffman *ἀλλ' ὀδ' οὖν πᾶς ἀνείται*, and Meineke *οὔτοι δ' ἐπτόρται*. Blaydes and Hall and Geldart adopt Meineke's *οὔτοι δ'* with *ἐπτέρωται*. Van Leeuwen, who had followed Elmsley's mistake in the strophe, here too brings down *ἐπτέρωται* into the following line, a course which the unanimous testimony of the MSS. shows to be wrong. The line beginning *τοῦ βίου* was also originally omitted in R., but is restored in its right place by another hand. In that line *τάδε* (not found in any MS.) was inserted by Brunck for metrical reasons and is universally adopted.

993. *ἡ πάνυ* MSS. vulgo. *ἡ πάνυ* Kuster, Elmsley, Merry, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

994. *προσβαλεῖν* MSS. vulgo. In the edition called "Scaliger's" it is mentioned that somebody had proposed *προσλαβεῖν*, a proposal subsequently repeated by Reiske.

997. *ἔρχον* I. and all printed editions except as hereinafter mentioned. *κλάδον* the other MSS. *ἔσχον* Brunck to Weise, and Holden. *ἔζον* Bergk.

998. *ἐλάδας* (or *ἐλαίδας*) *ἄπαν ἐν κύκλω* R. F. M<sup>3</sup>. Bekker, Weise, Bergk, recentiores. *ἄπαν ἐλαίδας* (or *ἐλάδας*) *ἐν κύκλω*

editions before Bothe. *ἄπαν ἐλάδας κύκλω* P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. Bentley, Bothe, Blaydes. But Bentley was merely bringing the then accepted reading into harmony with the metre and was not aware of R.'s reading. Meineke in the Berlin "Hermes" for 1866 (p. 422) would substitute *ἀπαλὰς* for *ἄπαν ἐν*, relying on the language of the fourth Country Epistle of Aelian, *Ἀνθεμίων Δράκητι*, which is little more than a copy of the present passage. "What have you been doing?" says the letter-writer to his friend, "what work of utility have you been performing? ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμπελίδος ἔρχον ἐλάδας, εἶτα μωσχίδια σικίδων παραφνεύσας ἀπαλὰ, ἐν κύκλω περὶ τὸ σῦλιον κατέπηξα ἐλάδας. Then I had supper, pea-soup and three bumpers of wine, and fell asleep with pleasure."

1021. *κἂν πέντ' ἔτη* MSS. vulgo. The Scholiast says *ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς πέντε ἔτη*. Scaliger proposed *κἂς πέντ' ἔτη*, and Elmsley reads *κεῖς πέντ' ἔτη*. Bentley proposes *κἂν πεντέτεῖς*. Cf. supra 188.

1032. *τοῦ Πιττάλου* R. M<sup>3</sup>. and (as corrected) F. Bentley, Bergk, Paley. *τοῖς Πιττάλου* P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. and (originally) F. vulgo.

1035. *ποι* P. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *πον* R. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Invernizzi, Dindorf (in notes), Bergk, Paley.

1037. *ἐνηύρηκεν*. This reading is attributed to Dobree (I do not know where he suggested it) and is adopted by Dindorf, Blaydes, Bergk, and all subsequent editors, except Hall and Geldart; a few of them however, contrary to the usage of the best MSS., writing it *ἐνηύρηκεν*. Dobree is said to have failed to find another example of

this compound, but the preposition *ἐν* is certainly required, and the Oxford Lexicographers refer to Josephus, Jewish War v. 13. 5. There it is said that some of the Jews who deserted to Titus had swallowed some gold pieces; and it was rumoured that all of them had done so. And therefore the barbarians in the Roman Camp, Syrians and Arabians, *τοὺς ἰκέτας ἀνατέμνοντες ἡρέωναν τὰς γαστέρας* to find gold; *ὀλίγοις δ' ἐνευρίσκετο*. R. has *ἀνεύρηκε* and so (with an occasional *ἀνή-* as before) Portus, Scaliger, Faber, Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. *ἀνεύρηκέ* the other MSS. and editions.

1048. *Δικαίόπολι* (once) *τίς οὔτοσί;* (twice) MSS. vulgo. *Δικαίόπολι* (twice) *τίς οὔτοσί;* (once) Dobree, Dindorf (in notes), Blaydes, Meineke, Holden, Van Leeuwen. The only reason for this strange inversion of the MS. reading is given by Dindorf, who says, "Parum apte illud *τίς οὔτοσί* repetit Dicaeopolis, cuius non multum refert cognoscere quis advenerit." But the repetition is intended as a sign, not of curiosity, but of impatience.

1055. *μυρίων* R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Hall and Geldart. *χιλίων* (or *χιλιών*) the other MSS. and editions.

1062. *ἄξια* MSS. vulgo. *αἰρία*, a suggestion of Blaydes in his first edition, is adopted by Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Merry, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. But though *αἰρία* makes the sense plainer, it also makes the line more prosaic. *οὐκ ἄξια τοῦ πολέμου* means *not up to the mark of the war, not sufficient for the war*: as when Demosthenes (*Περὶ συμμοριῶν* 33) says *οὐκ ἄξια τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα*. Here, there-

fore, as supra 633, I prefer to abide by the reading of the MSS.

1064. *ὡς ποιεῖτε τοῦτο*; R. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Dindorf, Weise, Mueller, Paley, Hall and Geldart. *ὡς ποιεῖται τοῦτο*; P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. I. M<sup>3</sup>. vulgo. Elmsley proposed, but did not read, *ὡς ποιείσθω τοῦτο*; Blaydes in his first edition read *ὡς ποιῆσαι τοῦτο*, removing the note of interrogation to the end of the line, but in his second edition reverts to *ποιεῖται*. Van Leeuwen reads *ὡς ποιητέ ἐστὶ*, placing the note of interrogation after *νύμφη*. The line is omitted by Meineke.

1071. ΚΗΡΥΞ. Before Elmsley the speaker was called *ἄγγελος*, but Elmsley observing that in 1083 Lamachus himself calls him *ὁ κῆρυξ*, prefixed that name to the speech; and he is very generally, though not quite universally, followed. R. gives no name, but merely notifies a fresh speaker by a stroke.

1078, 1079. *ὠ στρατηγοὶ . . . ἐορτάσαι*. Both these lines are given to Lamachus by Elmsley, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk, and subsequent editors except Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. Before Elmsley, and by Bekker afterwards, the first is given to Lamachus and the second to Dicaeopolis. Blaydes and Van Leeuwen reverse this, giving the first to Dicaeopolis and the second to Lamachus, while Bothe gives both to Dicaeopolis. R. has a stroke before each line, as if each was spoken by a different speaker.

1082. *Γηρυνὴ τετραπύλω* MSS. vulgo. *Γηρυνὴ τετράπυλι* Van Leeuwen.

1093. *τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου, καλαί* MSS. vulgo. Indeed it may be said that the line is so read in every edition, for though Blaydes in his first edition gave τὸ "φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι" ἄδεται, he reverts in

his second to the reading of the MSS. But several ingenious conjectures have been made for the alteration of the line. Velsen proposed, and Meineke in his V. A. proposed (independently, it would seem), to read τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι' οὐ καλά; translating *saltatrices, scolii cantus; nonne haec pulcra sunt?* Blaydes gives a great number of guesses, such as ὄρχηστρίδες τ' ὁ φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι' ὡς καλαί. Professor Tyrrell in a note to his translation proposes ὄρχηστρίδες ἐς τὸ "φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι' οὐ" καλαί, *dancing-girls famous for the Harmodius song*. Mr. R. T. Elliott in the Journal of Philology for 1907 proposes to read τὰ (or τὸ) φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι' οὐκ ἴδαι, *there are waiting for you dancing-girls and Dearest Harmodius, not wanderings* (as for Lamachus); and two lines below would replace μεγάλην by μετ' ἄλην.

1095. μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν MSS. vulgo. Blaydes suggested τὴν μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου, but reads μεγάλην ἐπιγράφαι. The unusual position of the τὴν is probably due to the words τὴν Γοργόνα being introduced παρὰ προσδοκίαν.

1096. καὶ δειπνὸν τις ἐνσκευάζετω MSS. vulgo. παῖ, δειπνὸν τε συσκευάζε μοι Blaydes. His reason for the alteration is twofold: (1) He thinks it necessary to show to whom Dicaeopolis is speaking, quoting Reiske's question "Ad quemnam pertinet σύγκλειε?" But on the stage the look and gesture of Dicaeopolis would show this plainly enough. (2) He considers συσκευάζειν and not ἐνσκευάζειν to be the proper word for the occasion, citing Wasps 1251. But the two cases are totally different. There the articles have to be brought together. Here they are

already brought together, and have only to be put into the supper-chest. Herwerden would read σὺ κλά' ἐμοὶ δειπνὸν τις εὖ σκευάζετω.

1097. ΛΑ. παῖ, παῖ. This line is omitted in R., doubtless because the next line commences with the same words. It is found in all the printed editions.

1102. σὺ δημοῦ θρίον Elmsley, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores, except Paley, whose note however shows that he intended to read it. σὺ δὴ παῖ θρίον (or θρίον) R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, and (in their text) Dindorf and Paley. δὲ δὴ σὺ παῖ θρίον (or θρίον) I. editions before Brunck, which Bentley and Kuster proposed to amend by omitting σὺ. δὴ σὺ παῖ θρίον P<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. Elmsley's admirable conjecture is in need of no confirmation; but it is to some extent confirmed by the Scholium cited in the Commentary. And cf. Knights 954.

1111, 1112. ἀλλ' ἦ, *Can it be that* (see Wasps 8, and the note there) Hartung, Bergk, Mueller, Paley, Merry, Van Leeuwen. I ought to have written ἀλλ' ἦ in Thesm. 97. ἀλλ' ἦ vulgo, and apparently the MSS. generally, except that P. is said to have ἦ in the first line and ἦ in the second. I am not sure how R. means to accent the word.

1123. καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς MSS. vulgo. "Hotibius" proposed to read καὶ τοὺς ἄμηντας κριβανίτας, Herwerden παῖ, τῆς σιπύης, and Van Leeuwen ἐκ τῆς σιπύης.

1125. τυρόνωτον MSS. vulgo. Plutarch in his "Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander," no doubt by a slip of memory, has γυρόνωτον, which is ap-

proved by Kuster and Meineke, and introduced into the text by Holden. Thus a witticism is changed into a banality.

1128. *τοῦλαιον. ἐν τῷ χαλκίῳ* Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe. Before Dindorf there was a punctuation after the *χαλκίῳ* but not after *τοῦλαιον*. Pollux x. 92 quoting the line gives *τοῦλαιον ἐκ τοῦ χαλκίου*, and this is adopted by Elmsley and Bothe.

1130. *ἐνδηλος γέρων* R. Bekker, Meineke, Holden, Merry, and Hall and Geldart. *εὐδηλος γέρων* the other MSS. and editions.

1131. *κελεύων* R. F. F<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. Bentley, Reiske, Brunck, recentiores. *κελεύω* P. P<sup>2</sup>. I. editions before Brunck.

1137. *τὸ δειπνον* MSS. vulgo. Schutz conjectured *τὸ δέπας νυν*; and Herwerden *τὸν δίνον*, which Van Leeuwen reads.

1141. *νίφει κ.τ.λ.* This line is omitted by R., I suppose, because the transcriber could not decipher the MS. he was copying, for a space is left for it, and the Scholium by the side (*ἀντὶ τοῦ ψυχρά· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξιόντες ἐπετηροῦντο τὰς διοσημίας*) is clearly a comment on it. It appears in all the other MSS. and editions. Some recent editors, feeling it a hardship that Lamachus should be allotted two lines and Dicaeopolis only one, endeavour to redress the grievance by inventing another line for the latter; inserting after the first line of Lamachus's speech ΔΙ. *τὸ δειπνον αἴρου καὶ βάδιζ', ὦ παῖ, λαβῶν*: and in Dicaeopolis's final speech substituting for *αἴρου τὸ δειπνον* the words *νίφει* (or *σίξει* or *κνισᾶ*) *βαβαιάξ*.

1145. *ρίγων καὶ* R. F. F<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. Invernizzi,

recentiores, except Weise. *ρίγουν καὶ* P. Brunck, Weise. *ρίγωντι* I. editions before Brunck. *ρίουγγων καὶ* P<sup>2</sup>.

1149. *ἀνατριβομένῳ τε* MSS. vulgo. For *τε* Reiske suggested *γε*, which is adopted by Elmsley and others. Various alterations have been suggested in this little system to adjust the proceedings of the two antagonists in a more suitable manner. Brunck changes this line into *σοὶ δ' ἀνατρίβειν γε τὸ δέμα*, which is simple and probable enough. Others would bring down line 1145 *σοὶ δὲ ῥίγων κ.τ.λ.* to precede the present line, changing *τῷ δὲ* in line 1146 to *χῶδε* (Bothe) or *κᾶτα* (Blaydes). Others would make more extensive alterations.

1151. *ξυγγραφέα*. I have substituted this for *τὸν ξυγγραφήν*, which is read by the MSS. and vulgo. I take the article to be omitted before both *ξυγγραφήν* and *ποιητὴν* by way of contempt. It is not "Antimachus the prose writer, the poet," but "Antimachus a prose writer and a poet forsooth." Elmsley reads *τὸν μέλεον ἔων μελέων ποιητὴν*, which is adopted by Weise, Blaydes, Mueller, Holden, and Merry. This is very neat, and is to some extent supported by the lines of Antiphanes which Elmsley quotes from Athenaeus xiv. 50, but departs too far from the MS. reading. For *τὸν ξυγγραφήν* Meineke conjectures *τὸν ξυρίαν*, Professor Tyrrell *τὸν ζαγραφήν*, and Herwerden *συρραφέα*. Hall and Geldart propose *τὸν ψακάδος ξυγγραφέα*, *τὸν μελέων ποιητὴν*, "ut ψακάδος pro ψηφίσματος sit παρ' ὑπόνοιαν." Bothe and Nauck omit *τὸν ξυγγραφήν* in the strophe, and Bothe *αὐτῷ κακὸν*, and Nauck *νυκτερινὸν* in the antistrophe.—

τῶν μελέων ποιητῆν R. I. Invernizzi, Elmsley (and those who followed him in reading τὸν μέλεον), Bekker, and Meineke. τὸν μελέων ποιητῆν P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. Grynæus, Brunck, and (save as aforesaid) recentiores. τὸν μελέων τὸν ποιητῆν editions before Portus, and Kuster afterwards. τῶν μελέων τὸν ποιητῆν Portus, Scaliger, Faber, Bergler.

1155. ἀπέκλεισε δειπνῶν (so accented) R. ἀπέκλεισε δειπνῶν Bothe. ἀπέκλεισε δειπνῶν Invernizzi, Paley. ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον I. vulgo. And so (with ἀπέλυσεν) the other MSS. ἀπέκλεισ' ἄδειπνον Elmsley, Bothe, Bekker, and Mueller.

1158. παράλος MSS. vulgo. παρ' ἄλως Fr. Thiersch, Mueller, Holden. ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ R. I. vulgo. And so P. P<sup>2</sup>. except that they omit the iota subscript, as do several of the older editions, by a mere oversight. ἐπὶ τραπέζης F. F<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. Elmsley, Dindorf, Meineke, Green.—κειμένη MSS. vulgo. κειμένη Fr. Thiersch, Mueller, Holden, Merry. This they fortunately translate, otherwise it would be hard to understand. “τραπέζῃ κειμένη est mensa extensa, ad dapes recipiendas proposita.”—Mueller. It is not easy to see how the words can have that meaning, or how that meaning is suitable here. The word required is obviously κειμένη, which all the MSS. give us. And indeed this little apologue affords a striking example of the nonsense into which learned men are accustomed to convert the wit and poetry of Aristophanes. The place of honour is, as usual, due to Hamaker and Meineke. Hamaker begins by proposing to read τευθίδα κατεδόμενον for τευθίδος δεόμενον. Even Meineke, usually his most faithful

follower, is obliged to admit that this is an “inanis lusus.” But he makes amends for this by saying “Optime de his meritis est Hamakerus” in proposing λιπαρά τ' for παράλος and εἰσέλθοι for ὀκέλλοι. On the latter change he is enthusiastic: “ΕΙΣΕΛΘΟΙ et ΟΚΕΛΛΟΙ sibi sunt simillima,” he says. I see no similarity myself; and at all events there is this difference between them, that ὀκέλλοι is the very word required, and εἰσέλθοι makes no sense at all. If we add to these Fr. Thiersch's κειμένη we shall see that the whole of the poet's metaphor, by which the cuttle on its table sails like a ship across the room to Antimachus, has absolutely disappeared.

1165. βαδίζων MSS. vulgo. Bentley observed “Forte βαδίζοι sed vide Schol.” Elmsley too suggested βαδίζοι' κᾶτα, but was similarly restrained by the Scholium. See the Commentary. Van Leeuwen introduces βαδίζοι κᾶτα into the text.

1166. κατάξειε MSS. vulgo. Dindorf conjectured πατάξειε, which is adopted by Meineke, Mueller, and Holden; and by Blaydes in his first, but not in his second, edition.

1167. τὴν κεφαλὴν R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Hall and Geldart. τῆς κεφαλῆς P. P<sup>2</sup>. I. vulgo.

1168. λαβεῖν R. F. F<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. Invernizzi, recentiores. βαλεῖν P. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Invernizzi.

1170. πέλεθον P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. σπέλεθον R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. Bekker, Weise. And doubtless Aristophanes would have so written had the metre permitted. See Appendix at Eccl. 595.

1172. τὸν μάρμαρον. Hermann proposed, and Meineke reads, τὸν βόρβορον.

1175. χυτριδίῳ R. Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. χυτρίῳ the other MSS. and all editions before Brunck.

1177. ἔρι' οἰσπηρὰ Portus, recentiores. And this, if it needs confirmation, is confirmed by Pollux vii. 28. ἔργ' οἰσπηρὰ MSS. editions before Portus. R. omits the line, leaving the usual blank space, which however has not been filled up. But R.'s scholia comment upon the line, which is found in all other MSS. and in all editions.

1181. ἐξήγειρεν (ἐξέγειρεν R.) MSS. vulgo. The only editor who has altered the text is Van Leeuwen, who inserts his own conjecture ἐξέσεισεν. But Brunck conjectured ἐξήραξεν, Dobree ἐξήλειψεν or ἐξέτριψεν, Seager ἐξήρειξεν, and Blaydes ἐξέθραυσεν. Several editors bracket the line, and Blaydes, followed by Meineke, would omit all the eight lines from καὶ Γοργόν' to κατασπέρχων δορί. This is on account of the obvious inconsistencies which, however, I think are intentional.

1183. ἐξηύδα μέλος MSS. vulgo. ἐξηύδησ' ἔπος Blaydes. For πεσὸν at the end of the preceding line Bergk suggests, and Van Leeuwen reads, λιπών. But λιπών is not the word required. It should be something equivalent to ἰδών.

1185. φάος τοῦράμιον Arthur Palmer: see the Commentary. φάος τοῦμόν R. φάος γε τοῦμόν the other MSS. and vulgo. φάος τόδ' (with οὐδὲν added after οὐκέτ') Nauck, Cobet, Holden, Merry, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. And so, with τοῦτ' for τόδ', Meineke and Mueller.

1187. δραπέταις, ληστὰς MSS. (except R.) vulgo. δραπέταις λησταῖς R. Elmsley, Bekker. δραπέτης ληστής Schutz, Blaydes; a rather attractive reading, since it makes Lamachus the recipient, instead of the giver, of the spear-thrust, in accordance with his own statement just below. But it seems impossible to identify the "runaways" with the "raiders."

1190. ἀτταταί, ἀτταταί here and 1198 infra, R. Invernizzi, Dindorf, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores. ἀτταπαττατὰ here and ἀτταλαττατὰ 1198, the other MSS. (except M<sup>3</sup>, which has ἀτταπαττατὰ in both places), all editions before Invernizzi, and Weise afterwards. And Elmsley, Bothe, and Bekker do not wholly adopt R.'s reading.

1191. τάδε γε P. P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. τάδε (without γε) R. P<sup>2</sup>. Dindorf, Green.

1195. ἐκείνο δ' οὖν I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise and Hall and Geldart afterwards. The οὖν is omitted in the other MSS. and editions. —αἰακτὸν ἂν γένοιτο Porson (omitting the οἰμωκτὸν of the MSS. as a mere gloss), Dindorf, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores. But Bergk, arranging the lines antistrophically, was the first to suggest that the μοι which in the MSS. and editions followed γένοιτο should be omitted, and this suggestion is adopted by Meineke, Mueller, Holden, Merry, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. αἰακτὸν ἂν οἰμωκτὸν ἂν γένοιτό μοι I. all editions before Brunck. Brunck added a γ' to the first ἂν, and so Weise αἰακτὸν οἰμωκτὸν ἂν γένοιτό μοι R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. M<sup>3</sup>. Invernizzi, Elmsley, Bothe, and Bekker. αἰακτὸν οἰμωκτὸν γένοιτ' ἂν μοι P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>.



1196. εἴ μ' ἴδοι F<sup>1</sup>. Elmsley, Bothe in his first edition, Blaydes, Meineke, Merry, and Hall and Geldart. ἄν μ' ἴδοι R. Bekker, Dindorf, Bothe in his second edition, and Green. ἄν εἴ μ' ἴδοι F. Bergk, Mueller, Holden. γὰρ εἴ μ' ἴδοι I. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Elmsley; and Weise afterwards. γὰρ ἄν μ' ἴδοι Paley. εἰ νῦν μ' ἴδοι Van Leeuwen. The loss of the line in the antistrophe which corresponds to this makes it impossible to ascertain the true reading. It was probably, however, an iambic senarius.

1197. κἄτ' ἐγχανοί F<sup>1</sup>. Elmsley, Bothe, Blaydes, Bergk, recentiores. κατεγγάνοι F. κατεγγάνοι γε I. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Elmsley; and Weise afterwards. κἄτ' ἐγχανεῖται R. Bekker, Dindorf, Green.—ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαισι R. F. F<sup>1</sup>. Elmsley, recentiores, except Weise. ταῖς ἐμαῖσι τύχαις I. ταῖς ἐμαῖσιν ἄν τύχαις P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. editions before Elmsley; and Weise afterwards.

1201. κάπιμανδαλωτὸν R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. Elmsley, recentiores, except as herein-after mentioned. κάπιμανδαλωτὸν ἄν. editions before Brunck. κάπιμανδαλωτὸν I. Bentley suggested καὶ τὸ μανδαλωτὸν αὐ. And Brunck and Weise read κάπιμανδαλωτὸν αὐ, while Elmsley in his note preferred καὶ τὸ μανδαλωτὸν (without αὐ); and this is adopted by Blaydes and Meineke. On the other hand Mueller and Van Leeuwen read τὸ μανδαλωτὸν without either καὶ or αὐ. But there seems no reason for deserting the unanimous testimony of the MSS. in favour of ἐπιμανδαλωτὸν. After this line a line has dropped out, answering to the Δικαίηπολις εἴ μ' ἴδοι τετρωμένον of the strophe, which, as it came imme-

diately before the triumphant *For I was the first to drain the Fitcher*, was probably a demand on his attendants for further tokens of affection. Bergk having made, by the insertion of ἄν before εἰ, an iambic senarius of the line in the strophe, and finding two lines below another iambic senarius without a partner, proposed to transpose lines 1202 and 1203, making Dicaeopolis's speech end with the lines ᾧ συμφορὰ τάλαινα πῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν. τὸν γὰρ χθα κ.τ.λ. And this is followed by Mueller, Holden, and Merry, but seems quite out of character.

1206. Λαμαχίππιον MSS. vulgo, except that R. has Λαμαχιππίδιον. Meineke proposed Λαμαχίσκιον, which Van Leeuwen brings into the text. It has been suggested, and is very probable, that this line was originally preceded by an iambic senarius, making this speech of Dicaeopolis balance that of Lamachus.

1207, 1208. στυγερὸς . . . δάκνει. These lines are arranged in the text as in the MSS. and vulgo. Bergk proposed to read ΛΑΜ. στυγερὸς ἐγώ. ΔΙ. τί με σὺ κνεῖς; ΛΑΜ. μοιγερός ἐγώ. ΔΙ. τί με σὺ δάκνεις; And this change is made by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Paley and Van Leeuwen; but seems destructive of the dramatic character of the dialogue, which consists of remarks by Lamachus, burlesqued by Dicaeopolis. For under Bergk's arrangement Dicaeopolis "haec ad meretrices osculis et morsiunculis os eius vellitantes dicit" (Blaydes). This seems absurd enough; but Van Leeuwen's explanation is even more mirth-inspiring, viz. that Lamachus is addressing

"unum e pedissequis. Dilectissimi ducis vulnera osculatur pedissequus dolore abreptus." The true meaning of the passage was long ago pointed out by Elmsley; "Dicaeopolis Lamachum osculatur qui eum indignabundus remordet."

1210. τῆς ξυμβολῆς Bothe. R. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. M<sup>3</sup>. have ἐν μάχῃ between these two words, and so Brunck to Bekker inclusive, and Weise. P<sup>1</sup>. I. F<sup>1</sup>. have ἐν μάχῃ νῦν (doubtless one of P<sup>1</sup>'s futile conjectures) and so all editions before Brunck. Bothe ejected the words ἐν μάχῃ νῦν as an obvious gloss, an alteration approved by Fritzsche and Enger, and one which seems to me plainly right. Dindorf went further and ejected the τῆς also, an alteration followed by Blaydes, Bergk, and all subsequent editors (save that Bergk and Paley merely put ἐν μάχῃ in brackets), but which seems to me plainly wrong. For the article is almost (not quite) always found in ejaculations of this kind; τῶν τιθῶν 1199 supra, τῆς λεπτότητος τῶν φρενῶν Clouds 153, τοῦ μαντεύματος Wasps 161, &c.; and is here required by the metre.

1211. σ' ἔπραττεν. The MSS. have ἐπράττετο, and so vulgo, but this makes the line a syllable too long. Bothe therefore wrote ἐπράττε', taking the last letter as elided before the ἰὼ of the following line; but this is not permissible. Bergk proposed σ' ἔπραττεν, which is read by Mueller and Holden.

1213. τήμερον Παιώνια P. νῦν γε σήμερον Παιώνια R. Cf. Eccl. 716 and the Appendix there. νῦν γε τήμερον Παιώνια Invernizzi, Bekker, Blaydes. νῦν τήμερον Παιώνια

P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. νῦν Παιώνια Bothe. The words νῦν (or νῦνι) and τήμερον can hardly stand together, and I have therefore adopted P<sup>1</sup>'s reading, inserting in the preceding line an ἰὼ before the second Παιών; so that the two lines become symmetrical.

1221. σκοτοβινῶ R. F. P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, recentiores. σκοτοδινῶ (as two lines above) I. editions before Brunck. The line is omitted in P. and P<sup>1</sup>.

1222. ἐς τοῦ Πιττάλου R. Bentley, Invernizzi, recentiores, except Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. Cf. supra 1032. εἰς (or ἐς) τὸν Πιττάλου P. I. M<sup>3</sup>. editions before Invernizzi. εἰς (or ἐς) τὸν Πίτταλον F. P<sup>2</sup>. Elmsley said "Erunt qui malint ὡς τοὺς Πιττάλου," and Blaydes so reads. In Wasps 1432 we have ἐς τὰ Πιττάλου, which Van Leeuwen introduces here.

1224. με φέρετε R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. Hall and Geldart. μ' ἐκφέρετε P<sup>2</sup>. all printed editions except Hall and Geldart. It is marvellous that Hall and Geldart should be the only editors who have adopted the reading of R. which, apart from the overwhelming MS. evidence in its favour, seems to me indubitably right. Lamachus, wishing to be taken to the house of Pittalus, must necessarily for that purpose be taken out (ἐξενέγκατε) of the theatre. Dicaeopolis, wishing to appeal to the πέντε κριταὶ who were inside the theatre, must necessarily for that purpose himself remain within.

1226. ὀδυρτά (adverbial) variously accented. MSS. vulgo. Suidas (s. v. ὀδυρτικῆ) has ὀδυρτή, which was approved by Kuster, and is read by Brunck, Bothe, and Blaydes.

1228. *εἴπερ καλεῖς γ'* R. Elmsley, Blaydes, which Meineke approves. *εἴπερ* recentiores, except Dindorf, Weise, *καλεῖ γ'* Van Leeuwen.—<sup>2</sup> *πρέσβυ* R. and apparently all the MSS. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. But all editions before Elmsley; and Dindorf and Weise afterwards. *εἴπερ κρατεῖς γ'* suggested *σὺ πρέσβυ*.

While these sheets were passing through the Press another edition of the Acharnians has been announced. Whether it has already been published I do not know: I have not seen it. I extremely regret that I was unaware of an excellent little edition of the Play by Mr. C. E. Graves published at Cambridge in the year 1905.



THE  
KNIGHTS OF ARISTOPHANES

Oxford

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( ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΙΠΠΕΙΣ )

THE  
KNIGHTS OF ARISTOPHANES

ACTED AT ATHENS AT THE LENAEEAN FESTIVAL B.C. 424

THE GREEK TEXT REVISED

WITH A TRANSLATION INTO CORRESPONDING METRES  
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

By BENJAMIN BICKLEY ROGERS, M.A., HON. D.LITT.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW, SOMETIME FELLOW  
AND NOW HONORARY FELLOW OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

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## INTRODUCTION

IN the Parabasis of the Wasps, exhibited two years after the Knights, Aristophanes gives in an allegorical form a vigorous and picturesque sketch of his own dramatic career. He was a second Heracles, he says, and had set himself, in the manner of his great prototype, to rid the land of the monsters and prodigies which infested it. And the first Labour of this Attic Heracles was to attack the all-powerful demagogue, then beyond all doubt the most formidable personage in Hellas. No achievement would demand greater courage; none was more urgently required. For Athens, which had followed the lead of a Solon, a Themistocles, and a Pericles, was now in the hands of a corrupt and rapacious demagogue, destitute of all elevated and Panhellenic sentiments, and determined, for his own dishonest purposes, to oppose every overture from Sparta which could result in the restoration of Panhellenic unity and concord. To shake this pernicious influence was the young poet's first desire; and this is the way in which he describes to the Athenian people the attack which he made upon it in the Knights:—

When first he began to exhibit plays, no paltry *men* for his mark he chose,  
He came in the mood of a Heracles forth to grapple at once with the  
mightiest foes.

In the very front of his bold career with the jag-toothed Monster he closed  
in fight,

Though out of its fierce eyes flashed and flamed the glare of Cynna's detestable  
light,

And a hundred horrible sycophants' tongues were twining and flickering over  
its head,

And a voice it had like the roar of a stream which has just brought forth  
destruction and dread,

And a Lamia's groin and a camel's loin, and foul as the smell of a seal it  
smelt.

But He, when the monstrous form he saw, no bribe he took, and no fear he  
felt,

For you he fought and for you he fights.—Wasps 1029-37.

Such is the poet's own description of the Comedy before us. It was exhibited at the Lenaeon festival in the month of February, 424 B.C., and obtained the prize; the unsuccessful competitors being Cratinus with his Satyrs, who was placed second, and Aristomenes with his Woodcarriers, who was placed last. As in the case of the Acharnians, so here; we know nothing of the competing Comedies except their names; not a syllable of either the Satyrs or the Woodcarriers has survived to our own days. That the prize should have been awarded to so uncompromising an attack on the great demagogue, made before the very people whom his eloquence could sway more easily than that of any other contemporary orator, is indeed a remarkable fact, and is a sufficient proof of the statement which has often been made, that though Cleon could sway the counsels of the Athenians, he never succeeded in winning their respect.

Aristophanes claimed, and was justified in claiming, that he made his attack upon Cleon when the latter was at the very height of his power (*μέγιστον ὄντα*, *Clouds* 549), for only a few months before the exhibition of the *Knights*, he had by a lucky and extraordinary chain of events attained a pre-eminence which no other demagogue either before or after his time could ever succeed in acquiring.

Cleon, the son of Cleaenetus, was a leather-seller by trade, a trade which apparently included every branch of the business, from the manufacture of leather itself from the undressed hide (the special business of a tanner) to the manufacture and sale of all articles constructed out of leather. The business itself does not seem to have been of a particularly profitable character, since Cleon is said to have been still a poor man when he resolved to give it up and to devote himself to "the more lucrative profession of politics."

For political life it is obvious that he had a special aptitude. He was by far the most persuasive speaker of the day. His strong and straightforward oratory, garnished with homely and familiar metaphors, and rising on occasion to thunder-rolling denunciation, could carry an Athenian audience with him in a manner which was quite beyond the

power of any rival orator; his vigilance was felt in every quarter of the empire; and he was full of resource, and could find a way to extricate himself from the most inextricable difficulties<sup>1</sup>.

But he was corrupt and rapacious<sup>2</sup> even beyond the ordinary run of Athenian demagogues. Poor though he was when he entered the political arena, he left behind him, we are told by Critias<sup>3</sup>, an estate worth 50, or (as some MSS. read) 100 talents, the greater part of which must have been amassed during his seven years of leadership after the death of Pericles. And in truth at this period a demagogue had unexampled facilities for the acquisition of wealth. The Athenian Demos had assumed the power of increasing or lowering the tribute to be paid by the subject allies, and of assessing the amount to be contributed by each individual city. In this, as in other respects, the Isles (as the allied states were, with singular inaccuracy, commonly called) were entirely at the mercy of the Athenian Assembly; and found it necessary for their own safety, at whatever cost, to secure the advocacy and buy off the hostility of the leading orators "whose resistless eloquence wielded at will that fierce democracy." And Cleon was the orator who was most to be feared, and whom it was most necessary to propitiate, not only on account of his supreme influence with the Assembly, but also because his special talent lay in denunciation, so that the terms *διαβάλλειν* and *διαβολαί* are inseparably associated with his career. To what acts of violence his merciless logic could drive the Athenian people we know from the resolution which he prevailed upon them to pass for the massacre of the entire Mitylenaeon Demos. The language of Wasps 675-7 is of course merely comic, but it is impossible to doubt that he received large sums both from the allies and from Athenian officials in the shape of bribes and of blackmail.

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. iii. 36, iv. 21; Knights 75, 626-9, 758, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *δωροδόκος εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ὑπῆρχεν*.—Scholiast on Lucian's Timon. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *λέγει Κριτίας Κλέωνι πρὸ τοῦ παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ, μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεύθερον εἶναι· μετὰ δὲ, πεντήκοντα (some MSS. read ἑκατὸν) ταλάντων τὸν οἶκον ἀπέλιπε*.—Aelian, V. H. x. 17.

He is first known in the pages of history as the proposer of the resolution to which we have just referred with regard to the people of Mitylene, and, when the Athenians began to repent of that terrible proposal, as the earnest advocate of carrying it into effect. The speech which Thucydides puts into his mouth on this occasion is of course the historian's own composition, and does not condescend to notice the speaker's oratorical tricks and devices; but it is no doubt a true exposition of the sentiments which the historian believed he would profess, and as such exactly carries out the determination ascribed to him by the Comic Poet of pursuing his own ends and the city's aggrandisement without the slightest regard to the dictates of humanity or the rights of others. There is not from the beginning to the end one noble or generous sentiment; there is no appeal to any elevated motives; its thesis throughout is merely this, "It is for the interest of Athens that this wholesale slaughter should take place." Your rule is a tyranny, he declares; all your allies would revolt if they dared; you must use the tyrant's method and make such a terrible example of these revolters that others may fear to do the like. To be of a lenient disposition, to act from an impulse of pity, are two of the greatest dangers to an empire like yours. Nor is it sufficient to punish the leaders and spare the Demus. None must escape. And just as Paphlagon does in the *Knights*, he roundly accuses his opponents of receiving bribes to oppose him. However, he could not prevent the rescinding of the resolution, though by a very small majority, and had to content himself with the slaughter of the 1,000 citizens who had been sent as prisoners to Athens.

Such was Cleon's first appearance in the actual pages of history, but we know from the Comic Poets that long before that time he had distinguished himself as the bitter assailant of Pericles, particularly when that great statesman had been wise enough and strong enough to restrain the Athenians from issuing out of the city to attack the overwhelming army of Archidamus during the first invasion of Attica. And from the promptitude with which in the *Comedy* he accuses the Sausage-seller of belonging to the illustrious (but accursed) race of the Alcmaeonidae, we

may, I think, safely infer that he attacked Pericles on that score, and seconded the demand of the Spartans to drive the Athenian leader on that pretence from the helm of the State; a result which would have made Cleon, even during the life of Pericles, the most important personage in Athens. Whether it was Cleon who actually obtained the decree which did in fact temporarily depose Pericles from his official position is uncertain. Plutarch (Pericles, chap. 35) tells us that some said it was Cleon; others, Simmias; and others, Lacratidas. But in any event we may be sure that the attack would be eagerly supported by the ambitious demagogue. And soon afterwards, on the death of Pericles, he at once succeeded to the supreme power in the Athenian Assembly.

One thing however was still against him: he had no taste for the dangers of war. The distinguished men who opposed him in the Assembly were mostly men who had served their country in its fleets and armies, whilst Cleon was a mere talker, and doubts were freely expressed as to his personal courage. But unexpectedly, in the year preceding the exhibition of the Knights, a series of extraordinary events had occurred which gave him the credit of a military achievement unsurpassed by any success hitherto attained by either of the parties to the War.

These events are described so concisely and so graphically in the narrative of Thucydides that it is unnecessary to repeat them at any great length here; but it is perhaps permissible to say a few words as to the origin from which they sprang, for the purpose of bringing out the fact, mostly overlooked by the historians, that the whole plan of campaign—not merely the seizure of a post on the coast of the Peloponnese, but the selection of Pylus as the post to be seized—had been previously arranged in the prolonged conferences which had just taken place between Demosthenes the Athenian general and the leaders of the exiled Messenians at Naupactus.

On the termination of what is called the Third Messenian War, the Messenians who were compelled to depart from the Peloponnese had been

settled by, and under the protection of, Athens, in the port of Naupactus. They were naturally the staunch adherents of the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War; and doubtless the public friendship between the great Ionian city and the gallant Dorian exiles was supplemented by many private friendships between individuals on each side. But the only Athenian mentioned in history as specially interested in the Messenians of Naupactus is Demosthenes the famous general, one of the characters in the present play. During the greater part of the year 426 he had been in close and constant co-operation with the Messenian leaders. It was on their advice, and for their sake, τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεῖς, and with a Messenian for his guide, that he undertook his disastrous expedition into Aetolia; it was with their aid that, a little later, he more than retrieved his reputation by his brilliant and repeated successes in Acarnania. And can it be doubted that during this prolonged comradeship a question would often arise as to the feasibility of the repatriation of these involuntary exiles, and their settlement in some strong position on the coast of their native land, where they could be reached and protected by the Athenian navy? These very men, or their fathers, had for nearly ten years, in their mountain fortress of Ithome, withstood the whole power of Sparta; and that was an inland post, where no allies could assist them. It was obvious that these exiles, the undying enemies of Sparta, might, if planted in an inexpugnable position in their own country, revolutionize the entire aspect of the War; and we shall find good grounds, in the course of the narrative, for believing that Pylus itself was suggested by the Messenians as a fitting place for carrying the enterprise into execution. Demosthenes was the very man to entertain a project of this description; and immediately on his return to Athens, finding that a fleet was starting on a voyage round the Peloponnese to Corcyra on its way to Sicily, he sought and obtained permission to accompany it without any particular office, but with power to requisition its services for any purpose he might think desirable on the Peloponnesian seaboard. Though the permission was given in such vague terms, yet

the object of Demosthenes from the outset, as Thucydides<sup>1</sup> expressly tells us, was to seize and fortify Pylus; and accordingly when the fleet was off Pylus he called upon the naval commanders to put in to the land. And although they at first refused, having indeed urgent reason for haste, and even when driven in by a storm were unwilling to fortify the post (an unwillingness which pervaded all ranks), yet ultimately the soldiers, delayed there for some days by stress of weather, took up the idea of building the fort for their own amusement, and worked with such zeal and energy that in six days they completed a rough fortification. And then the fleet passed away for Corecra, leaving Demosthenes with five triremes to defend the new post as best he could. And presently the Lacedaemonians, always slow to move, began to bestir themselves, and summoned all their available military and naval forces for the purpose of ejecting the audacious intruder who had dared to effect a lodgement on their territory. Demosthenes, on his side, began to prepare his defence, and dispatched two of his five triremes to recall the Athenian fleet. At this juncture he received an opportune reinforcement in the shape of forty Messenian hoplites under a leader well acquainted with the locality, together with a supply of some not very serviceable arms for the sailors of the three remaining triremes. These hoplites and their leader, who took part in all the fighting which ensued, were landed from two small Messenian privateers which *chanced* to be in the harbour, οἱ ἔτυχον παραγενόμενοι, says Thucydides; a most marvellous coincidence truly, if it were merely chance; but exactly what we should have expected, if, as I believe, the whole plan of campaign had been previously matured between Demosthenes and the Messenian leaders. We need not here describe the vigorous but unsuccessful assaults of the Lacedaemonians by land and sea upon the hastily constructed fort, nor how the Athenian fleet, returning on the summons of Demosthenes,

<sup>1</sup> ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Πύλον πρῶτον ἐκέλευε σχόντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ πράξαντας ἂν δεῖ, τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι: ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ, κατὰ τύχην χειμῶν ἐπιγεγόμενος κατήνεγκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Πύλον, καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἤξιον τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον, ἐπὶ τοῦτω γὰρ ξυνεκπελεύσαι.—Thuc. iv. 3.

swept the Lacedaemonian ships from the sea, and transferred the interest of the situation from the fort on the mainland to the island of Sphacteria.

✓ Pylus was within the bay now known as the Bay of Navarino, and all along the mouth of the bay stretched the well-wooded island of Sphacteria, having at the time of which we are treating merely a narrow entrance on each side, one only wide enough to admit two triremes abreast, the other eight or nine. Both these entrances the Lacedaemonians proposed to block up; and then the Athenians could enter the harbour only by conveying their vessels across the island. To prevent this operation the Lacedaemonians stationed on the island a large body of troops. These were relieved from time to time, and the last relay which was still posted on the island when the Athenian fleet made its triumphant entrance by the channels on each side of Sphacteria, consisted of 420 men, some of them of the best blood of Sparta, with their attendant Helots.

The Lacedaemonians at once realized the critical position of these island troops, and felt that no sacrifice would be too great for the purpose of effecting their deliverance. They immediately arranged an armistice, and sent an embassy to Athens to offer terms of peace which the Athenians had so often vainly attempted to obtain. The ambassadors were conveyed from Pylus to Athens on an Athenian trireme, and whether because Archeptolemus was the commander of the troops on the trireme, or for some other reason, he seems to have been the person who introduced them to the Athenian Assembly.

Their address to the Assembly was in a singularly subdued tone. They did not seek to minimize the extent of the disaster to which they were exposed: but they warned the Athenians that, though *their* fortune was now in the ascendant, they could not reckon on its never changing. Now they could keep all that they had won, and earn, besides, the gratitude and warm friendship of Sparta.

So then the policy of Pericles was abundantly vindicated. The Lacedaemonians had taken up arms to put an end to the empire, or,



as the Athenians themselves phrased it, the Tyranny of Athens over other Hellenic states, and to make all Hellenic states alike autonomous and independent within their own territories. But it was her empire which had made Athens the splendid city she had now become; and it was to preserve that empire, and with it the splendour of Athens, that Pericles had encouraged the Athenians to brave the united power of the rest of Hellas. Now the empire was safe. Here was Sparta herself offering a peace which fully recognized the empire, and the right of Athens to reduce and chastise her disaffected subjects. Athens would have gained everything for which she had been fighting. There was nothing left to fight for; unless, indeed, her object was to reduce under her dominion such Hellenic states as yet remained free. Her empire was intact; she had lost none of her subject states; her armies had met with no reverse; her fleets had been everywhere victorious; her foes were suing for peace. Had a Pericles or any ordinary statesman been at the helm, peace—and peace with honour—would have been at once concluded; Athens would have remained the greatest power in Hellas, the greatest maritime power in the world; and the subsequent fortunes of the Hellenic race might have been entirely changed. But unfortunately the most influential person in Athens at this critical moment was neither a Pericles nor an ordinary statesman; it was a hand-to-mouth politician, to whom the very idea of peace was abhorrent, because, Thucydides says<sup>1</sup>, in peaceful times his dishonest practices would be more easily detected and his calumnies less readily believed. Peace, therefore, must be by any means defeated, and the steps which he took to defeat it are characteristic of the man and his objects. His first move was to demand terms which he judged that the Lacedaemonians could not, even if they would, accept.

Many years previously to these transactions, Athens had acquired a footing in some parts of the Peloponnese and in the Isthmus of Corinth. She had troops at Troezen, Pegae, and Nisaea, and certain rights, the

<sup>1</sup> γενομένης ήσυχίας καταφανέστερος νομίζουσαν άν είναι κακουργών και άπιστότερος διαβάλλων.—Thuc. v. 16.

precise nature of which is unknown, in the province of Achaea. This position had not been obtained by force of arms: Troezen, with a population partly Ionic, had always been friendly to Athens; she had received a large number of Athenian refugees when they evacuated their city on the approach of Xerxes; and had afterwards welcomed a detachment of Athenian troops within her walls, possibly as a protection from any ambitious designs which her powerful Dorian neighbours might be suspected of entertaining. And the troops which Megara, when in close alliance with Athens, had been glad to introduce into her two ports of Pegae and Nisaea, remained there after Megara herself had become hostile. But in the general pacification and settlement of 445 B.C., which is called the Thirty Years Truce, Athens relinquished all her claims in respect of these places<sup>1</sup>, evacuating Troezen, Pegae, and Nisaea, and renouncing all her rights, whatever they were, in Achaea. Sparta did not succeed to any of these rights. Troezen remained in the hands of the Troezenians; Megara resumed possession of her own ports; and Achaea became independent of all external influences. Twenty years had elapsed since then, and the arrangement so made had never been disturbed.

But now to put a stop to these annoying proposals for Peace, Cleon persuaded the Athenians to demand that Sparta should first<sup>2</sup> restore to the Athenians these four places, Nisaea, Pegae, Troezen, and Achaea. Not one of these places was in the possession of Sparta; she could only obtain<sup>3</sup> possession of them by persuasion or by going to war with her

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζήνα καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων.—Thuc. i. 115. It is certainly surprising to find a large country like Achaea bracketed in this way with three towns of no great importance, especially as there were not, so far as we know, any Athenian troops in Achaea; and many have thought that the text is corrupt, or else that the name belongs to some town not elsewhere mentioned. But all our ablest historians—Mitford, Thirlwall, and Grote—are clearly of opinion that the country is meant; and we know from Thucydides i. 111 that Achaeans served in the Athenian army.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποδόντας Λακεδαιμονίους Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζήνα καὶ Ἀχαιῶν.—Thuc. iv. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cleon's "quadruple demand called upon Sparta to give up much which was not in her possession, and must have been extorted by force from allies."—Grote

own allies. Yet even so the ambassadors did not return a refusal, but as matters of this kind, involving the interests of third parties, could not properly be discussed in public, they asked that commissioners might be appointed to confer with themselves on the Athenian proposals; so that, after all, Cleon found that his extravagant demand might not prove an insuperable barrier to the conclusion of a peace. Nothing could be more reasonable<sup>1</sup> than the request of the ambassadors, nothing more likely to lead to an ultimate accommodation. This would never do. Cleon rose to the occasion. *Now we see!* he cried with great vehemence; *I knew that these fellows meant nothing honest. They won't speak openly before the People what is in their minds. They want a secret underhand conference.* His thunder-driving words, ἐλασίβρουτ' ἔπη, had their usual effect upon an Athenian audience. The ambassadors, who expected a cordial welcome, were rebuffed with insult and contumely, and forthwith withdrew from the Assembly and returned to Sparta. In the words of the Comic Poet, Cleon gave them a spanking and drave them away from the city.

It was thought that a very few days would suffice for the capture of the troops on the island, but week after week rolled by, and success seemed as far off as ever. The density of the woods prevented the Athenians from ascertaining the number and the situation of their enemies; and even when the sailors landed there for a hasty meal, they were obliged to throw out sentries lest the dreaded Spartans should be upon them unawares. Nor did it seem practicable to reduce them by famine: for though Athenian triremes cruised round the island all day, and the entire fleet (when the weather permitted) anchored round it all night, they could not prevent supplies being thrown into it by adventurous swimmers and boatmen, stimulated by the promise of reward.

vi. 450. Except where otherwise mentioned the references in this Introduction to Grote are to the fifty-second chapter of his History. The volume and page are those of his original twelve-volume edition.

<sup>1</sup> "The proposition of the envoys to enter into treaty with select commissioners was not only quite reasonable, but afforded the only possibility of some ultimate pacification."—Grote vi. 448.

The continuous labour began to tell upon both ships and men, and the storms and long nights of winter were approaching. There were frequent communications between the City and the Fleet: indeed it would be necessary that supplies should be constantly sent for the soldiers and sailors, who, being off a hostile coast, could get little for themselves; and very discouraging accounts of the prospects of success were brought back to Athens by persons returning from the theatre of war. The people began to repent that they had not accepted the peace which the Lacedaemonians had offered; and Cleon found himself the object of suspicion and distrust for having prevented their doing so.

Suddenly by the merest accident, the whole aspect of affairs was changed. A party of sailors having landed on the island for a hurried meal, one of them unintentionally set fire to some of the wood, and a strong wind fanning the flame, such an extensive conflagration ensued that the greater part of the wood which covered the face of the island was consumed, and the interior fully exposed to view. Demosthenes saw that his opportunity had come, and immediately began to make preparations for a descent upon the island. He collected troops from the neighbouring allies, but made no application to Athens, wishing no doubt to complete off his own bat (if the expression is permissible) the enterprise he had so happily commenced.

Mr. Grote indeed, after stating that Demosthenes "sent for forces from the neighbouring allies, Zacynthus and Naupactus," proceeds to say that he "also transmitted an urgent request to Athens that reinforcements might be furnished to him for the purpose, making known explicitly both the uncomfortable condition of the armament, and the unpromising chances of simple blockade" vi. 454. I can find no justification for any part of this statement, which seems to run counter to the whole narrative of<sup>1</sup> Thucydides. It really appears to have been

<sup>1</sup> It seems impossible to believe that Grote made the mistake of taking the words *ἔχων στρατιάν ἣν ἠτήσατο* in chapter 30 to mean "the troops for which Demosthenes asked." They mean "the troops—the Lemnians, Imbrians, peltasts, and archers—for which Cleon asked." And it could not have been from these four words that he gathered anything about the *urgency* of the request supposed

a mere hallucination on the part of Mr. Grote. Yet it pervades the whole of his subsequent narrative, and is indeed the one ground upon which his judgement of the several parties involved in the transaction is based. He is constantly recurring to it. We read "that the dispositions of the assembly tended to *comply with the request of Demosthenes, and to dispatch a reinforcing armament*" (p. 455); that "to grant the reinforcement asked for by Demosthenes was obviously the proper measure" (p. 460); that if Cleon "had not been forward in supporting *the request of Demosthenes for reinforcement*" the enterprise would have been laid aside (p. 462); and so on. Yet Demosthenes had not asked for any reinforcement; nor have we any reason to believe that he ever entertained the slightest doubt of his ability to capture the Spartan troops on Sphacteria.

Meanwhile, the disquietude produced at Athens by the rumours from the seat of war continued to increase, and at last the condition of affairs at Pylus was brought up for discussion at one of the public Assemblies. Cleon, taking the lead as usual in the Assembly, protested that the reports spread about by persons coming from Pylus were altogether false; and thereupon the Athenians appointed himself and another Commissioners to proceed to the fleet and ascertain how matters really stood. This, however, might have placed him in an awkward predicament; and he accordingly shifted his position, and now contended that if the Athenians believed these reports to be true it was no time for delaying, or sending Commissioners, but that they should at once sail against the Spartans; and, indicating by a gesture Nicias the general, whose enemy he was, "it would be easy," he said, "if the generals were men, *εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοὶ*, to sail with a force and capture the troops on the island; and this I would do were I general." At this the Assembly began to call out "Well, then, why don't you now sail if you think it so easy?", and Nicias declared that he was willing to

to be made, or the *explicit* character of the information supposed to be given. Neither Mitford nor Thirlwall fell into the error of supposing that any request was made by Demosthenes.

waive his right as *στρατηγός* in favour of Cleon. After some hesitation Cleon declared that he would go, taking with him no Athenian troops, but some Lemnians and Imbrians who chanced to be in the city, some peltasts from Thrace, and 400 archers from other quarters; and he asserted that within twenty days he would either slay all the Spartans in Sphacteria or bring them back prisoners to Athens. He was aware, Thucydides tells us<sup>1</sup>, that Demosthenes was about to make a descent upon the island, and we may I think infer from the language employed by the historian that his information to that effect was private, and was not shared by the Athenians generally. Anyhow he was wise enough to obtain the appointment of Demosthenes as joint *στρατηγός* with himself, though apparently as second in command.

I think that we must all agree with Mitford, whose judgements are generally sound and impartial, that in this transaction Nicias "miserably betrayed the dignity of his high office"<sup>2</sup>; but Grote's comments, based

<sup>1</sup> τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην προσέλαβε πυνθανόμενος τὴν ἀπόβασιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν νῆσον διανοεῖσθαι.—Thuc. iv. 29. Up to this time, Demosthenes held no official position, though he was in full command of all the operations; and in this very passage Thucydides calls him *ἓνα τῶν ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν*. Cf. Knights 742. Mr. Walsh in his Introduction to this Comedy contends that the proceedings in this Assembly were a deep-laid scheme on the part of Cleon to manœuvre himself into the command just as the long-drawn-out enterprise was about to be crowned with success. And there is much to be said in favour of this view. But on the whole it seems to me that Cleon, who had not at this time the inflated idea of his own military talent which afterwards possessed him, would not of his own accord have placed himself in a position which might have turned out a complete fiasco.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xv. section 7. It is lamentable to find Grote saying that against the action of Nicias "neither Mr. Mitford, nor any other historian, says a word," Vol. vi, p. 473 note. Mr. Mitford emphatically condemns it. But Grote was constitutionally incapable of holding an even balance between the demagogue and the more respectable and better educated Republicans. Nicias was in every sense at least as good a Republican as Cleon, yet Grote does not hesitate uniformly to describe him and his friends "for want of a better name" (vi. 476) as "the oligarchical party." There is not one single recorded act or word of Nicias which, I will not say *justifies*, but lends the slightest colour to, the use of so invidious an epithet. It is merely an epithet of prejudice. Equally unfair is the manner in which he perpetually softens down (without informing his readers) the statements of Thucydides with regard to Cleon. When Cleon

on his own unfounded statement that Demosthenes was in straits and had made an urgent appeal for help, are singularly wide of the mark. "It was the duty of Nicias," he says, "to propose, and undertake in person if necessary, the reduction of Sphacteria" (vi. 477). It would no doubt have been the duty of Nicias to propose, and take command of, an expedition for that purpose, had Demosthenes really been calling for assistance; but when we realize what the facts actually were—that Demosthenes, the most resourceful of Athenian commanders, who had up to this time conducted the whole affair with brilliant success, was on the point of reaping the fruit of his labours; that his soldiers were eager for the fray; and that he himself seems to have entertained no doubt of his success—we shall see that it was above all things the duty of Nicias *not* to supersede him at the last moment, and carry

objected to go as a Commissioner to Pylus, Thucydides gives as his reason that "he knew he should either be obliged to agree with those he was calumniating, or be proved a liar," γνοὺς ὅτι ἀναγκασθήσεται ἢ ταῦτ' ἀλέγειν οἷς διέβαλλεν, ἢ τὰναντία εἰπὼν ψευδῆς φανήσασθαι. Grote's euphemism for this plain statement is that "it did not suit his purpose to go as a Commissioner to Pylus, since his mistrust of the statement was a mere general suspicion not resting on any positive evidence" (vi. 455). The original Greek implies that Cleon was lying; the English substitute implies that he was *not*. So when Thucydides (v. 16) says that if peace were made, Cleon's dishonest *practices* would be more easily perceived, καταφανέστερος κακοῦργῶν, Grote (chapter 54, vol. vi. 621) softens it into "his dishonest *politics*" which is quite a different thing. But much can be pardoned to Mr. Grote for his obvious sincerity, and for the extreme pain which it cost him to record anything to the discredit of a demagogue or a democracy. Sometimes this reluctance is quite pathetic. In the earlier stages of the Peloponnesian War, the chapters in his History are entitled "Seventh Year of the War," "Eighth Year of the War," and the like; but when we come to the dramatic termination of the War by the surrender of Athens to Lysander, we find no notice of these events in the title of any chapter. They are somewhere wrapped up in a chapter entitled "From the battle of Arginusæ to the Restoration of the Democracy in Athens after the expulsion of the Thirty," that is, from one democratic success to another democratic success. No one, running through the titles of the chapters, would dream that the war had ended by the capture of Athens. Let any one imagine what the historian would have written had the result been reversed, and Sparta captured by Athens; what pages of masculine good sense we should have had on the irresistible energy of a democratic state.

off the glory of the venture, ἀλλότριον ἀμῶν θέρος. No soldier would have dreamed of doing so. Pelopidas betook himself to Thessaly instead of joining the army in the Peloponnese, *deeming that where Epaminondas was, there was no need of another general*, μήτε ὅπου πάρεστιν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐτέρου δεῖσθαι στρατηγοῦ νομίζων (Plutarch, Pelopidas 26). And in our own day Sir James Outram, joining the expedition under Havelock, refused, though the senior officer, to supersede the latter until he had brought to a successful conclusion the enterprise which he had so nobly commenced.

Cleon arrived upon the scene of action at the opportune moment when Demosthenes had made every preparation for delivering the final attack, but had not yet delivered it. He had the good sense to leave the conduct of the affair entirely in the hands of his colleague, who disposed the troops and carried out the attack exactly as he had determined to do<sup>1</sup> before the intervention of Cleon. He had in fact anticipated the tactics by which, some thirty-three years later, Iphicrates destroyed the Spartan μόρα, detachments of the light-armed troops assailing from a safe distance with slings and stones, and javelins and arrows, the heavy-armed hoplites; those against whom the hoplites moved dispersing for the moment, but returning to the attack as the latter retired; till at last the Spartans, reduced in numbers, bewildered by this unusual mode of attack, and unable to retaliate on their ubiquitous foes, fell back to their last post at the northern extremity of the island, where being protected by rocky ground in the rear and on each side they could only be assailed from the front. Their light-armed opponents followed their retreat with shouts of triumph, but though they could still discharge their missiles from a distance beyond the reach of the heavy-armed Spartans, they could not by a mere frontal attack inflict any considerable damage. This attack<sup>2</sup> lasted the greater part of the

<sup>1</sup> Δημοσθένους τάξαντος διέστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους τε καὶ πλείους, . . . τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη ὁ Δημοσθένης τό τε πρῶτον τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐπενόει, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔταξεν.—Thuc. iv. 32, 33.

<sup>2</sup> I say nothing about the Athenian hoplites being brought up to the attack, because it seems doubtful whether they ever came into collision with the Spartans.



day without any apparent effect; till at length the Messenian leader sought out Cleon and Demosthenes and, warning them that it was but lost labour to persist in attacking the Spartans merely from the front, said that if they would give him a detachment of archers and light-armed troops, he thought that he could find a path which would bring them to the heights at the rear of the Spartan position. Here again we seem to have an indication that the plan of campaign had been carefully thought out by Demosthenes and the Messenian chiefs at Naupactus, for we can hardly doubt that the leader of the Messenian auxiliaries had been selected on account of his familiar acquaintance with

Grote, indeed, says with his usual clearness and precision: "The light-armed being now less available, Demosthenes and Cleon brought up their 800 hoplites, who had not before been engaged; but the Lacedaemonians were here at home with their weapons, and enabled to display their well-known superiority against opposing hoplites." This is quite possible, but Thucydides says nothing about it; and unless the presence of the Athenian hoplites is to be inferred from the phrase *προσιόντες ἐξ ἐναντίας ὄσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο*, the narrative seems rather to imply that the assailants were the light-armed only. The historian tells us that as the Spartans retreated to their last stronghold, the light-armed hung on their rear with shouts of triumph; and that when they had gained that post, and stood at bay, the Athenians who were following them could no longer attack them on their flanks or their rear, but only in front, and that therefore the Lacedaemonians defended themselves more easily than they had previously done. [Does not this look as if they were defending themselves against the same enemies and the same style of attack as before, save only that it was now confined to the front?] And when (not "the Messenians" as Grote erroneously terms them, but) the detachment led by the Messenian had got to their rear, they became *βαλλόμενοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν*, *pelted on both sides* [an expression surely more apt for an attack by missiles than for a charge of heavy-armed infantry]; and so, being *ἀμφίβολοι*, at last gave way [the word *ἀμφίβολοι* might of itself be used in respect of any attack on all sides, but it is the very word which Thucydides employs in describing the commencement of the struggle when the Spartans were assailed on all sides by the light-armed only]. And finally, in summing up the result of the struggle, he says that the Athenian loss was slight, for the battle was not a stand-up hand to hand fight, *ἡ γὰρ μάχη οὐ σταδία ἦν*. How could he have used that expression if there had been a hand to hand conflict between the Athenian and Spartan hoplites for the greater part of the day, *χρόνον πολὺν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον*? And how is it possible that after such a conflict the Athenian loss should have been so slight as not to be worth stating?

the topography of Pylus and its neighbourhood, of which Demosthenes presumably knew nothing. His intervention at this crisis was most opportune: the detachment for which he asked was placed at his disposal; and presently they made their appearance on the high ground overlooking the back of the Spartan position. The remnant of the Spartans, exhausted by the protracted and confusing struggle of the day, and enfeebled by the short commons to which they had for seventy days been limited, now found themselves again between two fires, and were unable to continue their defence. And after consulting, by the permission of the Athenians, with their comrades on the mainland, they surrendered themselves and their arms to the Athenian generals. And Cleon had the infinite satisfaction of bringing them, in chains, to Athens, within the period of twenty days which he had mentioned in his speech to the Assembly. And thus, says Thucydides, the undertaking of Cleon, insane as it was, was fulfilled.

“No sentence throughout the whole of Thucydides,” says Mr. Grote, “astonishes me so much as that in which he stigmatizes such an undertaking as ‘insane’” (vi. p. 474). And then he enters into an elaborate calculation of the resources of the Spartans on the island, and of the force which Demosthenes was able to bring against them; and concludes that “even to doubt of the result, much more to pronounce such an opinion as that of Thucydides, implies an idea not only of superhuman power in the Lacedaemonian hoplites, but of disgraceful cowardice on the part of Demosthenes and the assailants.” But this is completely to misunderstand the very point of the historian’s remark. In the mouth of Demosthenes the undertaking might have been, what Mr. Grote says it was in Cleon’s, “a reasonable and even a modest anticipation of the future”: for its accomplishment mainly depended upon his own energy and military skill. But with Cleon it was quite different. The Athenian forces being, whether rightly or wrongly, supposed to be in some difficulties in regard to Sphaacteria, Cleon declared that if *he* went there, he would within twenty days either slay all the Lacedaemonians on the island or bring them back captives to Athens. The boast was

an *insane* one because Cleon had no more power to fulfil it than he had to pile Pelion upon Ossa. It was *fulfilled*, because the arrangements of Demosthenes were carried out exactly as they would have been had Cleon remained in Athens. To the same misunderstanding is due the contrast which Grote conceives to exist between "the jesters before the fact and the jesters after it. While the former deride Cleon as a promiser of extravagant and impossible results, we find Aristophanes (in his Comedy of the Knights<sup>1</sup> acted about six months afterwards) laughing at him as having done nothing at all" (vi. p. 458). But the contrast exists only in Mr. Grote's imagination. Cleon was derided before the event because he *could* do nothing to fulfil his boast; he was derided after it because he *had* done nothing to fulfil it.

The entire merit of the whole transaction from the time that the fleet

<sup>1</sup> It would be a waste of time to enumerate Mr. Grote's errors with regard to Aristophanes, for he rarely mentions the Comic Poet without showing how little he understood him. But I may perhaps be allowed to refer to his comparison of the Acharnians and the Knights.

"The Comedy of Aristophanes called the Acharnians was acted about six months before the affair of Sphacteria, when no one could possibly look forward to such an event, the Comedy of the Knights about six months after it. Now there is this remarkable difference between the two, that while the former breathes the greatest sickness of war and presses in every way the importance of making peace, the latter talks in one or two places only of the hardships of war, and drops altogether that emphasis and repetition with which peace had been dwelt upon in the Acharnians" (vi. p. 481).

In emphasizing the "remarkable difference between the two Comedies" Mr. Grote has strangely overlooked the difference of their subjects. The very subject of the Acharnians is Peace, "the Private Peace," and naturally therefore the plot turns, from beginning to end, on the miseries of war and the blessings of peace. Cleon is mentioned several times in it, but only in reference to his slanders and pecculation, and never in reference to the question of Peace and War. But the subject of the Knights is not "Peace" but "Cleon"; and naturally it is mostly full of his slanders and pecculation. Yet he is attacked for rejecting with contumely the Spartan proposals for peace (lines 794-6); for continuing the war that his malpractices may be less easily detected (lines 802, 3), and for priming Demus with garlic, that is with inciting him to fight (line 946); while the crown and finish of the play is the production of the thirty years treaty, which Cleon had kept from the sight of the people. The tone of the two Comedies in regard to the question of Peace and War is identical.

first put in at Pylus to the day when the Spartans were brought as captives to Athens belonged to Demosthenes alone; but the dramatic descent of the unwarlike demagogue on the scene of action, followed by the immediate capture of the Spartans, and the literal fulfilment of his promise to bring them to Athens within twenty days, naturally dazzled the imagination of the Athenians, and the entire credit of the whole transaction was practically given to Cleon. To him were accorded the honours due to a benefactor of the state, the golden crown, the *στίσις ἐν Πρωτανείῳ*, and the *προεδρία* at all public spectacles. We hear of no similar honours accorded to Demosthenes. And thus the popular and hard-hitting orator, the favourite of the Demos, had in a moment been placed on a pedestal of military glory. He had undoubtedly become the most prominent personage in Athens, and therefore in Hellas.

His triumphant return must have been a deep humiliation to Nicias and his friends. And it was probably in order to be out of the way of that bitter tongue, as well as for the purpose of himself scoring some success to be set off against the wonderful events of Sphacteria, that Nicias immediately left Athens with a large armament to invade the Corinthian coast. The armament consisted of eighty vessels with 2,000 Athenian hoplites, and 200 *ἰππεῖς*<sup>1</sup> in horse-transport, besides some troops of the allies. The Corinthians were ready for the invaders, and attacked them immediately on their disembarkation, and a very obstinately contested battle ensued, in which, after some serious alternations, the Athenians were on the whole successful. It was a singular thing that the invaders, coming from over the sea had an efficient force of cavalry, while the defenders, though fighting on their own soil, possessed no cavalry at all; and we can well believe that, as Thucydides<sup>2</sup> tells us, the Athenian *ἰππεῖς* played a prominent and decisive part in

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἰππαγωγίσι ναυσὶ διακοσίοις ἰππεύσιν.—Thuc. iv. 42.

<sup>2</sup> χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολὺν ἀντείχον, οὐκ ἐνδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις· ἔπειτα (ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ ἰππῆς ὠφέλιμοι ξυμμαχόμενοι, τῶν ἐτέρων οὐκ ἐχόντων ἵππους) ἐτράποντο Κορίνθιοι.—Thuc. iv. 44.

the conflict. And it is with special reference to this expedition that Aristophanes, in the *Epirrhema* and *Antepirrhema* of this play (lines 565-580 and 595-610), records the gallant deeds of the Knights and their horses.

These events occurred in the late summer or early autumn of 425 B. C., and in the following February the Lenaeon festival of 424 was held, the first Dionysia which had occurred since Cleon's triumphant return with the captives from Sphacteria. And now he was for the first time to enjoy his *προεδρία* in the Athenian theatre. Here were assembled all the citizens of Athens; and Cleon himself, sitting in the front row of the auditorium, would be attracting the attention of all beholders. This would surely be, they would think, the culmination of his glory, the proudest scene of his life. What must have been their amazement not only to hear the theatre ringing with a straightforward attack on the great demagogue, then at the zenith of his power, but to find this very victory of Pylus again and again thrown in his teeth, as a deed for which he had taken the credit that in reality belonged to Demosthenes. And this taunt is placed in the mouth of the theatrical Demosthenes; and it is quite possible that the real Demosthenes was himself sitting in the auditorium, an interested spectator of the Comedy.

This open defiance of Cleon, when the demagogue was at the very summit of his power, was always regarded by Aristophanes as the most fearless incident<sup>1</sup> in a singularly fearless career. He recurs to it with pardonable pride in his three succeeding Comedies, the *Clouds*, the *Wasps*, and the *Peace*. We have seen at the commencement of this Introduction the description which he gives of it in the *Parabasis* of

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, though speaking of an historian, is obviously thinking of Aristophanes when he says "Cleon, all-powerful in the public Assembly, shall not make him afraid, nor prevent him describing him (Cleon) as a pestilent and frenzied citizen."—*How to write History*, 38. Cleon and Hyperbolus are occasionally coupled together as two dangerous ruffians; and in Lucian's *Timon* (30) when Hermes is bringing Wealth (who is blind) into Attica, *Hold me by the hand*, says Wealth, *lest, if you let me go, I fall in with Hyperbolus or Cleon*. The two are mentioned in much the same way in *Frogs* 569, 570.

the Wasps; and that the description was received with approval by the Athenian people is plain from its repetition in the Parabasis of the Peace, a repetition unique in these Comedies.

And whilst we must honour Aristophanes for the daring with which he attacked the most formidable of his contemporaries, something also must be said for the Archon who "gave him a chorus," or in other words, selected this Comedy as one of the three to be adopted by the state, and publicly represented at the Dionysian festival; and something perhaps also for the five judges who, before the whole theatre, awarded it the prize. But the judges would probably in every case be guided in their award by the reception accorded to a piece by the audience; and there can be no doubt that this Comedy was received with such exceptional favour as would leave but little responsibility to the action of the judges.

Grote's championship of Cleon against the unanimous verdict of the whole Greek world is rather the special pleading of a masterly advocate than the sober judgement of an impartial historian<sup>1</sup>. He attempts to discredit the two contemporary witnesses, Aristophanes and Thucydides, on the ground that each of them had a personal grudge against the demagogue. But as regards Aristophanes, he forgets that no such personal grudge existed when the poet assailed both him and his policy in the *Babylonians*. And he forgets, too, that the attack made upon him in the *Knights* was no mere private composition, but was made before, and was received with delight by, the whole Athenian Demos.

And it must be remembered that Aristophanes was in no sense a party politician. His ideals were (1) the Panhellenic patriotism of the Persian Wars, and (2) the noble part which the Athenian Republic played from the beginning to the end of that great struggle. As an Hellenic patriot,

<sup>1</sup> What Schömann says of another contention of Grote may very truly be said of this: "quaecunque a viro acutissimo afferuntur non tam historici et critici subtilitatem quam sollertis causidici calliditatem produnt, malam causam argumentis specie quidem haud contemnendis, reapse tamen infirmis, probare conantis."—*Opuscula* i. p. 139.

he deplored the fratricidal conflict of the Peloponnesian War, where Hellenes on the one side were arrayed against Hellenes on the other. As an Athenian citizen, he sought to remove the corruptions and abuses which were dimming the glory of that bright Republic.

To these ideals, the policy of Cleon was in every respect diametrically opposed. As the eager advocate of, and the demagogue mainly responsible for, the prolongation of the present inter-Hellenic War, he was necessarily the chief obstacle to Panhellenic unity and concord; and he was himself the embodiment of those very influences which had converted the generous and self-denying Republic of the Persian War into the unpopular and tyrannical Republic of the Peloponnesian War. To the liberal and elevated instincts of the young poet he would naturally appear, and be, the evil genius of Athens.

There is perhaps no fairer or better appreciation of the relative positions of Aristophanes and Cleon than that which is given in Professor Maurice Croiset's *Treatise on 'Aristophane et les partis à Athènes.'* And I am much indebted to that brilliant writer for allowing me to append to this Introduction an extract of some length from that excellent little work.

So much for one of the contemporary witnesses to the character of Cleon. As regards the other, Grote refers to one of the numerous interpolations in the life of Thucydides by Marcellinus, where the interpolator says that Thucydides, having been banished from Athens on the accusation of Cleon, was hostile to Cleon, and everywhere introduces him as a madman<sup>1</sup>. But he does not think it necessary to refer to the biographer's own authoritative judgement on the same subject. After mentioning the banishment of Thucydides by the Athenians, Marcellinus proceeds<sup>2</sup>: "But he did not on that account bear any

<sup>1</sup> Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι στρατηγίσας ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, καὶ δόξας ἐκεῖ βραδέως ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ προλαβόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Βρασίδου, ἐφυγαδεύθη ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Κλέωνος· διὸ καὶ ἀπεχθάνεται τῷ Κλέωνι, καὶ ὡς μεμνηνὸτα αὐτὸν εἰσάγει πανταχοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> ἔγραφε δ' οὐδ' οὕτω μνησικακῶν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀλλὰ φιλαλήθης ὢν καὶ τὰ ἦθη μέτριος, εἶ γε οὔτε Κλέων παρ' αὐτῷ οὔτε Βρασίδας ὁ τῆς συμφροῦς αἴτιος ἀπέλαυσε λιοδωρίας,

grudge against the Athenians, for he was a lover of truth and a man of sober mind; since neither Cleon, nor yet Brasidas who caused his misfortune, met with any reproaches at his hands, as if the historian felt any anger against them." And after mentioning other historians who could not, he says, keep their private likes and dislikes out of their histories, he adds "but Thucydides was moderate and impartial, and always governed by truth."

And, indeed, the presentment of Cleon by Aristophanes and Thucydides is corroborated by the judgement of the whole world of Hellenic antiquity from Aristotle to Plutarch and Lucian. "Nowhere in antiquity," as Colonel Mure truly observes in his admirable *History of Greek Literature*, vol. v, p. 45, "is there a trace of any estimate of Cleon's character different from that authorized by Thucydides." And he adds, with equal truth, in a note, "This complete unanimity of the native contemporary public, and of posterity, has been altogether overlooked by Mr. Grote." Yet Mr. Grote's opinion has been ignorantly followed by a crowd of inferior writers, whom, "for want of a better name," we may perhaps be allowed to describe as "the Grotesque school of historians."

No Comedy has so few characters and so little incident as the *Knights*. It is a sort of allegory, representing the Demus, the Sovereign People of Athens, as a respectable old householder with several slaves, three of whom appear on the stage. These three are Cleon, Demosthenes, and Nicias. Cleon is represented under the name of Paphlagon (a yellow-haired Paphlagonian slave), and is described as "a newly-purchased pest," because it was only on the death of Pericles, little more than four years before the date of this Comedy, that he became the leading

ὡς ἂν τοῦ συγγραφέως ὀργιζομένου. καίτοι οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάθεσι συνέθεσαν τὰς ἱστορίας, ἥκιστα μελήσαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας. . . . ὁ δὲ μέτριος καὶ ἐπιεικής, τῆς ἀληθείας ἤπτων. So Lucian in his *How to write History*, 39, says that an historian should write down everything exactly as it occurred, "as Thucydides did," *κάν ἰδίᾳ μισῆτινας, πόλυ ἀναγκαίστερον ἡγήσεται τὸ κοινόν, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τῆς ἔχθρας.*



demagogue of Athens. He has succeeded in worming himself into his master's confidence by various arts, principally by little doles and flatteries, and by slandering and backbiting his fellow-slaves, and so has become the *ἐπίτροπος*, the superintendent of the old man's household. In this capacity his arrogance knows no bounds; he is for ever slandering and blackmailing the other servants, till their situation has become unbearable; and guided by an oracle which Paphlagon had hidden away, they look out for a Sausage-seller (as it is customary to translate *ἀλλαντοπώλης*, though an *ἀλλᾶς* was in the nature of a black-pudding rather than in that of a sausage) to drive him from his place. And the whole body of the play consists of the contest between Paphlagon and the Sausage-seller. Up to the *Parabasis* it is a mere slanging-match between the two; but afterwards it takes the form of an appeal by Paphlagon first to the Council of Five Hundred, and afterwards to the *Demus* in the *Ecclesia*. For the allegory is of the thinnest possible description. Never for one moment are we allowed to forget that *Demus*, the old householder, is the Sovereign People, courted by the orators, holding Assemblies in the *Pnyx*, the master of the Athenian fleets and armies; or that his superintendent has control of Athens itself, its docks and harbours, and the whole Athenian empire. Often, indeed, the veil is entirely dropped. If in one place Cleon's exploit at *Sphacteria* is described as stealing a cake baked by his fellow-slave; in another it is described in its true terms as sailing to *Pylus* and bringing thence the *Laconian* captives. If in one place the successful candidate is to be the householder's steward, in another he is to hold the reins of the *Pnyx*. And more often than not, *Demus* speaks in language utterly unsuitable to a simple citizen, and proper only in the mouth of the autocratic lord of a mighty empire.

These five persons, *Demus*, his three slaves, and the Sausage-seller, are the only characters who appear on the stage throughout the play. In all the MSS., and in all the *Scholia*, and in all the editions down to, and including *Bergk's*, the three slaves bear the names of the persons they are intended to represent, viz. *Κλέων*, *Δημοσθένης*, and *Νικίας*; and I do

not doubt that if we had before us the original manuscript in the handwriting of Aristophanes, we should find those names prefixed to their respective speeches. Dindorf, however, called attention to the statements in Argument II, λέγουσι δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸν μὲν εἶναι Δημοσθένην, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν, and again ἔοικεν ὁ προλογίζων εἶναι Δημοσθένης, the latter statement being repeated by a Scholiast on line 1, which certainly seem to show that, at all events in the copy of the play used by the author or authors of these statements, the real names did not appear. And, indeed, it is very common in the MSS. of these Comedies for the speeches to be prefaced not by the names of the speakers, but by a mere line or some other symbol. Meineke, however, who is followed by Holden and a few other editors, concealed the personalities of Demosthenes and Nicias under the general appellations of Οἰκέτης A and Οἰκέτης B, at the same time substituting Παφλαγῶν for Κλέων. And as Παφλαγῶν<sup>1</sup> is the name given everywhere in the body of the play to the representative of Cleon, it seems, notwithstanding the unanimity of the MSS. and Scholia, more convenient to give him that name throughout; and had Aristophanes coined any servile names for the slaves representing Demosthenes and Nicias, those names should also be adopted. But he has not done so; and to call them *First Servant* and *Second Servant* is needlessly confusing<sup>2</sup> to a reader, and puts him in a very disadvantageous position as compared with a spectator, to whom the theatrical masks made it always easy to distinguish between the two well-known generals. Even, therefore, if Aristophanes did not, as in all probability he did, affix the real names to these two characters, it would be desirable to do so now, in order that

<sup>1</sup> Παφλαγῶν, properly a servile name derived from the slave's country, like Syrus, Thratta, &c., was selected for Cleon to denote his restless turbulent denunciation which resembled the boiling waves of the ocean, κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης (Iliad xiii. 798). The verb παφλάζειν is used with reference to Cleon in Knights 919, Peace 314.

<sup>2</sup> To make matters worse, Van Leeuwen attributes the first speech of the play to Nicias, so that with him Οἰκέτης A stands for Nicias, and Οἰκέτης B for Demosthenes. Van Leeuwen, indeed, prefixes to the speeches both names, Νικίας, οἰκέτης A, and Δημοσθένης, οἰκέτης B. But if the names Νικίας and Δημοσθένης are retained there seems no sense in adding the descriptions Οἰκέτης A and Οἰκέτης B.

the reader may always perceive clearly to which of the two any speech is to be attributed.

Paphlagon is the overbearing and rapacious superintendent; the slaves Demosthenes and Nicias are made to exhibit with great effect the characteristics of the eminent men whose names they bear. The one is rapid, daring, quick to invent schemes and to devise means to carry them out, resourceful, self-reliant, and optimistic; the other, personally brave, but constitutionally timid; a little pettish at his comrade's rough-and-ready ways; superstitious, despondent, and inclined by nature to look at the dark side of things. We may infer too, from the opening scene, that Demosthenes was a boon companion, fond of good living and of good company, whilst Nicias, partly perhaps from ill-health, was a total, or almost a total, abstainer from convivial pleasures.

Such were the actors on the stage; but as important as, if not more important than, the actors was the Chorus in the Orchestra; in the present Comedy consisting of Athenian *ἱππεῖς*, from whom the play derives its name. We must be careful not to confound these *ἱππεῖς* with the *Ἴππεῖς* who, under the constitution of Solon, formed the second Class of the Athenian People. The Solonian *Ἴππεῖς* consisted of all citizens who derived from their land an income ranging from 300 to 500 measures a year. The Class would comprise men of all ages, and its number would be continually varying. The *ἱππεῖς* who form the Chorus of the present play are the 1,000 (line 225) young men (line 731) who constituted the Athenian cavalry. To the cavalry each tribe contributed 100 men, under their own *φύλαρχος*, selected from all citizens who derived from their land an income of at least 300 measures a year. There was in this case no maximum of 500 measures, so that the Knights (as we call the cavalry) were drawn from the two highest classes of the Solonian constitution, the *Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι* and the *Ἴππεῖς*. They, therefore, represented the educated classes in Athens, who were naturally indignant that the position of Demus-leader, once held by men like Themistocles and Pericles, the very flower of Athenian civilization and culture, should now be occupied by this corrupt and noisy

platform-orator, destitute of all the higher qualities of humanity and statesmanship.

We cannot, therefore, be surprised at finding that there was already a feud between Cleon and the Athenian cavalry. They had already exposed him for corruptly using his great influence over the Athenian Assembly for his own private benefit. The subject allies, groaning under the heavy burden imposed upon them by Athens, offered Cleon five talents if he would persuade the Athenians to lighten the burden. This bribe he readily accepted, but the cavalry got wind of the matter, and compelled him to disgorge it<sup>1</sup>. Whether this was done by means of actual litigation or merely by exposing the transaction before the Council or the Assembly it is impossible to say. Gregory Pardus, Bishop of Corinth (usually called, from his episcopal signature, Gregorius Corinthus), seems to suppose that there was actual litigation of some sort. Dicaeopolis was pleased, he says, *ὅτι ὁ Κλέων εἰσήχθη* (that is, *εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*) *ἀπαιτούμενος παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέντε τάλαντα, ἅπερ ἀφείλετο ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἵνα πείσῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπικουφίσαι τοῦτοις τοὺς φόρους*<sup>2</sup>. The Bishop's testimony is valuable, because he probably

<sup>1</sup> *τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις οἷς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν.*—Acharnians 6; where the Scholiast says *Παρὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἔλαβε πέντε τάλαντα ὁ Κλέων, ἵνα πείσῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κουφίσαι αὐτοὺς τῆς εἰσφορᾶς. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἀντέλεγον καὶ ἀπήτησαν αὐτόν. μέμνηται Θεόπομπος.* It is difficult to imagine anything more absurd than the notion recently advanced by certain learned Dutchmen that in this first instance of his joys and sorrows the poet is referring not, as in all the other instances, to an actual occurrence, but to something that appeared in a play; by preference, in his own *Babylonians*. This theory entirely ignores the testimony of *Theopompus*; destroys the homogeneity of the catalogue of joys and sorrows; assumes, contrary to all probability, that the *ἰππεῖς* were represented in the earlier drama; turns the praise given by *Aristophanes* to the Knights for the good service they had done to *Hellas* into sheer nonsense; and cuts away the very foundation for the hostile relations between Cleon and the Knights, which underlies the statements of the *Acharnians* as well as of the present play; whilst on the other hand, it has not a rag of authority or argument to cover its nakedness. It is difficult to conceive how so insane an idea can have suggested itself to any sane man. Verily the new scholarship is perpetually illustrating the old adage of *Heraclitus*, *πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rhetores Graeci* (ed. Walz), vol. vii, pp. 1344-6. I will set out the whole

had access to the historical works of Theopompus; and it may seem to be to some extent corroborated by the language of Knights 1147-50, which is certainly intended to recall the incident of Cleon's disgorgement; and perhaps even by the  $\xi\tau\iota$  in Wasps 758. And of course not the slightest weight is due to the futile objection that the cavalry, not being a corporation, would be unable to sue. Nobody in his senses could have supposed that the action, if any, would have been  $\text{o}\iota\ \text{'}\text{I}\pi\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{k}\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \text{K}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\text{o}\varsigma$ . But the leading spirits who discovered the corrupt dealing, denounced Cleon, and furthered the proceedings (if any), were to be found among the cavalry. Nevertheless, it seems to me extremely improbable that Cleon should have allowed the matter to be actually brought before a dicastery; and the language of Aristophanes would be abundantly satisfied if the discovery of the transaction by the Knights, and possibly the threat of legal proceedings, had prevented his retaining or even receiving the bribe.

However, it seems that Cleon, naturally enraged at the action of the cavalry, and the loss of the five talents, retorted by charging the

passage, which occurs in a Commentary of the learned Bishop on a work of Hermogenes; chap. xxvi. sec. 4. Commenting on the words of Hermogenes  $\text{O}\acute{\upsilon}\chi\ \eta\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{A}\chi\alpha\rho\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \text{'}\text{A}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ , he remarks as follows:— $\text{π}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \text{'}\text{E}\rho\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \text{'}\text{A}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\nu\ \text{π}\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \alpha\iota\ \text{k}\omega\mu\omega\delta\iota\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ ,  $\text{k}\alpha\iota\ \text{π}\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \text{k}\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \text{k}\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\omicron\ \phi\eta\sigma\iota\ \text{π}\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\gamma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \text{'}\text{A}\chi\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{D}\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \text{π}\acute{\rho}\omicron\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu$ .  $\text{φ}\eta\sigma\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{'}\text{O}\sigma\alpha\ \delta\eta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\eta\gamma\mu\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{k}\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\nu\ |\ \eta\sigma\theta\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \text{β}\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \text{π}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \text{β}\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\ |\ \acute{\alpha}\ \delta\ \acute{\omega}\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\nu$ ,  $\text{φ}\alpha\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha$ .  $|\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \text{'}\text{I}\delta\omega$ ,  $\text{t}\acute{\iota}\ \delta\ \eta\sigma\theta\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\nu\ \chi\alpha\iota\rho\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ;"  $\text{d}\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \text{l}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\eta\tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{π}\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\eta\sigma\theta\eta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha$ .  $\text{t}\acute{\omicron}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \text{φ}\alpha\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{π}\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \text{t}\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\alpha\ \text{t}\acute{\omicron}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \text{φ}\alpha\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha\ \text{k}\alpha\theta\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \text{π}\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \text{k}\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \text{π}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \text{t}\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\varsigma\ \text{k}\alpha\iota\ \text{π}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \text{t}\omicron\ \text{ψ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \text{φ}\alpha\mu\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha\ \text{k}\alpha\iota\ \text{t}\omicron\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{π}\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\omicron$ .  $\text{χ}\alpha\iota\rho\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ .  $\text{χ}\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\ \text{K}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\acute{\eta}\chi\theta\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\ \text{π}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \text{σ}\tau\rho\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\omicron\nu\ \text{π}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\ \text{t}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \nu\eta\sigma\iota\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \text{π}\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{A}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \text{φ}\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ .  $\text{l}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\eta\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \text{π}\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha\chi\theta\eta\nu\alpha\ \text{t}\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \text{A}\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$ ,  $\text{t}\acute{\theta}\epsilon\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \text{π}\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\eta}\chi\theta\eta$ ,  $\text{π}\omicron\iota\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \text{t}\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \text{π}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \text{ψ}\nu\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .  $\eta\sigma\theta\eta\nu\alpha\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\theta\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \text{M}\acute{\omicron}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$  ( $\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\varsigma\ \text{φ}\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \text{k}\iota\theta\alpha\rho\omega\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\ \text{π}\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ )  $\text{D}\epsilon\acute{\xi}\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \text{t}\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \text{k}\iota\theta\alpha\rho\omega\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\text{k}\alpha\iota\ \text{P}\upsilon\theta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\kappa\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \text{t}\omicron\ \text{B}\omicron\iota\omega\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\theta\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \text{l}\acute{\iota}\pi\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \delta\eta\ \text{π}\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\nu\psi\acute{\epsilon}\ \text{X}\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\delta}\rho\theta\iota\omega\nu\ \eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\omicron}\ \text{X}\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\varsigma\ \text{k}\iota\theta\alpha\rho\omega\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \text{k}\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \text{φ}\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\delta}\rho\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\ \text{k}\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

Knights with shirking their military duties<sup>1</sup>. And hence no doubt it is that the Chorus in the present play denounce him as a *παραξιπρόστρατον* (line 247), a *troubler of the cavalry*, and devote the *Epirrhema* and *Antepirrhema* (lines 565–80 and 595–610) to a panegyric of their own military services.

The name of the play should be written as *Ἰππεῖς* not *Ἰππῆς*. It is given as *Ἰππεῖς* in the great Venetian MS., and (with only two exceptions) in every other MS. which gives the actual name of the play, and does not merely call it, as a few do, *δρᾶμα Ἰππέων*. The exceptions are the Ravenna and the 1294 Vatican, the latter a MS. of no independent authority. And the Ravenna, though it spells the name *Ἰππῆς* as the title of the play, yet spells it *Ἰππεῖς* in the prefixed list of the Comedies. So in the *Life of Aristophanes* by Suidas (*Life III* at the commencement of this Volume), every MS. gives *Ἰππεῖς*, as well as *Ἀχαρνεῖς*. As regards the printed editions, Aldus and Fracini have *Ἰππῆς* at the commencement of the play, and *Ἰππεῖς* at the top of every page of the text. And every other edition before Brunck, without a single exception, gives the title everywhere as *Ἰππεῖς*. Brunck altered it to *Ἰππῆς*, not relying on any authority or principle, but from his mistaken idea that Aristophanes was accustomed to employ not what grammarians call the “Hellenic,” but only what they call the “Attic” forms of speech. A few words on this distinction may not be out of place.

The epithet “Attic” as applied to language is susceptible of two very different interpretations.

(1) It may mean the ordinary language of the great Attic writers

<sup>1</sup> Θεόπομπος ἐν δεκάτῳ Φιλιππικῶν φησὶν ὅτι οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐμίσουν αὐτὸν [that is, τὸν Κλέωνα]. προπηλακισθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ παροξυνθεὶς, ἐπετέθη τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ διετέλεσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς κακὰ μηχανώμενος· κατηγορήσε γὰρ αὐτῶν ὡς λειποστρατούντων.—Scholiast on *Knights* 226. No doubt the story of Cleon’s disgorging the five talents was mentioned in the same part of the work. “The tenth Book [of the *Philippics*] passed in review the vicissitudes of Athenian policy with the characters and acts of the leading statesmen by whom the fortunes of the Attic Republic had been guided. It hence obtained the separate title of ‘The Book of Demagogues.’”—Mure, *Greek Literature*, v. p. 519.

which ultimately became the recognized standard, throughout the world, for Hellenic prose. Before the period of Athenian ascendancy an author, whether he wrote in prose or in verse, would employ the dialect of the particular state to which he belonged. But the Athenian empire, while it crushed out all literary aspirations amongst the subject allies, attracted to Athens herself the learning and talent of the Hellenic mind, so that Athens became the metropolis of Hellenic culture, the university (so to speak) of the Panhellenic world. And her great writers—her dramatists, her historians, her philosophers, her orators—wrought out a language which was universally regarded as the most finished specimen of the Hellenic tongue; so that thenceforward all writers of Greek prose, with hardly an exception, deserted their own particular dialects, and followed, or attempted to follow, the language of these illustrious Athenians. The Boeotian Plutarch did not retain the dialect of the Boeotian Pindar; Dionysius of Halicarnassus did not retain the dialect of Herodotus of Halicarnassus; they and the other prose writers, from whatever region they hailed—Lucian from Samosata, Athenaeus from Naucratis, Polybius from Arcadia, Diodorus from Sicily, and the rest—all employed, with more or less purity, the language of Aristophanes and Xenophon, of Isocrates and Plato. So did that still more important class of writers, the Greek Fathers of the Church, Origen and Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom and the ecclesiastical historians, and so on. But, indeed, to enumerate the writers who followed the Attic style would be to make an exhaustive list of all subsequent Hellenic and Hellenistic writers in prose. For the purpose of literary prose all other dialects dropped off, and the Attic dialect widened into the universal Hellenic language. Hence this usage is described by the grammarians as *Ἑλληνικῶς*, in contradistinction to the particular dialects used only by particular peoples.

(2) But there were some words and forms which, whether from the rarity of their employment by Attic writers, or for some other reason, were not absorbed into this great stream of Hellenic literature, but were left as it were in a backwater, and sunk into mere Attic provincialisms.

These as being used by nobody except by some Attic writers (and by them very sparingly) were, to distinguish them from the general Attic, which had become the Hellenic, usage, described by the grammarians<sup>1</sup> as Ἄττικῶς.

When and by whom the colossal blunder was started, which supposed these "Attic" provincialisms to have been the regular usage of the great Athenian writers, and the "Hellenic" forms to have been used by some other persons (I know not whom), but *not* by the Athenian writers, I am not aware, nor is it necessary to inquire. So far as Aristophanes is concerned, Brunck was the first to substitute a few of these provincialisms for the genuine language of the Attic writers; but he did not fall into the exquisite absurdity of imagining that the "Hellenic" forms were not used by the chief Hellenic (that is, the Athenian) writers. He recognized that these forms were Attic, but supposed that the provincialisms were "more Attic," whatever that expression may mean. But with critics of the new school, the idea that Aristophanes did not use the "Hellenic" forms (in reality his regular usage) has become a sort of mania; and could the poet see some recent editions of his Comedies, he would find them studded with forms which he rarely, if ever, employed.

The description of Cleon in the *Knights* is avowedly a mere caricature; but in all essential points it is in entire accord with the few vivid touches by which Thucydides portrays his character. In

<sup>1</sup> When Moeris says, for example, δρυπετής, Ἄττικῶς πέπειρος Ἑλληνικῶς, or again, οἶμαι, Ἄττικῶς νομίζω, Ἑλληνικῶς, or again, σεισάχθειαν Ἄττικῶς χρεῶν ἀποκοπήν, Ἑλληνικῶς, and so on, he does not mean that πέπειρος, νομίζω, ἀποκοπή χρεῶν, and the like were *not* used by the Attic writers. He means that δρυπετής, οἶμαι, and σεισάχθεια were used by Attic writers *only*, and by no others; whereas the "Hellenic" words were used by Attic writers and by all subsequent Hellenic prose writers. See Appendix to *Birds*, line 48, and the fourth Additional Note to the *Birds*. I have sometimes spoken of these "Attic" forms as *provincialisms*: and that is what they ultimately became; but of course they were not *provincialisms*, as distinguished from the "Hellenic" forms, in the time of Aristophanes. My language on *Plutus* 546 (Commentary and Appendix) is inaccurate in this respect.



the Comedy, as in the History, he is βιαίωτατος τῶν πολιτῶν; in both, he is πιθανώτατος τῷ δήμῳ; in both, his chief occupation is to assail with calumnies, διαβάλλειν, the leading men in Athenian life; in both, he is the most strenuous opponent of peace; and in both for the same reason, viz. because in quiet times his rascalities would be more easily detected. But in the Knights he is seen in a character which in history he was never called upon to sustain. He has fallen from his high estate: he can no longer lord it in the Pnyx; he has found a rival who can beat him even on his own ground; more violent, more coarse, more resourceful in his slanders and rascalities. The bully is bullied, the slanderer discredited, the rogue unmasked.

And even in smaller details, a caricature, to be effective, must accurately seize, however much it may exaggerate, the salient features of the original. And so from the oratory and methods ascribed to Paphlagon, we may reasonably draw some conclusions with regard to the oratory and methods really employed by Cleon.

Thus, it seems impossible to doubt that he was in the habit of bringing forward ancient oracles, and prophecies, and visions, in order to impress the Athenians in favour of the policy which he desired them to pursue. In the very first description of Paphlagon we are told ἄδει δὲ χρησμούς: ὁ δὲ γέρων σιβυλλικῶ (61). He keeps by him a store of oracles, the most important of which is stolen by Nicias (116 seq.); and thereby the way to overthrow him is discovered. In his first contest before Demus he quotes his λόγια (797), and in his antagonist's reply he is upbraided for his dreams and oracles (809, 818). When he is getting the worst of the struggle, he implores Demus to allow him to fetch his oracles (961), and, obtaining permission, brings in an immense load of them (997, 1000). And this is followed by a long contest in which he and the Sausage-seller quote oracles, one against the other. And in the hour of his final overthrow, he fixes his last hope on an oracle (1229).

Now all this would be absolutely without point, if it did not hit off, in however exaggerated a manner, a noticeable peculiarity in Cleon's mode of addressing the Athenian people.

On similar grounds we may be equally sure that he was in the habit of employing homely and graphic metaphors, and the language of business men (462, 3, &c.); though of course Paphlagon's perpetual use of words drawn from the tanning trade is due to other considerations.

There can be no doubt that he possessed an unusually loud and stentorian voice, which could be distinctly heard to the extremity of the largest crowd, a matter of no little importance to a public speaker.

From the pointed way in which he is made to compare himself with Themistocles, ὁ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζων (812, 3, 8), we may fairly conclude that in some of his speeches, probably in those delivered after his triumphant return from Sphacteria, he had spoken of himself as having rivalled the achievements of that illustrious Athenian. And the address to the Demus ἐραστής τ' εἰμὶ σὸς, φιλῶ τέ σε would hardly have been emphasized, as we find it in Knights 732, 733, and 1341, had it not been intended to recall the well-known phraseology of Cleon. Many other passages will occur to the careful reader in which Paphlagon may seem to be imitating the real language or manner of the demagogue; but of course it would be easy to push inferences of this sort too far. We have seen at the commencement of this Introduction the testimony which Aristophanes himself bears to his oratorical vigour and ingenuity.

The Knights was the first Comedy exhibited by Aristophanes in his own name. Probably he felt that this bold attack on the triumphant demagogue might involve all concerned in great danger, and was unwilling that Callistratus, in whose name his Comedies had hitherto been produced, should be exposed to so serious a risk. Of Callistratus our records tell us nothing more for ten years; when Aristophanes used his name for the Birds in 414 B. C., as he did for the Lysistrata in 411 B. C. The three extant Comedies which followed the Knights—the Clouds, the Wasps, and the Peace—were all exhibited in his own name. Meanwhile,

he seems to have taken into his confidence another friend, Philonides, in whose name he exhibited the Rehearsal in 422 B. C. and the Amphiarus in 414 B. C.; and long afterwards the Frogs in 405 B. C. It seems probable that Philonides was a younger man than Callistratus, and survived him for some years.

Aristophanes, we know, declared<sup>1</sup> that Eupolis had borrowed largely from the Knights for the purpose of his attack, in the Maricas, upon the demagogue Hyperbolus; and further that he had spoiled what he borrowed. And Eupolis retorted<sup>2</sup> that he had himself assisted Aristophanes in the composition of the Knights. The fact that the young poets assisted and borrowed from each other is both natural and pleasing; and their recriminations must not be taken too seriously. They were part of the entertainment, and the audience would thoroughly enjoy the charges and countercharges of their favourites, well knowing that no real offence was intended or would be taken. Of the Maricas very few fragments survive, and we cannot tell to what extent that Comedy was really indebted to the Knights. It is not, I think, absolutely certain that Eupolis is included among the poets who are charged in the Clouds (line 559) with copying the Aristophanic simile of the eels (Knights 864-7); and perhaps the only passage in the Knights which we can with anything like confidence pronounce to have been introduced into the Maricas is the statement of the Sausage-seller in lines 188, 9 οὐδὲ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι | πλὴν γραμμάτων, Quintilian (Inst. Or. I. x. 18) observing that in the Comedy of Eupolis "Maricas,

<sup>1</sup> Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρότιστον παρείκυσεν  
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς.—Clouds 558, 4.

<sup>2</sup> In the Baptae. The lines are preserved by the Scholiast on Clouds 554

κακείνους τοὺς Ἰππέας  
ἐννεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ τούτῳ, κἀδωρησάμην.

They are in the metre which Aristophanes employed in the Parabasis Proper of the Clouds, the Eupolideian epichoriambic, which is based on the trochaic tetrameter catalectic, but with the substitution of a choriamb for the third and fourth feet, and with the right to substitute a spondee and in some cases an iamb in places where, in the ordinary metre, only a trochee would be permissible. The scheme of the metre is given in Gaisford's note to Hephaestion xvi. 4.

qui est Hyperbolus, *nihil se ex musicis scire nisi literas confitetur*<sup>1</sup>." This remark, however, must certainly, as in the Knights, have been connected with the qualifications of a Demagogue. On the other hand the contribution of Eupolis to the Knights is identified by the old grammarians, either from some ancient tradition or as the result of their own critical acumen, with the whole or a part of the Second Parabasis<sup>2</sup>. And it certainly seems to me that if we are to trace a stranger's hand in any part of the Knights, it is to be found in this Parabasis. There is no parallel in these Comedies to the obscure and involved language of the Strophe and Antistrophe. The lyrics of Aristophanes are models of crispness and lucidity. The thought is always clear, and the language aptly fitted to the thought. But in both these odes, and not merely in one of them, the thoughts and the language are alike confused and cumbrous. The Epirrhema is couched throughout in a tone of concentrated indignation, such as we find in the Roman Satirist, without a touch of the lightness and humour which

<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that Quintilian is confusing the Maricas with the Knights? The idea has often occurred to me, but I think it quite impossible. He was a very accurate writer. He is here considering the connexion between *γράμματα* and *μουσική* in Greek education; and brings forward in succession the evidence of (amongst others) Sophron, Eupolis, Aristophanes, and Menander. The very next words after those quoted in the text are "Aristophanes quoque non uno loco sic institui pueros antiquitus solitos esse demonstrat." So that he is in this very passage distinguishing the Maricas of Eupolis from the works of Aristophanes. Then in Eupolis it is the existing demagogue to whom the remark applies; in Aristophanes it applies not to the existing demagogue, but to the stranger introduced to supplant him. Add to this that we are to *expect* similarities between the Maricas and the Knights; and I think that no reasonable person can doubt the accuracy of Quintilian's statement.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐπολις ἐν τοῖς Βάπταις φησὶν ὅτι συνεποίησεν Ἀριστοφάνει τοὺς Ἰππέας. λέγει δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν Παράβασιν.—Scholiast on Clouds 554.

ἐκ τοῦ "ὅστις οὖν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα" φασὶ τινες Εὐπόλιδος εἶναι τὴν Παράβασιν.—Scholiast on Knights 1291.

The latter statement is plainly erroneous. It might as well be said that the contribution of Eupolis commenced in the middle of a sentence. And, indeed, the un-Aristophanic element is even more perceptible in what precedes, than in what follows, the words *ὅστις οὖν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα*.

we are accustomed to associate with the satire of Aristophanes. It would certainly seem more appropriate to the poet whom Persius distinguished by the special epithet of *the angry*, "iratum Eupolidem." And, indeed, as if for the very purpose of showing how different his own treatment would have been, Aristophanes in the *Wasps*, which is the complement of the *Knights*, introduces the very same subject in the very same place (1275-83), and deals with the vice of Aripgrades and the musical skill of his brother Arignotus in such a fashion that, even if the passage were anonymous, any one gifted with the least discernment would say *This is from the hand of Aristophanes*. And finally the Antepirrhema, the meeting of the triremes to discuss the proposed expedition under the command of Hyperbolus, is conceived in a vein of humour nowhere else discoverable in these Comedies. It is perhaps worthy of notice that Hyperbolus, whom Aristophanes does not elsewhere deem worthy of serious comment, appears to have been the special object of Eupolis's aversion. It seems to me, therefore, that throughout this Second Parabasis, and not merely in the latter part of it, we find traces of the mind and hand of some writer other than Aristophanes. But whether it is solely the work of Eupolis, or whether the two young poets co-operated in producing it, is a very different question, and one on which it is extremely difficult to give any decided answer. Anyhow, as it forms part of an Aristophanic Comedy, it is customary, and seems right, to refer to it as if it were the work of Aristophanes.

Is a guess permissible, for of course it can be only a guess, as to the reason of the co-operation of Eupolis in this Second Parabasis? It seems to me probable that Aristophanes originally intended the Comedy to conclude with the final overthrow of Cleon, and that it was only by an afterthought that he resolved to add a description of Demus, rejuvenated and delivered from the sway of the Demagogues. And this would almost necessitate a Second Parabasis, in order to account for the time required for the regeneration of Demus. And if the notion occurred to Aristophanes only at the last moment, it may well have

formed a subject of discussion between the two young poets, and Eupolis may have offered to supply, or assist in the composition of, the Second Parabasis. There are many signs that it was put together in haste, as if to meet a sudden emergency, such as the circumstance that the anecdote about Cleonymus, and the story about the triremes which immediately follows, are both inartistically introduced by the same word *φασί*, *they say*; a word which, indeed, commences a third verse only three lines below.

The poetical translations of the Knights, though few in number, are of the highest class. They are by Thomas Mitchell, A.D. 1820; the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere, 1840; Benjamin Dann Walsh, 1848; and Leonard Hampson Rudd, 1867. Excellent as are all Frere's translations, he is at his best in the Knights, whilst Mitchell's version of the Parabasis Proper is perhaps the most striking presentation of Aristophanes in English. For the publication of my own translation I must offer the same excuse and apology that in the Introduction to the Acharnians I offered for publishing my translation of that play.

EASTWOOD, STRAWBERRY HILL,  
*August, 1909.*

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By the kindness of Professor Maurice Croiset I am allowed to insert here the following extract from his admirable little treatise on "Aristophane et les partis à Athènes," Paris; Albert Fontemoing, 1906.

Il (Cléon) semble avoir eu en partage certaines qualités d'orateur, et même d'homme d'État, qui, en s'associant à ses défauts, non seulement les dissimulèrent en partie, mais les rendirent même quelquefois agréables au peuple. Une assurance imperturbable, une voix puissante qui remuait la foule, une sorte de sans-gêne qui scandalisait les gens comme il faut, mais qui ne déplaisait pas à la multitude. Ses clameurs même, sa gesticulation véhémement, les injures qu'il lançait à ses adversaires, tout cela réuni faisait

qu'il ne ressemblait à personne. Ajoutons qu'il possédait une intelligence claire, apte à simplifier les choses, une logique tranchante, qui procédait volontiers par déductions inflexibles, et qui imposait ses conclusions par une rigueur systématique. Thucydide nous dit qu'il était très violent et qu'il savait mieux que personne persuader le peuple<sup>1</sup>. La persuasion elle-même avait chez lui quelque chose de violent. Elle provenait de l'élan brutal de son argumentation, qui, s'attachant à quelques idées absolues, écartait les considérations multiples où s'attardent les esprits étendus et réfléchis. Il avait, sur ses adversaires, modérés et politiques, la supériorité de fait qu'ont les dogmatiques intransigeants lorsqu'ils s'adressent à un public indécis et d'ailleurs épris des idées qui semblent claires. Il savait dégager, du milieu des sentiments confus de la multitude, certains principes, qu'il formulait en termes impérieux, et, en les énonçant ainsi, il donnait un corps aux passions populaires, dont il se faisait le serviteur pour dominer l'État<sup>2</sup>.

Au dedans, sa politique tendait à détruire ce que les classes supérieures gardaient encore d'influence. Aristote le juge d'un mot très expressif : "C'est lui, dit-il, qui semble avoir le plus contribué à corrompre le peuple par ses propres instincts<sup>3</sup>." Ce jugement est sans doute celui des adversaires de Cléon ; mais il est difficile de douter qu'à tout prendre il ne soit à peu près juste. Il ressort en effet de l'histoire de cette période que l'institution démocratique s'y altéra de plus en plus, par le développement des instincts dangereux qu'elle portait en elle-même ; et, comme Cléon fut alors l'homme d'État le plus écouté du peuple, il est certain qu'il contribua grandement à cette altération. C'est du reste ce que dit également Thucydide, en caractérisant les politiciens qui succédèrent à Périclès : il fait remarquer que celui-ci conduisait vraiment le peuple, au lieu de se laisser conduire par lui. "Au contraire, ajoute-t-il, ceux qui vinrent après lui, n'ayant pas de supériorité marquée les uns sur les autres et désirant pourtant se surpasser mutuellement, durent s'efforcer de plaire à la multitude, et ils lui laissèrent diriger les affaires<sup>4</sup>." Cela, il est vrai, n'est pas dit spécialement de Cléon ; mais Cléon, à n'en pas douter, est le premier visé par cette observation décisive. Flatter la démocratie, en se

<sup>1</sup> Thucydide, ii, 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ce caractère de logicien dur et brutal me paraît ressortir très vivement des discours que lui prête Thucydide dans l'affaire des Mityléniens.

<sup>3</sup> Aristote, République des Athéniens, c. xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Thucydide, ii, 65. 10.

faisant le complaisant de ses instincts, qui d'ailleurs étaient probablement aussi les siens, tel était le fond de sa politique<sup>1</sup>. Ajoutons-y les accusations incessantes devant les tribunaux, par lesquelles il se faisait une réputation de vigilance et de dévouement au bien public, en même temps qu'il entretenait les soupçons auxquels le peuple n'était que trop porté<sup>2</sup>.

Au dehors, il tendait à exciter incessamment l'ambition imprudente d'Athènes. La prépondérance maritime, dont Périclès voulait qu'on se contentât, ne lui suffisait plus. D'accord avec les sentiments secrets du peuple et surtout des gens du Pirée, il faisait briller à leurs yeux la vision flatteuse ou le rêve décevant d'un grand empire. Et dans ces questions, où la prudence, la mesure, le discernement du possible eussent été si nécessaires, il portait son intransigeance habituelle. Il n'admettait ni les ménagements ni les succès. Thucydide déclare formellement qu'il resta jusqu'à la fin le principal obstacle à la paix, du côté des Athéniens<sup>3</sup>. "Mon but, dit le Paphlagonien à Démos dans les *Cavaliers*, c'est de te faire régner sur tous les Grecs<sup>4</sup>." Si le mot n'est pas historique, il résume du moins la politique que dut professer Cléon. Les gens de mer, et tous ceux qui vivaient à Athènes du commerce avec l'étranger, avaient au fond le désir et le besoin d'extension incessante, qui semblent être, par une loi naturelle, ceux des grandes puissances maritimes. Cléon flattait cet instinct, comme il flattait tous les instincts populaires. Il montrait ce rêve comme sûrement réalisable, à la seule condition qu'on ne cédât jamais, et qu'on se gardât bien de relâcher, au nom de vains scrupules d'humanité, l'autorité "impériale," créée par les événements eux-mêmes et par la force des choses. C'était le théoricien d'une domination toujours croissante, établie et entretenue au moyen d'une énergie inflexible.

Aristophane ne pouvait pas ne pas être l'adversaire déclaré d'un tel

<sup>1</sup> C'est ce qui ressort des quelques faits précis qui nous sont connus. L'élévation du salaire des juges, quoi qu'on en ait dit, ne répondait pas à un autre dessein (Aristophane, *Cavaliers*, 255; *Scol.*, Guêpes, 88). Se rappeler aussi le rôle de Cléon dans les pourparlers de 425 (Thucydide, iv. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Aristophane, *Cavaliers*, 256. La question de savoir si Cléon était de bonne ou de mauvaise foi, intéressé ou court d'esprit, me paraît secondaire. L'histoire est juge, non de sa conscience, mais de son rôle. Ceux qui ont cherché à le réhabiliter auraient dû essayer de montrer une circonstance au moins où il ait exercé sur le peuple une influence utile. S'il l'a, au contraire, toujours poussé du côté où il inclinait secrètement, le jugement d'Aristote et celui de Thucydide sont justifiés.

<sup>3</sup> Thucydide, v. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Aristophane, *Cavaliers*, 797.



homme et de ceux qui lui ressemblaient. Il l'était par nature, indépendamment de tout grief personnel, et presque sans réflexion.

Le dissentiment, entre eux, portait d'abord sur les choses essentielles de la politique. Aristophane, nous avons dit plus haut pour quelles causes, appartenait de cœur et d'âme à une démocratie modérée, attachée au sol et aux traditions, ennemie des violences et des témérités, peu sympathique aux discoureurs, et très opposée à ces procès incessants qui troublaient la cité et ne profitaient qu'aux politiciens. Quant aux ambitions conquérantes des gens du Pirée, elles lui étaient totalement étrangères. Comme les gens de la campagne, généralement, il ne comprenait, en fait de guerre, que la guerre défensive, limitée à la protection du territoire<sup>1</sup>. Les entreprises lointaines, où Athènes prodiguait son sang et son argent, lui paraissaient une sorte de folie criminelle. En somme, tout ce qui constituait le programme politique de Cléon lui était odieux. Dissidence première et ardente, que son imagination vive, sa sensibilité de poète et son aptitude satirique excitaient sans cesse et enflammaient.

Et, sous ce dissentiment, il y en avait un autre, plus profond encore ; un conflit moins politique que moral et national. Le caractère athénien, tel que l'avaient fait la race, la tradition et les événements, subissait une crise, au commencement de la guerre du Péloponèse.

Thucydide, dans le discours qu'il attribue à Périclès et qu'il dit avoir été prononcé par lui dans l'hiver de 431-430, a défini ce caractère en l'idéalisant. Ce que l'homme d'État loue surtout, c'est la douceur charmante des mœurs athéniennes, l'absence de contrainte, la liberté de la vie privée, exempte de toute surveillance jalouse, une justice bienveillante, un goût d'élégance simple qui embellissait l'existence, une hospitalité confiante, la bonne grâce aimable et la facilité des relations, enfin une sorte de souplesse native, qui permettait à chacun de réaliser toutes ses aptitudes sans s'assujettir à une discipline dure et triste<sup>2</sup>. Tout cela semble pris sur le fait par un observateur de premier ordre, qui, ayant vécu dans diverses parties de la Grèce, a pu juger après comparaison. Et si, dans la réalité, ces qualités étaient mélangées de défauts, que l'historien a lui-même notés ailleurs, on ne peut douter en tout cas que le tableau ne soit exact dans l'ensemble. C'était bien là, sauf correction de détail, le

<sup>1</sup> Aristophane, Assemblée des femmes, 197. Cf. J. Beloch, *Die attische Politik*, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydide, i, ii, c. xxxvii-xli.

caractère d'Athènes vers 431 et ce qui en faisait vraiment une ville unique dans le monde grec. Or, la politique démagogique tendait à l'altérer gravement. Elle apportait avec elle et propageait rapidement dans la cité les soupçons, les haines, l'esprit de parti. Par la déformation de l'institution judiciaire, elle inquiétait et exaspérait les uns, tandis qu'elle développait chez les autres une malveillance égoïste ; par les excès de pouvoir de l'assemblée, elle transformait la démocratie en despotisme ; enfin, par l'outrance de son impérialisme, elle rendait le peuple tyrannique et quelquefois cruel.

Personne n'était plus Athénien à l'ancienne mode qu'Aristophane, bien que très moderne à certains égards, et personne donc ne dut avoir plus vivement que lui le sentiment de cette crise. Comment sa libre et expansive nature, joyeuse et vive, amie des fêtes, des gais propos, de la vie facile, n'aurait-elle pas eu horreur de cet esprit sectaire qu'elle sentait grandir autour d'elle ? La démagogie haineuse, les tribunaux méchants, la guerre prolongée pour des intérêts particuliers aux dépens du bien public, c'était de quoi révolter ce représentant passionné de la vieille franchise, si attaché à son Attique paisible et bienveillante. Sa polémique est issue de là. Et on peut dire qu'elle se ramène à cela tout entière. Car, au fond, lorsqu'il attaquera Euripide, Socrate, et même la musique nouvelle, avec autant de vivacité, ou peu s'en faut, que Cléon ou Lamachos, la cause de sa colère sera peut-être toujours la même. Ce qu'il défendra contre les novateurs, à tort ou à raison, ce sera toujours le naturel athénien, tel qu'il se le représente, tel qu'il le sent en lui-même, tel qu'il le voit dans la tradition. Il en a aimé comme personne la spontanéité vive, la droiture héréditaire, la simplicité gracieuse, et, sous les dehors moqueurs, la bonté native.

Voilà ce qu'il ne faut pas perdre de vue pour bien apprécier ses relations avec les partis. A coup sûr, dans la lutte où il était engagé, il a subi des influences passagères, il a recherché des alliances utiles, il a pu même se prêter parfois à certains desseins politiques. Tout cela demande à être étudié et discuté de près, à propos de chacune de ses pièces. Mais, de prime abord, il est essentiel de se dire, qu'à proprement parler, Aristophane n'a été d'aucun parti. Fils de la campagne et de la tradition athénienne, c'est au nom de la terre natale qu'il parle, et c'est l'âme d'Athènes qu'il défend contre ceux qu'il considère comme ses corrupteurs.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ<sup>1</sup>.

## I.

Τὸ δράμα τοῦτο ποιεῖται εἰς Κλέωνα, τὸν Ἀθηναίων δημαγωγόν. ὑπόκειται δὲ ὡς Παφλαγῶν, νεώνητος, δουλεύων τῷ Δήμῳ, καὶ προαγόμενος παρ' αὐτῷ περιττότερον. ἐπιτιθεμένων δὲ αὐτῷ δυοῖν τοῖν ὁμοδούλοιν, καὶ κατὰ τινα λόγια πονηρῆς διάσημον ἀλλαντοπώλην Ἀγοράκριτον ἐπαγόντων, ὃς ἐπιτροπεύει τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτοὶ<sup>2</sup> οἱ Ἀθηναίων ἱππεῖς συλλαβόντες ἐν Χοροῦ σχήματι παραφαίνονται ὑφ' ὧν προπηλακιζόμενος ὁ Κλέων ἀγανακτεῖ, καὶ διενεχθεὶς ἱκανῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀνώτερος<sup>3</sup> εἶναι τῶν ἐναντιουμένων, σφὰς ὡς συνομωμοκότας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελῶν<sup>4</sup> πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἵεται. διώξαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀλλαντοπώλου κατὰ πόδας, οἱ ἱππεῖς περὶ τε τοῦ ποιητοῦ τινα καὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν συγκινδυνεύοντων σφίσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς μάχαις ἵππων<sup>5</sup>, πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἀδροτέρως διαλέγονται. ὃ τε ἀλλαντοπώλης περιγεγενημένος ἐν βουλῇ μάλα γελοῖος τοῦ Κλέωνος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> All these Arguments are found in the chief Venetian MS. (V.), and, except where otherwise mentioned, stand here as they are given in that edition. The first Argument is also found in P. F. F<sup>5</sup>. and some other MSS. The Ravenna MS. has no Arguments for this play.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων Aldus, vulgo. V. has δὲ after αὐτοί. The words are omitted in P. F. F<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνώτερος P. F. F<sup>5</sup>. Aldus, vulgo. ἀλογώτερος V.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. So all the MSS. κατὰ τῆς πόλεως Aldus, vulgo. The

participle is omitted in all the MSS. and in all editions before Bergk who, retaining the unauthorized κατὰ, inserted διαβαλῶν. But there is no ground for rejecting the ἐκ of the MSS. and I have therefore inserted ἐξελῶν, the word put into Cleon's mouth in Wasps 1230, ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἐξελῶν.

<sup>5</sup> ἵππων. This word, omitted in V., was first inserted by Brunck, apparently from his Parisian MSS., but in Velsen's edition it is said to be omitted in P. and in the other MSS.

λοιδορούμενος αὐθις αὐτῷ προσέρχεται· ἐκκαλεσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κλέωνος τὸν Δῆμον, προσελθὼν οὗτος διαφορομένων<sup>1</sup> ἀκροᾶται. λόγων δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων κατὰ τοῦ Κλέωνος, τοῦ Ἀγορακρίτου μάλ' ἐντέχνως τοῖς ἐπινοήμασι, καὶ ταῖς θωπείαις, καὶ προσέτι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν λογίων ὑπερβολαῖς κρατοῦντος, κατὰ μικρὸν ὁ Δῆμος τοῖς λόγοις συνεφέλκεται. δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλέωνος, κάπὶ τὸ ψωμίζειν τὸν Δῆμον ὀρμήσαντος, ἀντιψωμίζειν ἄτερος ἐγχειρεῖ. καὶ τέλος τοῦ Δήμου τὴν ἐκατέρου κίστην συνιέντος, εἶτα τῆς μὲν κενῆς, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Κλέωνος μεστῆς εὐρεθείσης, ἐλεγχθεὶς αὐτὸς ὡς περιφανῶς<sup>2</sup> τὰ τοῦ Δήμου κλέπτων ἐκβάλλεται<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἐπιτροπείας. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ ἀλλαντοπώλου τὸν Δῆμον ἀφεψήσαντος, εἶτα νεώτερον ἐξαυτῆς εἰς τοῦμφανὲς γεγονότα προαγαγόντος, Κλέων<sup>4</sup> περικείμενος τὴν τε Ἀγορακρίτου σκευὴν ἐπὶ παραδειγματισμῷ διὰ μέσης πόλεως ἀλλαντοπωλῶν ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ χρησάμενος πέμπεται. καὶ ἡ ἐπιτροπὴ τῷ ἀλλαντοπώλῃ παραδίδοται. τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν ἄγαν καλῶς πεποιημένων.

Ἐδιδάχθη<sup>5</sup> τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ Στρατοκλέους ἄρχοντος δημοσίᾳ εἰς Ἀθήναια, δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους· καὶ πρῶτος ἦν<sup>6</sup>. δεῦτερος Κρατῖνος Σατύροις. τρίτος Ἀριστομένης Ἐλοφόροις.

<sup>1</sup> διαφορομένων Aldus, vulgo. διαφερόμενος P. διαφθειρομένων V. F. διαφθείρει τοὺς (with ἀκροατάς) F<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> περιφανῶς, Brunck. περιφανῆς, MSS., Aldus.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκβάλλεται, V. Aldus. ἐκεῖ θατέρω, P. F. F<sup>5</sup>. εἶκει θατέρω, Brunck.

<sup>4</sup> Κλέων, and just below, παραδειγματισμῷ, Kuster. Κλέωνος and παραδειγματισμοῦ MSS., Aldus.

<sup>5</sup> In V. this paragraph, the only thing

of importance in these Arguments, is written in the margin of the First Argument. It is also found in F. and F<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> πρῶτος ἦν. After these words V. inserts ἐνίκα, probably as an explanation. F. and F<sup>5</sup>. have πρῶτον ἐνίκα. But πρῶτος ἦν is a very common form in the didascalicaliae, and the form πρῶτον (or πρῶτος) ἐνίκα is never used. For Σατύροις V. has Σαγύροις.

## II 1.

Ὁ σκοπὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καθελεῖν Κλέωνα. οὗτος γὰρ βυρσοπώλης ὦν ἐκράτει τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ προφάσεως τοιαύτης. Ἀθηναῖοι πόλιν Πύλου, λεγομένην Σφακτηρίαν, ἐπολιόρκουν διὰ Δημοσθένους στρατηγοῦ καὶ Νικίου· ὦν στρατηγῶν χρονισάντων ἐδυσχέρανον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθόντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδημονούντων, Κλέων τις<sup>2</sup> βυρσοπώλης ἀναστὰς ὑπέσχετο δεσμίους φέρειν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους εἴσω εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν, εἰ στρατηγὸς αἰρεθείη· ὅπερ καὶ γέγονε. κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις οὖν ἐστρατήγει, κυκῶν τὴν πόλιν. ἐφ' οἷς μὴ ἐνεγκῶν Ἀριστοφάνης καθίησι τὸ τῶν Ἰππέων δράμα δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ τῶν σκευοποιῶν οὐδεὶς ἐπλάσατο τὸ τοῦ Κλέωνος πρόσωπον διὰ φόβου. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κύπτει φοβούμενος· εἶτα προφανεῖς αὐτὸς ἀνεδίδαξε τὸ δράμα.

Ἔοικεν ὁ προλογίζων εἶναι Δημοσθένης, ὃς ἐκεκμήκει περὶ τὴν Πύλου πολιορκίαν, ἀφηρέθη δὲ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ὑποσχομένου τότε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παραστήσασθαι τὴν Πύλον εἴσω εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν· ὃ καὶ κατάρθωσε διὰ τὸ τὰ πλείστα τῆς ἀλώσεως προπεπονῆσθαι Δημοσθένη. ἔοικε δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκίας δεσποτικῆς ποιεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον· εἴη δ' ἂν δεσπότης ὁ δῆμος, οἰκία ἢ πόλις. Οἰκέται δὲ δύο τοῦ Δήμου προλογίζουσι, κακῶς πάσχοντες ὑπὸ Κλέωνος. ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἰππέων ἐστίν, οἳ καὶ ἐζημίωσαν τὸν Κλέωνα πέντε ταλάντα ἐπὶ δωροδοκία ἀλόντα. λέγουσι δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸν μὲν εἶναι Δημοσθένην, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν, ἵνα ᾧσι δημηγόροι οἱ δύο.

<sup>1</sup> This Argument is full of the most absurd inaccuracies, historical and otherwise, so glaring that it is unnecessary to point them out. It is also found in P. F. and M., and is probably by the same hand which wrote the article on the "Frogs" in M. entitled σκοπὸς τοῦ παρόντος δράματος. See note (1) in

Vol. V, p. xlv of this edition. I should not have thought it worth inserting, had it not been the cause of the unfortunate substitution made by some recent editors of the names Οἰκέτης A and Οἰκέτης B for the names of Demosthenes and Nicias.

<sup>2</sup> τις P. F. M. Ald. τῆς V.

Ἰστέον ὅτι εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διήρητο ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων, εἰς πεντακοσιομεδίμους, εἰς ἰππέας, εἰς ζευγίτας καὶ εἰς θήτας<sup>1</sup>.

III<sup>2</sup>.

## ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ.

Παράγει τινὰ Κλέωνα, τὸν καλούμενον  
 Παφλαγόνα, κάτι βυρσοπώλην, πικρότατα  
 κατεσθιοντά πως τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα·  
 κὰν<sup>3</sup> παραλογισμῶ διαφέροντ' ἔρρωμένως  
 ἄλλαντοπώλην, εὐθέως τε σκατοφάγον,  
 πεισθέντα<sup>4</sup> τ' ἐπιθέσθαι σὺν ἰππεῦσιν τισιν,  
 ἐν τῷ χορῶ<sup>5</sup> παροῦσι, τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 ἀρχῇ· Κλέωνός τ' ἐν μέσῳ κατηγορεῖν<sup>6</sup>.  
 ἐγένετο τοῦτ'· ἐξέπεσεν ὁ Κλέων παγκάκως·  
 ὁ δὲ σκατοφάγος ἔτυχε προεδρίας καλῆς.

<sup>1</sup> As an historical fact this is of course quite accurate. But if the writer means to identify the *ἰππεῖς* of the play with the *ἰππεῖς* of the Solonian constitution, he is altogether wrong. The matter is considered in the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> In V. this Argument is written in the margin of the First Argument, and entitled Ἀριστοφάνους γραμματικοῦ ὑπόθεσις ἰππέων. It is so difficult to decipher that I prefer to rely upon Velsen's interpretation of it rather than upon my own. It is also found in F. and F<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> κὰν Portus, who appears to have been the first to write this Argument as verse. ἐν MSS. Ald. καί, Bergk.— διαφέροντ' and (in the next line) εὐθέως τε are Kuster's suggestions for the διαφοροῦντ' and εὐθέως (without τε) of V. and Ald.

<sup>4</sup> πεισθέντα τ' and ἰππεῦσιν Portus, for the πεισθέντ' and ἰππεῦσι of the MSS. and Aldus.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν τῷ χορῶ MSS. ἐν χορῶ Aldus. τοῖς ἐν χορῶ Portus.

<sup>6</sup> κατηγορεῖν Bergk. κατηγορεῖ MSS. Aldus.

## CORRIGENDUM.

P. 52, text, line 366. For XO. read ΔΗ.

# Ι Π Π Ε Ι Σ

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## ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΔΗΜΟΣ.

ΠΑΦΛΑΓΩΝ

ΝΙΚΙΑΣ

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΕΩΝ.

} οἰκείται.

## Ι Π Π Ε Ι Σ

- ΔΗ. Ἰατταταιᾶξ τῶν κακῶν, ἰατταταιᾶ.  
κακῶς Παφλαγῶνα τὸν νεώνητον κακὸν  
αὐταῖσι βουλαῖς ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί.  
ἐξ οὗ γὰρ εἰσήρρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,  
πληγὰς ἀεὶ προστρίβεται τοῖς οἰκέταις. 5
- ΝΙ. κάκιστα δῆθ' οὗτός γε πρῶτος Παφλαγόνων  
αὐταῖς διαβολαῖς. ΔΗ. ᾧ κακόδαιμον, πῶς ἔχεις;
- ΝΙ. κακῶς καθάπερ σύ. ΔΗ. δεῦρό νυν πρόσσελθ', ἵνα  
ἐξναυλίαν κλαύσωμεν Οὐλύμπου νόμον.

The scene in the Knights in some respects resembles the scene in the Acharnians. In the foreground is a loose arrangement of stones, which will, later on, be taken to represent the Pnyx. Behind are the usual three houses. The central house, with a harvest-wreath suspended over the door, is the abode of Demus; whilst the others will presently be utilized for the purposes of Paphlagon and the Sausage-seller. At the back of the scene, stretched from the *περίακτος* or revolving pillar on one side of the stage to the *περίακτος* on the other, is a painted representation of the great Propylaea, the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis. Out of the house of Demus run two slaves, howling, and rubbing their limbs, as if they had just been receiving a severe castigation.

Their masks are fashioned into portraits of the two famous Athenian generals, Nicias and Demosthenes.

6. *πρῶτος Παφλαγόνων*] *First* (by which he means *worst*) of *Paphlagon*. ὡς πάντων μὲν ὄντων πονηρῶν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τοῦ Κλέωνος, says the Scholiast. Nicias, while taking up his comrade's lamentation, changes the construction; speaking as if the other had used the words ἀπόλοιτο Παφλαγῶν instead of Παφλαγῶνα ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί.

7. *αἰταῖς διαβολαῖς*] *Calumnies and all*. To denounce and calumniate the generals and other officers of state was Cleon's habitual practice. The word is applied to him *infra* 45, 64, 288, 486, 491; and see the note on Acharnians 378: so Thuc. iv. 27. He did not wish for Peace, says Thucydides v. 16, because



## THE KNIGHTS

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DEMOSTHENES. O! O! This Paphlagon, with all his wiles,  
This newly-purchased pest, I wish the Gods  
Would "utterly abolish and destroy"!  
For since he entered, by ill-luck, our house,  
He's always getting all the household flogged.

NICIAS. I wish they would, this chief of Paphlagon,  
Him and his lies! DE. Ha! how feel *you*, poor fellow?  
NIC. Bad, like yourself. DE. Then come, and let us wail  
A stave of old Olympus, both together.

---

he would then be *καταφανέστερος κακουργῶν καὶ ἀπιστότερος διαβάλλων*.

8. *καθάπερ σύ*] "And so are you for that matter," as Frere translates it. The speaker is inclined to resent the tone of patronizing superiority which Demosthenes assumes, and the uncomplimentary *κακόδαιμον* with which he addresses him. For this is a mode of address which commonly involves a spice of disparagement, if not of vituperation. See, for example, *infra* 1195, Clouds 1293, Birds 672, 890, 1569, 1604, Frogs 1058. For a similar little ebullition of petulance on the part of Nicias, see *infra* 73.

9. *ξυναυλίαν*] *In concert*. Olympus is the old Phrygian musician who flourished, it is supposed, in the seventh century, and to whose influence is attributed the development of flute-music

amongst the Hellenic peoples. "He is never," says K. O. Müller, "mentioned as a poet; he is simply a musician. His names, indeed, seem to have been originally executed on the flute alone, without singing; and he himself, in the tradition of the Greeks, was celebrated as a flute-player."—Greek Literature xii. § 8. The original form of the name, *Ὀδλυμπος*, is found also in Eur. Iph. in Aul. 578, where Paris is pictured as a shepherd, *Φρυγίων αἰλῶν Οὐλύμπου καλάμοις μμήματα πνείων*. These old forms lingered on in proper names, says Dobree, instancing Neoptolemus and Archeptolemus; but no doubt their retention is mainly due to the exigencies of metre. A musical *νόμος* was a piece of music arranged to the words of a poetical text, Col. Mure, Greek Lit. iii. 1. § 9.

- ΔΗ. καὶ ΝΙ. μὴ μῦ, μὴ μῦ, μὴ μῦ, μὴ μῦ, μὴ μῦ, μὴ μῦ, μὴ μῦ. 10
- ΔΗ. τί κινυρόμεθ' ἄλλως ; οὐκ ἐχρῆν ζητεῖν τινα  
σωτηρίαν νῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κλάειν ἔτι ;
- ΝΙ. τίς οὖν γένοιτ' ἄν ; λέγε σύ. ΔΗ. σὺ μὲν οὖν μοι λέγε,  
ἵνα μὴ μάχωμαι. ΝΙ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω γὰρ μὲν οὐ  
ἀλλ' εἶπὲ θαρρῶν, εἶτα κάγω σοὶ φράσω. 15
- ΔΗ. πῶς ἂν σύ μοι λέξειας ἀμὲ χρῆ λέγειν ;
- ΝΙ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνι μοι τὸ θρέττε. πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτε  
εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευρικῶς ;
- ΔΗ. μὴ μοί γε, μὴ μοι, μὴ διασκανδικίσης  
ἀλλ' εὐρέ τιν' ἀπόκινον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου. 20
- ΝΙ. λέγε δὴ " μόλωμεν " ξυνεχὲς ὡδὶ ξυλλαβῶν.
- ΔΗ. καὶ δὴ λέγω μόλωμεν. ΝΙ. ἐξόπισθε νῦν  
" αὐτὸ " φαθὶ τοῦ " μόλωμεν." ΔΗ. αὐτό. ΝΙ. πάνυ καλῶς.  
ὥσπερ δεφόμενος νῦν ἀτρέμα πρῶτον λέγε  
τὸ " μόλωμεν," εἶτα δ' " αὐτό," κατεπάγων πυκνόν. 25
- ΔΗ. μόλωμεν αὐτὸ μόλωμεν αὐτομολῶμεν. ΝΙ. ἦν,

10. μὴ μῦ] Aristophanes gives us here a line composed entirely of sobs ; just as in Plutus 895 he gives us a line composed entirely of sniffs.

14. ἵνα μὴ μάχωμαι] It is surprising that any editor should have adopted Beer's proposal to transfer this speech to Nicias (giving the previous λέγε σὺ to Demosthenes) on the ground that these words ἵνα μὴ μάχωμαι are " more suitable to the timid spirit of Nicias." They are really suitable only to the pugnacious spirit of Demosthenes. For they are intended to convey a threat. *Do what I tell you*, he means, *or you and I will fight* ; that is to say, " if you don't do it, I shall pitch in to you."

16. πῶς ἂν κ.τ.λ.] This line is bor-

rowed without alteration from the Hippolytus of Euripides (line 345). There it is addressed by Phaedra to the nurse to whom she is longing to confide her guilty secret, which she is yet ashamed to put into words. Nicias, a more highly cultured and refined gentleman than Demosthenes (I am speaking of them, of course, in their real characters), is so struck at hearing his comrade quote Euripides that he too is fain, in his turn, to say something κομψευρικῶς, in a smart Euripidean manner.

17. τὸ θρέττε] A slang equivalent of τὸ θράσος. The Scholiast says it is a barbarism. Hesychius explains θρετὸν and θριπτόν by τὸ ἀνδρείον, τὸ θρασύ.

19. μὴ διασκανδικίσης] *Don't do me to*

- BOTH. (*Sobbing.*) Mumu! Mumu! Mumu! Mumu! Mumu!
- DE. Pah! What's the good of whimpering? Better far  
To dry our tears, and seek some way of safety.
- NIC. Which way? You, tell me. DE. Rather, tell me you,  
Or else we'll fight. NIC. By Apollo, no not I.  
You say it first, and then I'll say it after.
- DE. O that thou said'st the thing that I would say.
- NIC. I've not the pluck. I wish I could suggest  
Some plan in smart Euripidean style.
- DE. Don't do it! Don't! Pray don't be-chervil me;  
But find some caper-cutting trick from master.
- NIC. Will you say *sert*, like that, speaking it crisply?
- DE. Of course I'll say it, *sert*. NIC. Now, after *sert*  
Say *de*. DE. *De*. NIC. Yes, that's very nicely said.  
Now, first say *sert*, and then say *de*, beginning  
Slowly at first, but quickening as you go.
- DE. Aye; *sert-de, sert-de, sert, de-sert*. NIC. There 'tis!

*death with your chervil.* The mention of Euripides in the compound κομψευρικῶς (a compound, by the way, fully as irregular as the Πεισθέταιρος of the "Birds") brings unpleasantly to his mind the σκάνδιξ (*sweet cicely* or *great chervil*), which the Tragic poet's mother (so they said) was accustomed to sell in the market. See Acharnians 478 and the Commentary there.

20. ἀπόκινων] This was the name of a vulgar and farcical dance; εἶδος ὀρχήσεως φορτικῆς.—Scholiast. Pollux (iv. 101) classes it under the head of ἀσελγῆ εἶδη ὀρχήσεων, ἐν τῇ τῆς ὀσφύος περιφορᾷ; and Athenaeus (xiv. 26, 27) under the head of γέλοιαι ὀρχήσεις; the latter writer adding that it was danced by

women (ἦν καὶ πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ὠρχοῦντο), and that it was mentioned by Cratinus, Cephisodorus, Aristophanes, and many others. Here the poet, playing on the derivation of the word, uses it, as the Scholiast says, for φυγὴν, ἀποχώρησιν.

21. ξυνεχῆς ξυλλαβῶν] Crisply and tightly, pronouncing it all together, so that it will presently, without change of tone, form part of a larger word. The meaning is cognate to that of συλλαβή, a syllable.

26. αἰτομολῶμεν] The speakers, we must remember, are Athenian slaves, with whom during the Peloponnesian War desertion to the enemy was a matter of common occurrence, Clouds 7, Peace 451. Cf. Thuc. vii. 27.

- οὐχ ἡδύ; ΔΗ. νῆ Δία, πλήν γε περὶ τῷ δέρματι  
δέδοικα τουτονὶ τὸν οἰώνον. ΝΙ. τί δαί;
- ΔΗ. ὅτι τὸ δέσμα δεφομένων ἀπέρχεται.
- ΝΙ. κράτιστα τοῖνον τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ νῶν, 30  
θεῶν ἰόντε προσπεσεῖν του πρὸς βρέτας.
- ΔΗ. ποῖον βρετέτετας; <sup>τῆς στέρων</sup> ἐτεδὸν ἡγεῖ γὰρ θεοῦς;
- ΝΙ. ἔγωγε. ΔΗ. ποῖω χρώμενος τεκμηρίω;
- ΝΙ. ὅτι θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς εἰμ'. οὐκ εἰκότως;
- ΔΗ. εὐ προσβιβάσεις μ'. ἀλλ' ἐτέρα ποι σκεπτέον. 35  
βούλει τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς θεαταῖσιν φράσω;
- ΝΙ. οὐ χεῖρον ἐν δ' αὐτοὺς παραιτησώμεθα,  
ἐπίδηλον ἡμῖν τοῖς προσώποισιν ποιεῖν,  
ἦν τοῖς ἔπεσι χαίρωσι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι.
- ΔΗ. λέγοιμ' ἂν ἥδη. νῶν γάρ ἐστι δεσπότης 40  
ἄγροικος ὄργην, κυαμοτρῶξ, ἀκράχολος,  
Δῆμος Πυκνίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον,

31. προσπεσεῖν πρὸς βρέτας] We know from Frogs 1021 that Aristophanes greatly admired the patriotic and martial spirit with which the Ἔπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας was animated; and he seems, as others have already observed, to have had that play in his mind when he wrote the passage before us. There, in the opening Chorus, the Theban girls, terrified at the clash of arms, exclaim (91-5)—

τίς ἄρα βύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει  
θεῶν ἢ θεῶν; πότῃρα δῆτ' ἐγὼ  
ποτιπέσω βρέτη δαιμόνων;  
ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐέδροι,  
ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι.

In that position Eteocles finds them, and upbraids them with discouraging the army. *Is this a time*, he says (172, 173),

βρέτη πεσοῦσας πρὸς πολισοῦχων θεῶν  
αὔειν, λακάζειν;

And they excuse themselves by saying (199, 200)

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ-  
χαῖα βρέτη, θεοῖσιν πίσυνοσ, κ.τ.λ.

With the preceding line Bergler compares Prometheus 224 κράτιστα δῆ μοι τῶν παρεστώτων τότε.

32. βρετέτας] Nicias had pronounced the word βρέτας with chattering teeth, partly from his own superstitious timidity, and partly perhaps because he expected to be mocked by Demosthenes. If such was his expectation, it was well founded: Demosthenes immediately catches up the word, and reproduces in exaggerated caricature the

- Do you not like it? DE. Like it, yes; but— NIC. What?
- DE. There's an uncanny sound about *desert*.
- NIC. Uncanny? How? DE. They flog deserters so.
- NIC. O then 'twere better that we both should go,  
And fall before the statues of the Gods.
- DE. Stat-at-ues is it? What, do you really think  
That there *are* Gods? NIC. I know it. DE. Know it! How?
- NIC. I'm such a wretched God-detested chap.
- DE. Well urged indeed; but seek some other way.  
Would you I told the story to the audience?
- NIC. Not a bad plan; but let us ask them first  
To show us plainly by their looks and cheer  
If they take pleasure in our words and acts.
- DE. I'll tell them now. We two have got a master,  
Demus of Pnyx-borough, such a sour old man,  
Quick-tempered, country-minded, bean-consuming,

hesitating pronunciation of his fellow-slave.

34. *θεοῖσιν ἐχθρός*] The argument is, as the Scholiast observes, *ὄτι εἰ μὴ ἦσαν θεοὶ, οὐκ ἂν ἤμην θεοῖς ἐχθρός*. Is not that a plausible argument? adds the speaker. *οὐκ εἰκότως*; is an interrogation of self-praise, like the *οὐ δεξιῶς*; of Peace 1230. This is Bergler's excellent arrangement. Before his time the line was supposed to form one sentence, 'Because I am unreasonably hated by the Gods.'

36. *τοῖς θεαταῖσιν*] Here then, as in the Wasps, the Peace, and the Birds, one of the characters—in all but the Birds, a slave—comes forward to explain to the audience the preliminary circumstances, the knowledge of which is necessary for the right understanding

of the plot. See the note on Wasps 54.

38. *τοῖς προσώποισιν*] *Δεικνύειν, φησὶν, ἡμῶν διὰ τῶν προσώπων εἰ χαίρουσι τοῖς λεγομένοις*.—Scholiast. For another reference to τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν θεωμένων see Peace 543. We must suppose that the audience signified their approval of the play, so far as it has gone, and Demosthenes commences his story.

42. *Δῆμος Πικνίτης*] Having enlisted the feelings of the audience in his favour, he immediately presents them with a portrait, in caricature, of the Athenian Demus, that is to say, of themselves in another character. He calls it *Δῆμος Πικνίτης* as if the Pnyx were its deme or place of residence, because, though the Demus is constantly represented as sitting in the dicasteries, yet these were only, so to say, *commit-*

ὑπόκωφον. οὗτος τῇ προτέρα νομηνία  
 ἐπρίατο δοῦλον, βυρσοδέψην, Παφλαγόνα,  
 πανουργάτατον καὶ διαβολώτατόν τινα. 45  
 οὗτος καταγνοὺς τοῦ γέροντος τοὺς τρόπους,  
 ὁ βυρσοπαφλαγῶν, ὑποπεσῶν τὸν δεσπότην  
 ἤκαλλ', ἐθώπευ', ἐκολάκευ', ἐξηπάτα  
 κοσκυλματίοις ἄκροισι, τοιαυτὴ λέγων·  
 ὦ Δῆμε, λούσαι πρῶτον ἐκδικάσας μίαν, 50  
 ἔνθου, ρόφησον, ἔντραγ', ἔχε τριώβολον.  
 βούλει παραθῶ σοι δόρπον; εἴτ' ἀναρπάσας  
 ὃ τι ἂν τις ἡμῶν σκευάσῃ, τῷ δεσπότην

tees of the Demus, and the Sovereign Demus itself could be seen and heard, and could act, as a distinct and separate entity, only in the Pnyx, that is, in the public Assemblies which were holden in the Pnyx. It was from the Pnyx that it ruled the empire. In the present Comedy it is personified as an old Athenian citizen, who is described as (1) ἄγροικος ὄργην, a countryman by temperament, for by ὄργην, as the Scholiast observes, the speaker means τὸν τρόπον. It must be remembered that most well-to-do Athenians had been accustomed to live in the country (ἀεὶ εἰσθέειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διατῆσθαι Thuc. ii. 14); there was not at Athens the sharp distinction between townsmen and countrymen which existed in most states; and the heroes of these comedies are almost always ἄγροικοι. (2) κναμοτρώξ, a bean-consumer. κνάμους τρώγων, Lys. 537, cf. Id. 690. κναμοτρώξ· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις κνάμων.—Photius. For beans were employed in the election of officials: see Birds 1022 and the Commentary thereon, and Aristotle's

Polity of Athens, chapters 8, 22, 24, 32, with Dr. Sandys's notes. And therefore the Demus was commonly represented as fond of beans. (3) ἀκράχολος, quick-tempered, choleric. (4) δῦσκολος, testy, irritable, (in a moral sense) dyspeptic, the reverse of course of εὐσκολος; and (5) ὑπόκωφος, slightly deaf, meaning that the Demus would turn a deaf ear to expostulations and complaints, however well founded, which it did not wish to hear. Dindorf refers to the account given by Pliny (N. H. xxxv. 36) of the portrait which Parrhasius painted of the Athenian Demus. "Volebat varium, iracundum, iniustum, inconstantem; eundem exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, et omnia pariter ostendere." But this complexity of character could be more readily portrayed by an Aristophanes than by a Parrhasius.

43. νομηνία] For it was at the New Moon that the great Fair was held, at which, amongst other things, slaves

A trifle hard of hearing. Last new moon  
 He bought a slave, a tanner, Paphlagon,  
 The greatest rogue and liar in the world.  
 This tanning-Paphlagon, he soon finds out  
 Master's weak points; and cringing down before him  
 Flatters, and fawns, and wheedles, and cajoles,  
 With little apish leather-snippings, thus;  
*O Demus, try one case, get the three-obol,*  
*Then take your bath, gorge, guzzle, eat your fill.*  
*Would you I set your supper?* Then he'll seize  
 A dish some other servant has prepared,

were usually purchased. See Wasps 171, and the passages from Alciphron cited in the Commentary there.

44. βυρσοδέψη] *A dresser of hides, a tanner.* δέψειν is to knead, soften the hide, a process also described by the word μαλάσσειν, see infra 389. We shall find the word βύρσα, a hide, brought into a variety of compounds and allusions in the course of the present play.

47. ἵποπεσῶν] *Fawning upon him, like a dog on his master; currying favour with him.* So Pelopidas (Plutarch. 7) protested that it was not right that he and his fellow exiles at Athens should allow Thebes to remain enslaved while they on their part were content θεραπεύειν ἵποπεπτακότες the orators who could sway the Athenian assembly.

49. κοσκυλματίους ἄκροισι] Instead of saying "with little coaxing speeches," he says, in allusion to Cleon's trade, *with little snips* (or rather, *tips*) *of leather-paring.* As to ἐξηπάτα, see the com-

plaint in Frogs 1086 of demagogues ἐξαπατώντων τὸν δῆμον αἰεί.

50. ἐδικάσας μίαν] *Sc. δίκην, when you have disposed of one suit.* This illustrates the theory mentioned in the note on 42 supra, and discussed at some length in the Introduction to the Wasps, that it was the Demus itself which sat in the dicasteries, and received its three obols a day. "No orator can succeed in the Public Assembly," says Philocleon in the Wasps (line 595), "ἐὰν μὴ | εἴπῃ τὰ δικαστήρι' ἀφείναι, πρώτιστα μίαν δικάσαντας." It was by gaining over the six thousand dicasts to his side that a demagogue made himself irresistible in the Assembly. The τριώβολον is the dicastic fee: this little speech refers to the dicasteries and to nothing else.

51. ἐνθου] *Tuck in, to use a school-boy phrase.* Cf. infra 717, and ἐνθεσις, a mouthful, infra 404. The word παραθῶ in the next line, repeated five lines below, must not be forgotten when we come to the expression τοῦ παραθέντος infra 1205.

Παφλαγῶν κεχάρισται τοῦτο. καὶ πρόων γ' ἔμοῦ  
 μᾶζαν μεμαχότος ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικὴν,  
 πανουργότατά πως περιδραμῶν ὑφαρπάσας  
 αὐτὸς παρέθηκε τὴν ὑπ' ἔμοῦ μεμαγμένην.  
 ἡμᾶς δ' ἀπελαύνει, κοῦκ ἔῳ τὸν δεσπότην  
 ἄλλον θεραπεύειν, ἀλλὰ βυρσίνην ἔχων  
 δειπνοῦντος ἐστῶς ἀποσοβεῖ τοὺς ῥήτορας.  
 ᾄδει δὲ χρησμούς· ὁ δὲ γέρων σιβυλλιᾷ.  
 ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὄρᾳ μεμακκοηκότα,  
 τέχνην πεποίηται. τοὺς γὰρ ἔνδον ἀντικρυς  
 ψευδῆ διαβάλλει· κᾶτα μαστιγοῦμεθα

55

60

55. ἐν Πύλῳ] Here then, at the very outset of the play, Cleon's position as regards the brilliant affair at Pylus—his one title to honour, by virtue of which he was at this moment sitting in the front row of the spectators—is denounced as a mere dishonest appropriation of the glory which rightly belonged to Demosthenes alone. And it is Demosthenes himself, in his theatrical character, who prefers this charge from the stage; and possibly the real Demosthenes was himself amongst the audience, listening to this vindication by the great Comedian of his own unrewarded achievements. The words *μᾶζαν μεμαχότος* (from *μάσσω*) are of course a play upon *μάχην μεμαχημένον*.

56. περιδραμῶν] The word is probably to be taken here in its literal sense *having run round*; not in the metaphorical signification of "having circumvented" as *infra* 290, 1142.

59. βυρσίνην ἔχων] Here we have the *βύρσα* introduced again. The flyflap, which was usually a leafy branch of

myrtle, *μυρσίνη*, becomes in the leather-seller's hands a leathern strap, *βυρσίνη*. *ἔπαιξεν*, as the Scholiast observes, *παρὰ τὸ βυρσοδέψην εἶναι τὸν Κλέωνα*. ἔδει γὰρ εἰπεῖν *μυρσίνην*. *ταῖς γὰρ μυρσίναις ἀποσοβοῦσι τὰς μυίας*. There is a similar play on these two words *infra* 449. We have seen, in the note on line 50, that the statement made in that line is repeated in *Wasps* 595; and the idea contained in the present line is repeated in the verses which immediately follow in the *Wasps* (lines 596, 597).

60. ἀποσοβεῖ τοὺς ῥήτορας] *Flaps away the [other] orators*. The words *τοὺς ῥήτορας* are substituted *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *τὰς μυίας*. The verb is used by Xenophon (*Re Equestri* v. 7) of a horse switching off the flies with its tail; and by Alciphron (*iii*. 18) of a watchdog scaring off thieves from the sheepfold.

61. σιβυλλιᾷ] *Χρησμῶν ἔρᾳ καὶ ἐπιθυμεί· χρησμολόγος γὰρ ἦν ἡ Σίβυλλα*.—Scholiast. Cf. *Peace* 1095, 1116. The Scholiast observes, that in these anxious times,



And serve it up for master ; and quite lately  
 I'd baked a rich Laconian cake at Pylus,  
 When in runs Paphlagon, and bags my cake,  
 And serves it up to Demus as his own.  
 But us he drives away, and none but he  
 Must wait on master ; there he stands through dinner  
 With leathern flap, and flicks away the speakers.  
 And he chants oracles, till the dazed old man  
 Goes Sibyl-mad ; then, when he sees him mooning,  
 He plies his trade. He slanders those within  
 With downright lies ; so then we're flogged, poor wretches,

there would naturally be much consideration given to oracles and their hidden meanings. And so true is this, that the circumstance finds its way more than once even into the narrative of Thucydides. The passages have often been quoted. "When now the foremost states of Hellas were rushing into war with each other," he says, "all Hellas was in a state of high excitement, και πολλά μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλά δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἦδον ἔν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν και ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν," ii. 8. And again, in narrating the first invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesian army, he says, χρησμολόγοι τε ἦδον χρησμοῦς παντοίους ὄν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὄργητο, ii. 21.

62. μεμακκοηκότα] *In a doddering, doting state.* The word appears again, infra 396, and there too in connexion with Demus ; and possibly it was recognized at this time as a comic description of the Sovereign People. The only other place, I believe, in which it occurs is

Lucian's *Lexiphanes* 19, where it is merely paraded as a quaint and obsolete term. The Scholiasts on Aristophanes and Lucian, with Suidas, derive it from an exceptionally stupid woman, named Macco or Acco ; and others from μὴ κοεῖν, equivalent to μὴ νοεῖν. But whatever the derivation there is no doubt about its meaning.

63. τέχνην πεποιήται] *Makes (or devises) a business for himself.* The phrase is commonly found with a second accusative, signifying the business intended ; τέχνην ποιῆσθαι τι, *to make a trade of it*, as it is rightly explained by the Oxford Lexicographers, referring to Demosthenes in *Pantaenetum* 68, οἱ τέχνην τὸ πρᾶγμα (money-lending) πεποιημένοι. To this Kock adds Lucian, *De Mercede conductis* 30, ἰδιώτης γὰρ ἔγωγε, και ἄτεχνος, και μάλιστα παραβαλλόμενος ἀνδράσι τέχνην τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιημένοις. And Dr. Blaydes, *Id. de morte Peregrini* 18 ; *De Saltatione* 9.

- ἡμεῖς· Παφλαγὸν δὲ περιθέων τοὺς οἰκέτας 65  
 αἰτεῖ, ταραττει, δωροδοκεῖ, λέγων τάδε·  
 ὀράτε τὸν Ὑλαν δι' ἐμὲ μαστιγούμενον ;  
 εἰ μὴ μ' ἀναπέισετ', ἀποθανεῖσθε τήμερον.  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ δίδομεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πατούμενοι  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος ὀκταπλάσια χέζομεν. 70  
 νῦν οὖν ἀνύσαντε φροντίσωμεν, ὄγαθέ,  
 ποίαν ὁδὸν νῶ τρεπτέον καὶ πρὸς τίνα.
- ΝΙ. κράτιστ' ἐκέκινη τὴν "μόλωμεν," ὄγαθέ. *de camp*  
 ΔΗ. ἀλλ' οὐχ οἶόν τε τὸν Παφλαγόν' οὐδὲν λαθεῖν·  
 ἐφορᾷ γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντ'. ἔχει γὰρ τὸ σκέλος 75  
 τὸ μὲν ἐν Πύλῳ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἐν τῆκκλησίᾳ.  
 τοσόνδε δ' αὐτοῦ βῆμα διαβεβηκότος  
 ὁ πρωκτός ἐστιν αὐτόχρημ' ἐν Χαόσι,  
 τῶ χεῖρ' ἐν Αἰτῳλοῖς, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐν Κλωπιδῶν.
- ΝΙ. κράτιστον οὖν νῶν ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλὰ σκόπει, 80

67. Ὑλαν] A mere fancy name. ὄνομα οἰκέτου πέπλακεν.—Scholiast.

70. χέζομεν πατούμενοι] Cf. *Lysistrata* 440. The Scholiast explains ὀκταπλάσια by πολλῶ πλείονα, and χέζομεν by ζημιούμεθα.

71. ὄγαθέ] Something either in the word itself, or in the tone of patronizing superiority in which it is uttered, rouses a little pettish resentment in the breast of Nicias, who, two lines later, retorts the appellation with unmistakable emphasis. Cf. line 8 supra.

75. ἐφορᾷ πάντ'] Eupolis may have had this description of Cleon, as well as the anapaestic tetrameter lurking in the prose of Athenaeus i, chap. 36 ὃ λαμπροτάτῃ πόλειων πασῶν ὀπόσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀναφαίνει (addressed to Athens) in his mind, when he wrote in his *Χρυσῶν Γένος* the

line preserved by Hephaestion xvi. 3 (to which Dobree refers) ὃ καλλίστῃ πόλει πασῶν ὄσας Κλέων ἐφορᾷ. Kock refers also to the Homeric line Ἡελίου, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει *Odyssey* xi. 108, xii. 323. Cleon is supported in his exalted position, on the one side, by the achievement at Pylus, on the other, by his supreme influence in the Assembly.

78. Χαόσι] Ὡς εὐρύπρωκτον αὐτὸν διαβάλλει.—Scholiast; cf. *infra* 381. The Chaonians were the most warlike (μαχιμώτατοι *Thuc.* ii. 81), and, with the Molossians, the most illustrious (ἐνδοξότατοι *Strabo* vii. 7 (5)) of all the Epirot tribes; and had in the third year of the War brought themselves into notice by taking a prominent part in the formidable, though unsuccessful, in-

And Paphlagon runs round, extorting, begging,  
 Upsetting every one ; and *Mark*, says he,  
*There's Hylas flogged ; that's all my doing ; better*  
*Make friends with me, or YOU'LL be trounced to-day.*

So then we bribe him off ; or if we don't,  
 We're sure to catch it thrice as bad from master.  
 Now let's excogitate at once, good fellow,  
 Which way to turn our footsteps, and to whom.

NIC. There's nothing better than my *sert*, good fellow.

DE. But nought we do is hid from Paphlagon.  
 His eyes are everywhere ; he straddles out,  
 One foot in Pylus, in the Assembly one.  
 So vast his stride, that at the self-same moment  
 His seat is in Chaonia, and his hands  
 Are set on Begging, and his mind on Theft.

NIC. Well then, we had better die ; but just consider

vasion of Acarnania, Thuc. ii. 80-2. The recent exploits of Demosthenes in those parts would doubtless have recalled the memories of that former invasion, so that the name of the Chaonians would at this moment be very familiar in Athens; cf. Ach. 604. And

it is only on account of their name that they are mentioned. So again the Aetolians are selected merely because their name suggests the idea of begging (*αἰτεῖν*, supra 66). Brunck quotes the fifth Epigram of Marcus Argentarius in the Greek Anthology,

Ἄντιγόνῃ, Σικελῇ πάρος ἤσθ' αἰ μὲν ὡς δ' ἐγενήθης  
 Αἰτωλῇ, κἀγὼ Μῆδος ἰδοὺ γέγονα.

"Since you have become an Aetolian (a beggar), I have become a Mede (a non-giver, μη δούς)." αὐτόχρημα means in very truth.

79. ἐν Κλωπιδῶν] Scil. δῆμῳ. ἐναλλαγῇ στοιχείου, τοῦ ρ εἰς τὸ λ. Κρωπίδαι γὰρ δῆμος τῆς Λεοντίδος φυλῆς. ἐπαίξεν οὖν παρὰ τὸ κλέπτειν.—Scholiast. It is now called Κοροπί, and lies to the south-east of Athens, beyond Hymettus. Aristophanes

converts Κρωπίδαι into Κλωπίδαι for the purpose of insinuating a charge of theft (κλώψ, a thief, κλωπεία, theft) against Paphlagon. Cf. infra 296, 420, 1252, &c.

80. κράτιστον ἀποθανεῖν] Aristophanes has already (supra 16) cited a line from the Hippolytus (345) in which Phaedra is struggling to disclose her shameful passion ; and he may now be alluding

ὅπως ἂν ἀποθάνωμεν ἀνδρικότατα.

ΔΗ. πῶς δῆτα πῶς γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνδρικότατα ;

ΝΙ. βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν.

ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος.

ΔΗ. μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἄκρατον οἶνον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. 85

ἴσως γὰρ ἂν χρηστόν τι βουλευσαίμεθα.

ΝΙ. ἰδοῦ γ' ἄκρατον. περὶ ποτοῦ γοῦν ἐστὶ σοι ;

πῶς δ' ἂν μεθύων χρηστόν τι βουλεύσαιτ' ἀνῆρ ;

ΔΗ. ἄληθες, οὗτος ; κρουνοχυτρολήραιοι εἰ.

οἶνον σὺ τολμᾶς εἰς ἐπίνοιαν λοιδορεῖν ; 90

οἴνου γὰρ εὖροις ἂν τι πρακτικώτερον ;

ὀρᾶς ; ὅταν πίνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, τότε

πλουτοῦσι, διαπράττουσι, νικῶσιν δίκας,

εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ὠφελουσι τοὺς φίλους.

ἀλλ' ἐξένεγκέ μοι ταχέως οἴνου χάρα, 95

τὸν νοῦν ἴν' ἄρδω καὶ λέγω τι δεξιόν.

ΝΙ. οἴμοι, τί ποθ' ἡμᾶς ἐργάσει τῷ σῷ ποτῷ ;

to her final conclusion (402) *καθανεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι κράτιστον*. Bergler quotes from the Helen of Euripides, which however was produced many years after the Knights, a line (298) very cognate to the present passage *θανεῖν κράτιστον πῶς θάνοιμ' ἂν οὖν καλῶς* ; And, according to the Scholiast, Nicias adopts in his next speech a line from the lost Helen of Sophocles *ἐμοὶ δὲ λῦστον αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν*.

84. *Θεμιστοκλέους*] It was the prevalent belief, ὁ πολὺς λόγος, as Plutarch says, that Themistocles, finding himself unable, or being unwilling, to fulfil his promises to the Persian king, poisoned himself by drinking bull's blood, Plutarch, Themist. chap. 31 ; Diodorus xi.

58. But Thucydides, whilst mentioning the rumour that he took poison, says that he really died of disease, i. 138. And indeed bull's blood is not poisonous.

85. *ἄκρατον οἶνον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*] Demosthenes catches at the word *πιεῖν* which Nicias had let fall ; but he has no disposition to drink the blood of bulls. Pure wine for him, unmingled with water ; such as men drink when the feast is over, and the tables are being taken away. During the repast the wine was mingled with water ; but at its close a cup of neat wine was brought to the guests, who just sipped it, and poured a libation to the toast of Happy Fortune. This was a sort of Loving Cup ; and was a farewell pledge

How we can die the manliest sort of death.

DE. The manliest sort of death? Let's see; which is it?

NIC. Had we not better drink the blood of bulls?

'Twere fine to die Themistocles's death.

DE. Blood? no: pure wine, to the toast of Happy Fortune!

From that we'll maybe get some happy thought.

NIC. Pure wine indeed! Is this a tippling matter?

How can one get, when drunk, a happy thought?

DE. Aye, say you so, you water-fountain-twaddler?

And dare you rail at wine's inventiveness?

I tell you nothing has such go as wine.

Why, look you now; 'tis when men drink, they thrive,

Grow wealthy, speed their business, win their suits,

Make themselves happy, benefit their friends.

Go, fetch me out a stoup of wine, and let me

Moisten my wits, and utter something bright.

NIC. O me, what good will all your tippling do?

before they finally separated. See the notes on *Wasps* 525, *Peace* 300. "That the toast was drunk when the tables were actually in course of removal is plain," says Athenaeus (xv. 48), "from the story of Dionysius who, when profanely robbing the temple of Asclepius in Syracuse of a golden table, drank to the god, as the table was being carried out, in the cup of Happy Fortune." The same story is told, with variations, by Aelian, V. H. i. 20 and in [Aristotle's] *Oeconomics* ii. 41. We may safely infer, from the present scene, that Demosthenes was something of a *bon vivant*.

89. κρουνοχυτρολήραιον] Ἀντὶ τοῦ, φλύαρος εἶ, κρουνοὺς γὰρ τὸ χύθην καὶ ἀκρίτως καὶ ἀθρόως ῥέον· λήρος δὲ τὸ μάταιον. συνέ-

θηκεν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρουνοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ληρεῖν, καὶ τῆς χύτρας ἀναισθήτου οὔσης, ἵνα τὸ ὄλον δηλώσῃ τὸν ἀναισθητὸν, καὶ ἀνόητον καὶ περιπτολόγον.—Scholiast. The Scholiast has however missed one, and that the main, idea which the compound was intended to convey, viz. the speaker's contempt for a mere water-drinker.

90. εἰς ἐπίνοια] *For*, that is, *in respect of inventiveness*. Dr. Merry aptly refers to Falstaff's praise of wine in the second part of *Henry IV* (Act IV, Scene 3): "A good sherris-sack ascends me into the brain; makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive; full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes," &c.

96. τὸν νοῦν κ.τ.λ.] This idea is so pleasing to Demosthenes that he repeats the line *infra* 114.

- ΔΗ. ἀγάθ'· ἀλλ' ἔνεγκ'· ἐγὼ δὲ κατακλινήσομαι.  
 ἦν γὰρ μεθυσθῶ, πάντα ταυτὶ καταπάσω  
 βουλευματίων καὶ γνωμιδίων καὶ νοιδίων. 100
- ΝΙ. ὡς εὐτυχῶς ὅτι οὐκ ἐλήφθην ἔνδοθεν  
 κλέπτων τὸν οἶνον. ΔΗ. εἰπέ μοι, Παφλαγὸν τί δρᾷ·
- ΝΙ. ἐπίπαστα λείξας δημιόπραθ' ὁ βάσκανος  
 ῥέγκει μεθῶν ἐν ταῖσι βύρσαις ἕπτιος.
- ΔΗ. ἴθι νυν, ἄκρατον ἐγκάναξόν μοι πολλὴν  
 σπονδῆν. ΝΙ. λαβὲ δὴ καὶ σπεῖσον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος·  
 ἔλχ' ἔλκε τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦ Πραμνίου.
- ΔΗ. ᾧ δαῖμον ἀγαθὲ, σὸν τὸ βούλευμ', οὐκ ἐμόν.

98. *ἔνεγκε*] Nicias goes into the house for the wine, and Demosthenes reclines himself on the stage, as if he were a guest at a symposium. It is noticeable that the Nicias of the play, though timid and nervous, is in no way deficient in personal courage. It is he, and not Demosthenes, who goes without a murmur on the two dangerous errands, for the wine and for the oracle.

99. *πάντα ταυτὶ κ.τ.λ.*] Cratinus seems to have imitated this passage in his next year's "Flagon," where somebody says of the old poet himself

*εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα,  
 ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει ποίημασιν.*

See the Scholiast on line 526 of this play.

101. *ὡς εὐτυχῶς*] Nicias comes out of the house with a stoup of good Pramnian wine. *Wasn't I a lucky fellow not to be caught!* he says. *ὡς εὐτυχῶς* (scilicet *πέπραγα*). So *ὡς ἀθλίως πεπράγαμεν* Peace 1255, *ὡς κακῶς πέπραγε* Lys. 462, *ὡς μακαρίως πεπράγατε* Plutus 629.

These little exclamations are frequently, in all languages, elliptical.

103. *ἐπίπαστα λείξας*] *The malignant brute has been licking up cakes made out of confiscation sales, and sprinkled with sugar-plums [or honey or acids], and is now lying on his back tipsy and snoring amidst his hides.* The expression *λείχων ἐπίπαστα* is repeated infra 1089. The Scholiast explains *ἐπίπαστα* by *τὰ ἐπιπασσόμενα μέλιτι ἄλευρα. ἔθος δὲ εἶχον ποιεῖν πλακοῦντας ἢ ἄρτους καὶ ἐπιπάσσειν τινὰ καρυκεύματα ἄλμυρά.* As to *δημιόπρατα* see Wasps 659 and the note there. *βάσκανος* is equivalent to the sorcerer, the evil genius. With *ῥέγκει ἕπτιος* Kock compares the *stertitque supinus* of Horace's Journey to Brundisium, line 19.

106. *σπονδῆν*] *For a libation.* The libation to the Ἄγαθός Δαίμων was always, as is mentioned in the Commentary on line 85, made with neat wine. But here the "libation" is merely an excuse, adapted to the religious feelings of Nicias, for ob-

- DE. Much ; bring it out ; I'll lay me down awhile ;  
 For when I'm drunk, I'll everything bespatter  
 With little scraps of schemes, and plots, and plans.
- NIC. I've got the wine ; nobody saw me take it.  
 Wasn't that luck ? DE. What's Paphlagon about ?
- NIC. Drunk ! Snoring on his back amidst his hides,  
 The juggler ; gorged with confiscation pasties.
- DE. Come, tinkle out a bumper of pure wine,  
 To pour. NIC. Here, take ; and pour to Happy Fortune.  
 Quaff, quaff the loving-cup of PRAMNIAN Fortune.
- DE. O Happy Fortune, thine's the thought, not mine !

taining a full goblet of the strong liquor.

107. Πραμνίου] That is, of *Pramnian wine*. It is not certain whether the epithet denotes the native country of the *grape* or some special quality of the *wine*, ὅτι πραῦνει μένος, ἢ ὅτι παραμεμένηκε παλαιωθεῖς (Eustathius at *Iliad* xi. 638, Athenaeus i, chap. 55, Scholia Minora (ed. Gaisf.) on the *Iliad*, and the Scholiast here). It seems to me, however, that when, in the Second Thesmophoriazusae, Aristophanes wrote

οἶνον δὲ πίνειν οὐκ ἔλασω Πράμνιον,  
 οὐ Χῖον, οὐδὲ Θάσιον, οὐ Πεπαρήθιον,

he must have intended *Pramnian*, like the other epithets, to refer to the country in which the wine was produced, that is, to Mount Pramne in the island of Icarus, an alternative explanation offered by all the authorities mentioned above. Nevertheless the wine there produced seems to have had so peculiar a flavour that the name was extended to any wine partaking of the same flavour ; for

while Athenaeus speaks, or quotes Epicharmides as speaking, of the *Icarian* *Pramnian*, he also (i. 51) quotes Ehippus as speaking of *Lesbian* *Pramnian*. Eustathius indeed objects to the derivation of the name from the country, on the ground that it would then be spelled Πράμνιος and not (as in Homer) Πράμνειος ; but in fact Πράμνιος is the ordinary form of the word. Homer mentions it both in the *Iliad* (xi. 638) and in the *Odyssey* (x. 235), and in each place as an excellent wine ; and so it seems to be considered here. And Pliny (N. H. xiv. 6), who regards it as coming from Smyrna, says that in his time it retained the same high character. And although Athenaeus (i. 55) quotes some lines in which Aristophanes speaks of harsh and crabbed *Pramnian* which the Athenians liked no better than they did harsh and crabbed poets, yet of course it does not follow that all *Pramnian* wine, any more than all poets, came under that condemnation. See Perizonius at *Aelian*, V. H. xii. 31.

- NI. εἴπ', ἀντιβολῶ, τί ἔστι; ΔΗ. τοὺς χρησμοὺς ταχὺ κλέψας ἔνεγκε τοῦ Παφλαγόνος ἔνδοθεν, 110  
 ἕως καθεύδει. NI. ταῦτ'. ἀτὰρ τοῦ δαίμονος δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ τεύξομαι κακοδαίμονος.
- ΔΗ. φέρε νυν ἐγὼ 'μαυτῶ προσαγάγω τὸν χθα, τὸν νοῦν ἴν' ἄρδω καὶ λέγω τι δεξιόν.
- NI. ὡς μεγάλ' ὁ Παφλαγὼν πέρδεται καὶ ρέγκεται, 115  
 ὥστ' ἔλαθον αὐτὸν τὸν ἱερὸν χρησμὸν λαβῶν, ὄνπερ μάλιστ' ἐφύλαττεν. ΔΗ. ὦ σοφώτατε, φέρ' αὐτὸν, ἴν' ἀναγνῶ· σὺ δ' ἔγχεον πιεῖν ἀνύσας τι. φέρ' ἴδω τί ἄρ' ἔνεστιν αὐτόθι. ὦ λόγια. δὸς μοι δὸς τὸ ποτήριον ταχύ. 120
- NI. ἰδοῦ· τί φησ' ὁ χρησμός; ΔΗ. ἐτέραν ἔγχεον.
- NI. ἐν τοῖς λογίοις ἔνεστιν "ἐτέραν ἔγχεον";
- ΔΗ. ὦ Βάκι. NI. τί ἔστι; ΔΗ. δὸς τὸ ποτήριον ταχύ.
- NI. πολλῶ γ' ὁ Βάκις ἐχρήτο τῶ ποτηρίῳ.
- ΔΗ. ὦ μιὰρὲ Παφλαγὼν, ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφυλάττου πάλαι, 125  
 τὸν περὶ σεαυτοῦ χρησμὸν ὄρρωδῶν. NI. τῆς;
- ΔΗ. ἐνταῦθ' ἔνεστιν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀπόλλυται.
- NI. καὶ πῶς; ΔΗ. ὅπως; ὁ χρησμοὺς ἀντικρυς λέγει ὡς πρῶτα μὲν στυππειοπώλης γίγνεται, ὃς πρῶτος ἔξει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα. 130
- NI. εἰς οὐτοσὶ πώλης. τί τούντεῦθεν; λέγει.

115. *ρέγκεται*] He should have said *ρέγει*, as supra 104; but he uses the middle, apparently, for the mere purpose of assimilating the word to *πέρδεται*. So the Scholiast, *ὁμοιοκατάληκτον εἶπε τὸ ρέγκεται· οὐ γάρ ἐστι δόκιμον οὕτω λέγειν*.

123. *ὦ Βάκι*] For the prophecies which Paphlagon had been hearing up are those of the Boeotian Bakis, which are so repeatedly mentioned by Herodotus

and Pausanias, and had long been extremely popular at Athens. Accordingly the oracles which he produces infra 1003 are all prophecies of Bakis, and his opponent, in order to counteract them, is compelled to invent an imaginary Glanis whom he palms off as an elder brother of Bakis. We shall hear more of Bakis in the Peace and the Birds, in each of which comedies



- NIC. Pray you, what is it? DE. Steal from Paphlagon,  
While yet he sleeps, those oracles of his,  
And bring them out. NIC. I will; and yet I'm fearful  
That I may meet with most *unhappy* Fortune.
- DE. Come now, I'll draw the pitcher to myself,  
Moisten my wits, and utter something bright.
- NIC. Paphlagon's snoring so! He never saw me.  
I've got the sacred oracle which he keeps  
So snugly. DE. O you clever fellow you,  
I'll read it; hand it over; you the while  
Fill me the cup. Let's see: what have we here?  
O! Prophecies! Give me the cup directly.
- NIC. Here! What do they say? DE. Fill me another cup.
- NIC. *Fill me another?* Is that really there?
- DE. O Bakis! NIC. Well? DE. Give me the cup directly.
- NIC. Bakis seems mighty partial to the cup.
- DE. O villainous Paphlagon, this it was you feared,  
This oracle about yourself! NIC. What is it?
- DE. Herein is written how himself shall perish.
- NIC. How shall he? DE. How? The oracle says straight out,  
That first of all there comes an oakum-seller  
Who first shall manage all the State's affairs.
- NIC. One something-seller; well, what follows, pray?

a vagrant oracle-monger is introduced, propounding and expounding the prophetic utterances of Bakis.

125. ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφυλάττου] Ἄντι τοῦ, διὰ ταῦτα.—Scholiast.

129. στυππεισιπώλης] The name of this "hemp-seller," the first of this series of demagogues, was, as the Scholiast informs us, Eucrates; and that he is the same Eucrates who is mentioned

infra 254 is plain from some words which the Scholiast on that passage quotes from an unnamed play of Aristophanes; καὶ σὺ κυρηβιοπῶλα | Εὐκράτες στυππαῖ. But he can hardly be the Eucrates mentioned in Lys. 103 or in Thuc. iii. 41. And nothing is known of his career as a demagogue. He was doubtless entirely overshadowed by the commanding personality of Pericles.

- ΔΗ. μετὰ τοῦτον αὖθις προβατοπώλης, δεύτερος.  
 ΝΙ. δύο τώδε πώλα. καὶ τί τόνδε χρὴ παθεῖν ;  
 ΔΗ. κρατεῖν, ἕως ἕτερος ἀνὴρ βδελυρότερος  
 αὐτοῦ γένοιτο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπόλλυται. 135  
 ἐπιγίγνεται γὰρ βυρσοπώλης ὁ Παφλαγῶν,  
 ἄρπαξ, κεκράκτης, Κυκλοβόρου φωνὴν ἔχων.  
 ΝΙ. τὸν προβατοπώλην ἦν ἄρ' ἀπολέσθαι χρεῶν  
 ὑπὸ βυρσοπώλου ; ΔΗ. νῆ Δί'. ΝΙ. οἴμοι δεΐλαιος.  
 πόθεν οὖν ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο πώλης εἰς μόνος ; 140  
 ΔΗ. ἔτ' ἐστὶν εἷς, ὑπερφυᾶ τέχνην ἔχων.  
 ΝΙ. εἴπ', ἀντιβολῶ, τίς ἐστίν ; ΔΗ. εἴπω ; ΝΙ. νῆ Δία.  
 ΔΗ. ἀλλαντοπώλης ἔσθ' ὁ τοῦτον ἐξελῶν.  
 ΝΙ. ἀλλαντοπώλης ; ὃ Πόσειδον τῆς τέχνης.  
 φέρε ποῦ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐξευρήσομεν ; 145  
 ΔΗ. ζητῶμεν αὐτόν. ΝΙ. ἀλλ' ὀδὶ προσέρχεται  
 ὥσπερ κατὰ θεῖον εἰς ἀγοράν. ΔΗ. ὃ μακάριε  
 ἀλλαντοπῶλα, δεῦρο δεῦρ', ὃ φίλτατε,

132. προβατοπώλης] The second in the series is Lysicles the cattle-dealer, called a προβατοπώλης here, and a προβατοκάπηλος by Plutarch (Pericles 24). As in the case of Eucrates, and doubtless for the same reason, we know nothing of his political career ; but we know that after the death of Pericles he married Aspasia (Hesychius, s. v. προβατοπώλης) ; was made commander of a squadron of revenue-collecting triremes, ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς, and fell in battle with the Carians, near the river Maeander about a year after the death of Pericles (Thuc. iii. 19). Plutarch quotes a statement that by means of his connexion with Aspasia he managed ἐξ ἀγενοῦς καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὴν φύσιν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι

πρῶτος : but this is impossible ; his civic career must have been completed before he married Aspasia ; though it may possibly have been due to her influence that he obtained the command of the revenue-raising expedition, in which he met his death. He is mentioned again infra 765.

135. ἀπόλλυται] It seems to be indicated in this passage, that it was owing to the machinations of Cleon that Lysicles was ousted from the position of the leading demagogue, which he had theretofore been holding, subject only to the superior authority of Pericles. And see three lines below.

136. ὁ Παφλαγῶν] Even Cleon, the third and by far the most powerful of

- DE. Next after him there comes a sheep-seller.  
 NIC. Two something-sellers; what's this seller's fortune?  
 DE. He'll hold the reins, till some more villainous rogue  
 Arise than he; and thereupon he'll perish.  
 Then follows Paphlagon, our leather-seller,  
 Thief, brawler, roaring as Cycloborus roars.  
 NIC. The leather-seller, then, shall overthrow  
 The sheep-seller. DE. He shall. NIC. O wretched me,  
 Is there no other something-seller left?  
 DE. There is yet one; a wondrous trade *he* has.  
 NIC. What, I beseech you? DE. Shall I tell you? NIC. Aye.  
 DE. A sausage-seller ousts the leather-seller.  
 NIC. A sausage-seller! Goodness, what a trade!  
 Wherever shall we find one? DE. That's the question.  
 NIC. Why here comes one, 'tis providential surely,  
 Bound for the agora. DE. Hi, come hither! here!  
 You dearest man, you blessed sausage-seller!

these demagogues, though known in the lifetime of Pericles as an eager assailant of that illustrious statesman (*δηχθεὶς αἰθῶνι Κλέωνι*), does not appear in history until after his death. He is here brought before us with two characteristics, his rapacity and his possession of that loud overbearing voice, that *μαρὰ φωνή*, which, we shall presently be told, is one of the chief qualifications for a successful demagogue. It is here, as it had already been in Ach. 381, likened to the roar of Cycloborus, the little torrent which, in winter only, went brawling over its stones through the city of Athens.

143. ἀλλαντοπώλης] 'ἀλλᾶς' εἶδος ἐντέρου

κατεσκευασμένου. Καὶ ἀλλαντοπώλης ὁ ταῦτα πωλῶν.—Suidas. Though I have, in accordance with the usual custom, translated ἀλλᾶς a *sausage*, yet in reality, as has often been observed, it was in the nature rather of a black-pudding than of a sausage: see *infra* 207, 208. It was served up to table not in its entire length, but in bits, *τόμοι*. See the passages of Pherecrates, Mnesimachus, and Eubulus cited by Athenaeus, vi. 96, ix. 67, and xiv. 17 respectively. ἀλλᾶντες have already been mentioned in the Acharnians (line 146), and their name is of frequent occurrence in the Comic fragments. The ἀλλαντοπώλης is what we should call a *pork-butcher*.

- ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῶν φανείς.
- ΑΛ. τί ἔστι; τί με καλεῖτε; ΔΗ. δεῦρ' ἔλθ', ἵνα πύθῃ 150  
ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἶ καὶ μεγάλως εὐδαιμονεῖς.
- ΝΙ. ἴθι δὴ, κάθελ' αὐτοῦ τούλεον, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ  
τὸν χρησμὸν ἀναδίδαξον αὐτὸν ὡς ἔχει·  
ἐγὼ δ' ἰὼν προσκείμεαι τὸν Παφλαγόνα.
- ΔΗ. ἄγε δὴ σὺ κατὰθου πρῶτα τὰ σκευὴ χαμαί· 155  
ἔπειτα τὴν γῆν πρόσκυσον καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς.
- ΑΛ. ἰδοῦ· τί ἔστιν; ΔΗ. ὃ μακάρι', ὃ πλούσιε,  
ὃ νῦν μὲν οὐδεῖς, αὔριον δ' ὑπέρμεγας·  
ὃ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ταγὲ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.
- ΑΛ. τί μ', ὠγάθ', οὐ πλύνειν ἑᾶς τὰς κοιλίας 160  
πωλεῖν τε τοὺς ἀλλάντας, ἀλλὰ καταγελαῆς;
- ΔΗ. ὃ μῶρε, ποίας κοιλίας; δευρὶ βλέπε.  
τὰς στίχας ὀρᾶς τὰς τῶνδε τῶν λαῶν; ΑΛ. ὀρῶ.

149. ἀνάβαινε] This word both here and in Acharnians 732 and Wasps 1341 has given rise to much controversy; some thinking that it means "come up to the stage from the orchestra," and others that it merely means "come from the end to the centre of the stage." The latter view is maintained with great ability by Professor Williams White in Harvard Studies ii. 159. I confess that I cannot agree with either of these contentions. I do not believe that in these Comedies an actor ever makes his appearance in the orchestra, except indeed in the closing scene of the Wasps, where Philocleon does in very truth descend from the stage into the orchestra, and after exhibiting his dancing capacity there, finally dances out of the theatre at the head of the Chorus. But this was an entire novelty,

a thing which οὐδεῖς πω πάρος δέδρακεν. And as to the other alternative, Professor White says that in all these passages "the term is used just *after* an entrance." In my judgement it is used in each case just *before* an entrance. Here the sausage-seller is descried by Nicias and Demosthenes as they are looking towards the wings; while he is yet invisible to the audience. He is not even coming towards the stage, he is making for the agora, in quite a different direction. They shout to him to change his course and come up to the stage upon which they are standing. And presently he makes his appearance in the usual manner from one of the wings. Whether he has really come up from a lower level I do not know; but that is what he is supposed to do.

152. τούλεόν] The ἐλεόν, or ἐλεός, for

- Arise, a Saviour to the State and us.
- SAUSAGE-SELLER. Eh! What are you shouting at? DE. Come here  
this instant,  
And hear your wonderful amazing luck.
- NIC. Make him put down his dresser; tell him all  
The news about that oracle we've got.  
I'll keep an eye on Paphlagon the while.
- DE. Come, put you down those cookery implements,  
Then make your reverence to the Gods and earth,—
- S.S. There! what's the row? DE. O happy man, and rich,  
Nothing to-day, to-morrow everything!  
O mighty ruler of Imperial Athens!
- S.S. Good fellow, let me wash the guts, and sell  
My sausages. What need to flout me so?
- DE. You fool! the guts indeed! Now look you here.  
You see those people on the tiers? S.S. I do.

both forms are used, was a stand or table employed in culinary operations for various purposes; for example, the meat when cooked was placed upon it, Iliad ix. 215; Odyssey xiv. 432. The grammarians uniformly define it as a *μαγειρική τράπεζα*.

154. *ἐγὼ δ' ἰών*] With these words Nicias leaves the stage, and the professional actor, who has hitherto represented him, changes his mask and his costume and (infra 235) reappears as Paphlagon. Thenceforward until the Parabasis Nicias is represented by a choregic actor, if I may so style the supernumeraries (over and above the three professional actors provided by the State) whom the Choregus supplied, and whose employment, being something beside the ordinary functions of

the Choregus, was called a *παραχορήγημα*. So again after the Parabasis, the professional actor, who up to that time had represented Demosthenes, appears in the character of Demus, and the part of Demosthenes is thenceforth assumed by a choregic actor. The choregic actors never take a prominent part in the action; but the attempt of Beer and others to eliminate them altogether is ludicrously unsuccessful.

156. *πρόσκυσον*] *Make your obeisance to*. Cf. Plutus 771. Nicias having gone out, Demosthenes takes upon himself to instruct the sausage-seller in his duties. To make a greater impression on the man he adopts the grand style, occasionally borrowing a word or two from Homer or Tragedy.

163. *στίχας*] This is the regular

- ΔΗ. τούτων ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἀρχέλας ἔσει,  
καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῶν λιμένων καὶ τῆς πυκνός· 165  
βουλὴν πατήσεις καὶ στρατηγούς κλαστάσεις,  
δήσεις, φυλάξεις, ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λαικάσεις.
- ΑΛ. ἐγώ; ΔΗ. σὺ μέντοι· κούδέπω γε πάνθ' ὄρᾳς.  
ἀλλ' ἐπανάβηθι κάπῃ τοῦλεδν τοδὶ  
καὶ κάτιδε τὰς νήσους ἀπάσας ἐν κύκλῳ. 170
- ΑΛ. καθορῶ. ΔΗ. τί δαί; τὰμπόρια καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδας;
- ΑΛ. ἔγωγε. ΔΗ. πῶς οὖν οὐ μέγας εὐδαιμονεῖς;  
ἔτι νῦν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν παράβαλλ' εἰς Καρίαν  
τὸν δεξιὸν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον εἰς Καρχηδόνα.
- ΑΛ. εὐδαιμονήσω γ', εἰ διαστραφήσομαι. 175
- ΔΗ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ διὰ σοῦ ταῦτα πάντα πέρναται.  
γίγναι γὰρ, ὡς ὁ χρησμὸς οὕτωσὶ λέγει,

Homeric term for "ranks" of men in battle-array; used generally with the addition of ἀνδρῶν, but sometimes (Iliad iv. 90, 201), as here, with that of λαῶν. Here of course it is applied to the rows of spectators; τὸ θέατρον αὐτῷ δεικνὺς ταῦτά φησιν, as the Scholiast observes.

166. κλαστάσεις] Κλαστάζειν is properly to *prune, trim* a vine, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τεμνομένων κλημάτων.—Scholiast. Hence to *chastise, correct*; like our colloquial phrase to *give one a trimming*. In the following line, ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λαικάσεις you shall *fornicate in the Prytaneum*, λαικάσεις is introduced παρὰ προσδοκίαν for δειπνήσεις. Cleon had received the honour of a free *σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ*, we are told infra 766, "for doing just nothing at all"; the sausage-seller shall go a step beyond this, and have the right λαικάζειν ἐν Πρυτανείῳ. The *σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ*, the right to share in the

public dinner served daily in the Town Hall for the guests of the Commonwealth, is very frequently mentioned in these Comedies, and will be found abundantly illustrated in the Commentary on Peace 1084, Frogs 764.

170. τὰς νήσους] That the Athenians comprehended their entire empire, outside Attica, under the term "the Islands" is plain from many passages. See for example infra 1034, 1319, Peace 760, and the note on Birds 1455. From the employment of the words ἐν κύκλῳ the Scholiast thinks that there is a special reference to the Cyclades, but this is extremely improbable. The words merely mean that the view is to be a panoramic one, like the κύκλῳ σκοπῶν of Birds 1196.

174. Καρχηδόνα] This is the reading of all the MSS., and there is no ground for changing it, as a few editors have

- DE. You shall be over-lord of all those people,  
The Agora, and the Harbours, and the Pnyx.  
You'll trim the Generals, trample down the Council,  
Fetter, imprison, make the Hall your brothel.
- S.S. What, I? DE. Yes, you yourself! And that's not all.  
For mount you up upon the dresser here  
And view the islands lying all around.
- S.S. I see. DE. And all the marts and merchant-ships?
- S.S. I see. DE. And aren't you then a lucky man?  
And *that's* not all. Just cast your eyes askew,  
The right to Caria, and the left to Carthage.
- S.S. A marvellous lucky man, to twist my neck!
- DE. Nay, but all these shall be your—perquisites.  
You shall become, this oracle declares,

done, to Χαλκηδόνα or Καλχηδόνα. We know from Plutarch that the Athenians even in the time of Pericles were dreaming dreams about the conquest of Carthage: see the Introduction to the Birds, p. xiv: and we may perhaps infer from infra 1303 that the project was a favourite one with the demagogues. In the present passage the Hellenic empire of Athens has already been surveyed, four lines above: and now the sausage-seller's gaze is directed to an horizon beyond the limits of that empire.

175. διαστραφήσομαι] A very similar line, under very similar conditions, is found in the Birds; ἀπολαύσομαι τί γ' εἰ διαστραφήσομαι (177). In each case the two possible meanings of διαστρέφειν, *to get a squint* and *to twist one's neck*, are almost equally suitable; though the former may be a shade more appro-

priate here, and the latter in the Birds. However the speaker seems to have in his mind something more serious than a mere squint. And therefore it is safer in both cases to adopt the explanation of the Scholiast on the Birds τὸν τράχηλον κλάσω. See also Acharnians 15.

176. πέρνηται] *Are* (that is, *will be*) *sold*. The word is substituted παρά προσδοκίαν for διοικείται *are* (that is, *will be*) *administered*; because the way in which demagogues administered the empire was to make as much as possible out of it for themselves; δεῖον εἰπὲν διοικείται, says the Scholiast, ὁ δὲ εἶπε πέρνηται πικρῶς, τουτέστι πιπράσκειται. *All shall be yours to* (not *rule* but) *sell*. The present tense is used for the future, to bring the delightful prospect more vividly before the budding demagogue's eyes.

- ἀνὴρ μέγιστος. ΑΛ. εἰπέ μοι, καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ  
ἀλλατοπόωλης ὦν ἀνὴρ γενήσομαι;
- ΔΗ. δι' αὐτὸ γάρ τοι τοῦτο καὶ γίγναι μέγας, 180  
ὅτι πονηρὸς καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἶ καὶ θρασύς.
- ΑΛ. οὐκ ἀξιώ' γὰρ 'μαυτὸν ἰσχύειν μέγα.
- ΔΗ. οἴμοι, τί ποτ' ἔσθ' ὅτι σαυτὸν οὐ φῆς ἀξιον;  
ξυνειδέναί τί μοι δοκεῖς σαυτῷ καλόν.  
μῶν ἐκ καλῶν εἶ κάγαθῶν; ΑΛ. μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, 185  
εἰ μὴ 'κ πονηρῶν γ'. ΔΗ. ὦ μακάριε τῆς τύχης,  
ὅσον πέπονθας ἀγαθὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα.
- ΑΛ. ἀλλ', ὦγάθ', οὐδὲ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι,  
πλὴν γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι κακὰ κακῶς.
- ΔΗ. τουτὶ μόνον σ' ἔβλαψεν, ὅτι καὶ κακὰ κακῶς. 190  
ἡ δημαγωγία γὰρ οὐ πρὸς μουσικοῦ  
ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ χρηστοῦ τοὺς τρόπους,  
ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμαθίην καὶ βδελυρόν. ἀλλὰ μὴ παρήσ  
ἂ σοι διδάσῃ ἐν τοῖς λογιόισιν οἱ θεοί.
- ΑΛ. πῶς δῆτά φησ' ὁ χρησμὸς; ΔΗ. εὖ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς 195  
καὶ ποικίλως πως καὶ σοφῶς ἤνιγμένους.

179. ἀνὴρ γενήσομαι] When the contest is over and the Sausage-seller has really ousted the Leather-seller, we shall find Demosthenes reminding him that he has now indeed become a Man, and owes it to the advice of Demosthenes

ὦ χαῖρε καλλίνικε, καὶ μέμνησ' ὅτι  
ἀνὴρ γεγένησαι δι' ἐμέ, infra 1254.

So when the Ten Thousand of the Anabasis were threatening Byzantium, and calling upon Xenophon to lead them to the assault: "Now Xenophon," they cried, "now is your chance of

becoming a Man; νῦν σοὶ ἔξεστιν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. Here is a city for you, here is a fleet, here is wealth, here are your soldiers."—Anab. vii. 1. 21. ἀνὴρ in these passages means "a personage of importance." It is used in a slightly different sense infra 392, where see the note.

184. ξυνειδέναί . . . καλόν] He fears that the sausage-seller's conscience is convicting him of some—not *demerit* but—*merit*; for anything in the nature of a virtue would militate against his chance of becoming a successful demagogue.



- A Man most mighty! S.S. Humbug! How can I,  
A sausage-selling chap, become a Man?
- DE. Why, that's the very thing will make you great,  
Your roguery, impudence, and agora-training.
- S.S. I am not worthy of great power, methinks.
- DE. O me, not worthy! what's the matter now?  
You've got, I fear, some good upon your conscience.  
Spring you from gentlemen? S.S. By the powers, not I.  
From downright blackguards. DE. Lucky, lucky man,  
O what a start you've got for public life.
- S.S. But I know nothing, friend, beyond my letters,  
And even of them but little, and that badly.
- DE. The mischief is that you know ANYTHING.  
To be a Demus-leader is not now  
For lettered men, nor yet for honest men,  
But for the base and ignorant. Don't let slip  
The bright occasion which the Gods provide you.
- S.S. How goes the oracle? DE. Full of promise good,  
Wrapped up in cunning enigmatic words.

186. εἰ μὴ 'κ πονηρῶν] Εἰ μὴ is here merely the equivalent of ἀλλὰ, as in Lys. 943 and Thesm. 898, where see the note.

189. γραμμάτων] "Οτι μουσικὴν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν φησί. γράμματα δὲ τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα.—Scholiast. This is one of the passages, indeed the only known passage (unless we are to add the simile of the Eels), which Eupolis borrowed for his Maricas. "Maricas, qui est Hyperbolus, nihil se ex musicis scire nisi literas confitetur."—Quintilian, Inst. i. 10. 18. It is also drawn upon, as Porson points out, for the description

which Procopius gives of John of Capadocia, the vicious minister of the Emperor Justinian; λόγων μὲν τῶν ἑλευθερίων καὶ παιδείας ἀνήκοος ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν, ἔς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν, ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς, γράψαι.—De Bell. Pers. i. 24.

190. τοῦτι μόνον] Ἀμείνων ἦσθα, φησὶν, εἰ μὴδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπειράθης τῶν γραμμάτων.—Scholiast. Had the sausage-seller been able to assert his total ignorance all would have been well; it is the exception, however slight, that tells against his chances of success as a demagogue.

- Ἄλλ' ὅπoταν μάρψῃ βυρσαίετος ἀγκυλοχείλης  
 γαμφηλῆσι δράκοντα κοάλεμον αἱματοπώτην,  
 δὴ τότε Παφλαγόνων μὲν ἀπόλλυται ἡ σκοροδάλλη,  
 κοιλιοπώλησιν δὲ θεὸς μέγα κῦδος ὀπάξει, 200  
 αἶ κεν μὴ πωλεῖν ἀλλᾶντας μᾶλλον ἔλονται.
- ΑΛ. πῶς οὖν πρὸς ἐμὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν; ἀναδίδασκέ με.  
 ΔΗ. βυρσαίετος μὲν ὁ Παφλαγῶν ἐσθ' οὔτοσι.  
 ΑΛ. τί δ' ἀγκυλοχείλης ἐστίν; ΔΗ. αὐτό που λέγει,  
 ὅτι ἀγκύλαις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀρπάζων φέρει. 205
- ΑΛ. ὁ δράκων δὲ πρὸς τί; ΔΗ. τοῦτο περιφανέστατον.  
 ὁ δράκων γάρ ἐστι μακρὸν ὃ τ' ἀλλᾶς αὖ μακρόν·  
 εἶθ' αἱματοπώτης ἔσθ' ὃ τ' ἀλλᾶς χῶ δράκων.  
 τὸν οὖν δράκοντά φησι τὸν βυρσαίετον  
 ἤδη κρατήσειν, αἶ κε μὴ θαλφθῆ λόγοις. 210
- ΑΛ. τὰ μὲν λόγι' αἰκάλλει με· θαυμάζω δ' ὅπως  
 τὸν δῆμον οἶός τ' ἐπιτροπεύειν εἶμ' ἐγώ.  
 ΔΗ. φαυλότατον ἔργον· ταῦθ' ἄπερ ποιεῖς ποίει·

197. Ἄλλ' ὅπoταν] The oracle with its ἄλλ' ὅπoταν and its δὴ τότε is framed in the language and on the lines of recognized oracular utterances. It

was doubtless in Lucian's mind when he composed the oracle in his *Jupiter Tragoedus* 31:

ἀλλ' ὅταν αἰγυπὶς γαμφώνυχος ἀκρίδα μάρψῃ,  
 δὴ τότε λoίσθιον ὀμβροφόροι κλάζουσι κορώναι.

βυρσαίετος the *tanner-eagle* is formed in imitation of χρυσαίετος the *Golden Eagle*. ἀγκυλοχείλης is in both Homer and Hesiod an epithet of the Eagle or other bird of prey.

198. κοάλεμον] *A dunce, a dullard*, though indeed the word may be here used either as a substantive or as an adjective. It is treated as the personification of Stupidity *infra* 221. And Plutarch tells us that Cimon, the father

of Miltiades and grandfather of the more celebrated Cimon, was δι' εὐθειας αὐτοῦ nicknamed Κοάλεμος (Cimon 4). Here it seems to convey a reproach on the sausage-seller's want of ambition, and his extreme slowness to appreciate and rise to the height of his good fortune.

199. σκοροδάλλη] In tanning, as in the analogous process of *tawing*, some fluid of an acid character is required

NAY, BUT IF ONCE THE EAGLE, THE BLACK-TANNED MANDIBLE-CURVER,  
SEIZE WITH HIS BEAK THE SERPENT, THE DULLARD, THE DRINKER OF LIFE-  
BLOOD,

THEN SHALL THE SHARP SOUR BRINE OF THE PAPHLAGON-TRIBE BE EX-  
TINGUISHED,

THEN TO THE ENTRAIL-SELLERS SHALL GOD GREAT GLORY AND HONOUR  
RENDER, UNLESS THEY ELECT TO CONTINUE THE SALE OF THE SAUSAGE.

S.S. But what in the world has this to do with me?

DE. The black-tanned Eagle, that means Paphlagon.

S.S. And what the mandibles? DE. That's self-evident.  
His fingers, crooked to carry off their prey.

S.S. What does the Serpent mean? DE. That's plainer still.

A serpent's long; a sausage too is long.

Serpent's drink blood, and sausages drink blood.

The Serpent then, it says, shall overcome

The black-tanned Eagle, if its not talked over.

S.S. I like the lines: but how can I, I wonder,

Contrive to manage Demus's affairs.

DE. Why nothing's easier. Do what now you do:

for the purpose of raising the hide, that is, of softening it and opening its pores. In modern times various fluids have been used for this purpose; and it cannot be doubted that in Athens σκοροδάλμη was the fluid employed. Hence the use of the word here; and hence, infra 1095, Athene is described as pouring out σκοροδάλμη on the head of the tanner. Mitchell, almost the only commentator who recognized its connexion with the tan-pit, proposed to call it "tan-pickle."

204. αὐτό που λέγει] *That speaks for itself; Res ipsa loquitur.* See Wasps 921 τὸ πρᾶγμα . . . αὐτὸ βοᾷ, and the note there.

210. θαλφθῆ] *Softened by*, and so unable to resist. πεπαίνο is used in precisely the same signification by Euripides; ἦν δ' ἐς λόγους τε καὶ τὰ τῶνδ' οἰκτίσματα | βλήσας πεπανθῆς.—Heracleidae 159. And this, I imagine, explains the reference which a Scholiast makes to that play, παρῴδησε τὸν ἰάμβον ἐξ Ἡρακλειδῶν Εὐριπίδου. The reference is indeed attributed to 214 infra, but there is nothing in the Tragedy which in any way corresponds to that line. It must however be remembered that though the date of the Heracleidae is unknown, it is generally supposed to be subsequent to the date of the Knights.

- τάραττε καὶ χόρδευ' ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα  
 ἅπαντα, καὶ τὸν δῆμον αἰεὶ προσποιῶ  
 ὑπογλυκαίνων ῥηματίοις μαγειρικοῖς.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα σοι πρόσσεστι δημαγωγικὰ,  
 φωνὴ μιὰρὰ, γέγονας κακῶς, ἀγόραιοι εἶ  
 ἔχεις ἅπαντα πρὸς πολιτείαν ἃ δεῖ·  
 χρησμοὶ τε συμβαίνουσι καὶ τὸ Πυθικόν.  
 ἀλλὰ στεφανοῦ, καὶ σπένδε τῷ Κοαλέμφ·  
 χῶπως ἀμυνεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα. ΑΛ. καὶ τίς ξύμμαχος  
 γενήσεται μοι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ τε πλούσιοι  
 δεδίασιν αὐτὸν ὃ τε πένης βδύλλει λεῶς.
- ΔΗ. ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἰππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ χίλιοι  
 μισοῦντες αὐτὸν, οἱ βοηθήσουσί σοι,  
 καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ καλοὶ τε κάγαθοι,  
 καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ὅστις ἐστὶ δεξιὸς,  
 κάγῳ μετ' αὐτῶν· χῶ θεὸς ξυλλήψεται.  
 καὶ μὴ δέδιθ'· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξηκασμένος.

214. χόρδευε] Τὰ ἔντερα τῶν τετραπόδων χορδὰς καλοῦσι· καὶ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης τοῦ ἀλλαντοπώλου τὸ ὄνομα εἶρηται. ὡσπερ γὰρ, φησὶ, γεμίζεις καὶ πληροῖς τὰ ἔντερα παντὸς τοῦ φυράματος, οὕτως ἰππεῖς καὶ τὰ πολιτικά.—Scholiast. Bearing in mind that the language is borrowed from the business of a pork-butcher, we may safely conclude that in δῆμον there is a play upon *δημόν fat*, as infra 954, Wasps 40.

218. φωνὴ κ.τ.λ.] In addition to the special qualifications derived from his special business, he has all the natural qualifications already possessed by Cleon for the post of demagogue; the loud brutal voice, the low birth, and the impudence with which the Agora endows its frequenters.

224. βδύλλει] *Is frightened out of his wits at him*, so as ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους βδεῖν, Plutus 693. So in Lys. 354 τί βδύλλεθ' ἡμᾶς; *why are ye so mortally afraid of us?* It exactly answers to our vulgar word *to funk*. The Scholiast and Suidas explain it by καταπέληγε, βδελύττεται, τουτέστι μισεῖ. Hesychius, more accurately, by δεδιέναι, τρέμειν, ἢ βδεῖν.

225. ἰππεῖς χίλιοι] The Athenian cavalry consisted of 1,000 young men commanded by two ἵππαρχοι; each tribe contributing 100 men under their own φύλαρχος. See Birds 799; Aristotle's Polity of Athens, chap. 61; Demosthenes, de Symmoriis, § 15. That this was their actual, and not a mere round, number is plain from the statement of Hesychius (s. v. Ἰππεῖς) that we learn from Philo-

Mince, hash, and mash up everything together.  
 Win over Demus with the savoury sauce  
 Of little cookery phrases. You've already  
 Whatever else a Demagogue requires.  
 A brutal voice, low birth, an agora training ;  
 Why you've got all one wants for public life.  
 The Pythian shrine and oracles concur.  
 Crown, crown your head ; pour wine to mighty—Dulness ;  
 Prepare to fight the man. S.S. But what ally  
 Will stand beside me, for the wealthy men  
 Tremble before him, and the poor folk blench.  
 DE. A thousand Knights, all honest men and true,  
 Detest the scoundrel, and will help the cause ;  
 And whosoe'er is noblest in the State,  
 And whosoe'er is brightest in the tiers,  
 And I myself. And God will lend his aid.  
 And fear him not ; he is not pictured really ;

chorus the date at which that particular number was established. And though some put the number at 1,200 (Andocides de Pace 7 ; Aeschines de F. L. 185 ; Aristotle, Polity of Athens, chap. 24), the discrepancy appears to be occasioned by their including the 200 *ἵπποπόδοι* in the general term *ἵππεις*. See Thucydides ii. 13 ; Xenophon, Hipparchicus ix. 3 ; Boeckh, P. E. ii. 21.

227. *καλοὶ τε ἀγαθοὶ*] This expression, very common in these Comedies, means men who had been trained up to the highest mark of Athenian education, both physical and mental ; the *καλοὶ* referring to the physical, and the *ἀγαθοὶ* to the mental training. Aristophanes himself describes them in the Frogs as *ἀνδρας εὐγενεῖς καὶ σώφρονας, | καὶ τραφέντας*

*ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ, | καὶ δίκαιους*. They were, in fact, the educated classes at Athens. As such they would naturally be opposed to the demagogues, but it seems to me a misuse of language to attribute (as has been the fashion since Grote's time) some political significance to phrases like this. An Athenian of the highest education and breeding would be a *καλὸς ἀγαθὸς*, whatever his political views.

230. *ἐξήκασμένος*] The actors personating Demosthenes and Nicias would be wearing masks which bore a grotesque resemblance to the familiar countenances of those two famous Athenians. And the audience would naturally expect that when Paphlagon entered they would behold a mask fashioned to

ὑπὸ τοῦ δέουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε  
τῶν σκευοποιῶν εἰκάσαι. πάντως γε μὴν  
γνωσθήσεται· τὸ γὰρ θέατρον δεξιόν.

ΝΙ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὁ Παφλαγὼν ἐξέρχεται.

ΠΑ. οὐ τοι μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς χαίρησεν,  
235 ὅτι ἡ' πὶ τῷ δῆμῳ ξυνόμνυτον πάλαι.

τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δρᾶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ποτήριον;

οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ Χαλκιδέας ἀφίστατον.

ἀπολείσθον, ἀποθανείσθον, ὦ μαρωτάτω.

ΔΗ. οὗτος, τί φεύγει; οὐ μνεῖς; ὦ γεννάδα  
240

ἀλλαντοπῶλα, μὴ προδῶς τὰ πράγματα.

ἄνδρες ἰππεῖσι, παραγένεσθε· νῦν ὁ καιρὸς. ὦ Σίμων,

represent the features of the masterful demagogue. The poet warns them that this will not be so; that Paphlagon's mask will not be made in the likeness of any individual. This is all that the passage means; and the story which the ancient grammarians have woven about it, that neither mask nor actor could be obtained for the character, and that Aristophanes was obliged to act the part himself, without a mask, but with his features stained with vermilion or wine-lees, is totally undeserving of credit. The time had long passed when the Comic poets were themselves actors. The three principal actors were now provided by the State. Equally improbable is the idea mooted by some recent critics that this speech is a prelude to the entrance of Paphlagon wearing an excellent portrait-mask of Cleon.

234. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων] Nicias, now represented by a choregic actor, runs in to announce that Paphlagon is awake,

and is on the point of descending on the pair who are hopefully plotting his ruin. And at his heels comes Paphlagon himself, with his dreadful voice, his overbearing mien, and his ferocious threats. So soon as he sees them he fulminates against them both the most terrible charge that can be brought at Athens, the charge of conspiring against the Sovereign Demus. At first he has nothing on which to base the charge, but he is a man of infinite resource (infra 758): and as his eye roves round the scene it falls upon the Chalcidian cup out of which Demosthenes has been drinking. Hah! that is enough. Why here is actually a Chalcidian cup! Beyond all doubt they are inciting the Chalcidians to revolt. It is, to use Mr. Walsh's illustration, as if an English statesman were accused of intriguing with the Chinese empire, because he chanced to be drinking tea out of a china cup. Anyhow it is in Paphlagon's eyes the most damning

For all the mask-providers feared to mould  
His actual likeness; but our audience here  
Are shrewd and bright; they'll recognize the man.

NIC. Mercy upon us! here comes Paphlagon.

PAPHLAGON. By the Twelve Gods, you two shall pay for this,

Always conspiring, plotting ill to Demus!

What's this Chalcidian goblet doing here?

Hah! ye're inciting Chalceis to revolt.

Villains and traitors! ye shall die the death.

DE. (To S.S.) Hi! where are you off to? stop! For goodness sake,

Don't fail us now, most doughty Sausage-seller!

Hasten up, my gallant horsemen, now's the time your foe to fight.

proof of treason. No other explanation is possible, *οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ*. Therefore they shall both die; cf. supra 68. The terror inspired by these fulminations is so great that the Sausage-seller turns to flee. This charge of conspiracy is made again and again by Paphlagon (257, 452, 476, 628, cf. also 862); and we may be sure that it was the commonest of charges on the lips of Cleon. It is also repeatedly found in the Wasps, which is the complement of the Knights. The reference to the Chalcidians is no doubt to Chalcidice in Macedonia, or, as it is more commonly described, in Thrace. That district was already in a ferment, and before another year had passed its cities were welcoming Brasidas as their deliverer, each wishing to be the first to revolt, Thuc. iv. 108, &c. *Χαλκιδικὰ ποτήρια* ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς *Χαλκίδος* τῆς *Θρακικῆς εὐδοκιμοῦντα*.—Athenæus xi. 106.

235. *τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς*] An oath by a single deity will not suffice for Paph-

lagon. He must needs swear by all the Twelve Great Gods who sit at the council-board of Olympus. Of these six were Gods, Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, Hephaestus, and Hermes; and six were Goddesses, Hera, Athene, Artemis, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Hestia. Cf. Birds 95.

242. *ἄνδρες ἱππεῖς*] The appearance of Paphlagon on the stage is immediately followed by the sound of his antagonists, the Knights, coming at full speed into the orchestra below. They were probably dressed in the costume, as they were certainly wearing the long hair, which distinguished the Athenian *ἱππεῖς*. The Scholiast says that Simon and Panaetius were the two *ἱππαρχοί* (see the note on 225 supra); and Simon is supposed to be the author of the treatise *περὶ Ἰππικῆς* which is cited, and largely adopted, by Xenophon in his work on the same subject. Some MSS. prefix the name of Demosthenes to line 244; and if this be correct, it may be that the

- ὦ Παναίτι', οὐκ ἐλάτε πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ;  
 ἄνδρες ἐγγύς· ἀλλ' ἀμύνου, κάπαναστρέφου πάλιν.  
 ὁ κοινορτὸς δῆλος αὐτῶν ὡς ὁμοῦ προσκειμένων. 245  
 ἀλλ' ἀμύνου καὶ δίωκε καὶ τροπὴν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦ.
- ΧΟ. παῖε παῖε τὸν πανοῦργον καὶ ταραξιππόστρατον  
 καὶ τελώνην καὶ φάραγγα καὶ Χάρυβδιν ἀρπαγῆς,  
 καὶ πανοῦργον καὶ πανοῦργον· πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτ' ἐρῶ,  
 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἦν πανοῦργος πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας. 250  
 ἀλλὰ παῖε καὶ δίωκε καὶ τάραττε καὶ κύκα  
 καὶ βδελύττου, καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, κάπικείμενος βόα·  
 εὐλαβοῦ δὲ μὴ 'κφύγη σε· καὶ γὰρ οἶδε τὰς ὁδοὺς,  
 ἄσπερ Εὐκράτης ἔφευγεν εὐθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων.
- ΠΑ. ὦ γέροντες ἠλιασταί, φράτορες τριωβόλου, 255

present line and that which follows were spoken by the Coryphaeus as the Chorus are approaching the orchestra; but though there is much to recommend that arrangement, yet I think it more probable that they are spoken by Demosthenes. The direction οὐκ ἐλάτε πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας; seems to have no relation to the actual evolutions of the Chorus: it is just such an order as the real Demosthenes might, when in command of the army, have given to the real captains of the cavalry. Cf. Birds 353.

245. ὁμοῦ] Τὸ ὁμοῦ λέγουσιν Ἀττικοὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγγύς. ὡς καὶ ἐν Εἰρήνῃ (513) "καὶ μὴν ὁμοῦ σ' ἴδῃ."—Scholiast. ὁμοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐγγύς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς.—Scholiast on Thesm. 572. This is a good instance of what the grammarians mean when they say that one form is Ἑλληνικῶς and another Ἀττικῶς, for ἐγγύς is common in all Attic writers. In these very Comedies it occurs thirteen times, and

ὁμοῦ, in this sense, only thrice. See the Introduction to this play. However, as was observed in the Commentary on the Thesmophorizusae, the two words are not precisely identical in meaning; ὁμοῦ indicating a nearer proximity than ἐγγύς. The Chorus were ἐγγύς, near, in the preceding line; they are ὁμοῦ, close at hand, in this.

247. παῖε παῖε] The Knights, twenty-four in number, have come pouring through the εἴσοδος into the orchestra, breathing out fire and vengeance against their adversary. Ταραξιππόστρατον, *troubler-of-the-horse-array*, they call him, with an obvious reference, as Neil observes, to the Ταραξίππος, the name to which an altar was erected at Olympia and elsewhere, and which is supposed (by Pausanias vi. 20) to have been an appellation of Ποσειδῶν ἵππιος. By τελώνης we are here to understand one who gets the tolls and taxes, τέλη,



Now then Simon, now Panaetius, charge with fury on the right.  
 Here they're coming! Worthy fellow, wheel about, commence the fray;  
 Lo, the dust of many horsemen rushing on in close array!  
 Turn upon him, fight him, smite him, scout him, rout him, every way.

CHORUS. Smite the rascal, smite him, smite him, troubler of our Knightly train,  
 Foul extortioner, Charybdis, bottomless abyss of gain.  
 Smite the rascal; smite the rascal; many times the word I'll say,  
 For he proved himself a rascal many, many times a day.  
 Therefore smite him, chase him, pound him, rend and rattle and confound him!  
 Show your loathing, show as *we* do; press with angry shouts around him.  
 Take you heed, or he'll evade you; watch him closely, for the man  
 Knows how Eucrates escaped us, fleeing to his stores of bran.

PAPH. O my Heliastic veterans, of the great Triobol clan,

into his own hands, and thereout sucks no small advantage. We are not told, but it is very probable, that he *farmed* the *τέλη*, as a later demagogue, Agyrrihus, did. See the note on Eccl. 102, and the special reference to *τέλη* infra 307. *φάραγξ* means literally a chasm in the earth, *τὸ τῆς γῆς βάραθρον, τὸ ἀπόσχισμα τῆς γῆς, ὃ τὸ παρεμπύπτον ὕδωρ πίνει*, as the Scholiast explains it; and Kock appropriately cites Horace, Ep. i. 15. 31 "Pernicies, et tempestas, *barathrumque macelli*." With *Χάρυβδι* ἀπαγῆς the same Commentator compares Cicero's Second Philippic, chap. 27, where the orator, describing Antony's greed and dissipation, exclaims *Quae Charybdis tam vorax?* and his De Oratore iii. 41.

252. *καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς*] *Loathe him*, they say, *for we too loathe him*. But they do not say *strike him, for we too strike him*. For they are in the orchestra, and he is on the stage; and except by word and

gesture they can take no part in the fray.

254. *Εὐκράτης*] As to Eucrates see supra 129. We know nothing of the incident to which the Chorus refer. But we know that this demagogue was a *συμπεισιπώλης* and a *κυρηβισιπώλης*, and it seems reasonable to infer that he escaped from some outburst of popular anger by taking refuge in his own warehouses.

255. *ἃ γέροντες ἤλιασταί*] At once, when he finds himself assailed, he calls on the dicasts to help him: just as in the Wasps, when the dicasts are foiled, they send for aid to Cleon; Wasps 409. For between the demagogues and the dicasts there subsisted a constant alliance, which it was the object of that Comedy to dissolve. See the last few pages of the Introduction to the Wasps. The demagogues courted the dicasts by securing them their fees, by enlarging the emoluments and diminishing the

οὐς ἐγὼ βόσκω κεκραγῶς καὶ δίκαια κᾶδिका,  
 παραβοηθεῖθ', ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τύπτομαι ξυνομοτῶν.

ΧΟ. ἐν δίκη γ', ἐπεὶ τὰ κοινὰ πρὶν λαχεῖν κατεσθίεις,  
 κάποσυκάζεις πιέζων τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, σκοπῶν  
 ὅστις αὐτῶν ὀμός ἐστιν ἢ πέπων ἢ μὴ πέπων.  
 κᾶν τιν' αὐτῶν γνῶς ἀπράγμον' ὄντα καὶ κεχηρότα,  
 καταγαγὼν ἐκ Χερρονήσου, διαβαλῶν, ἀγκυρίσας,  
 εἴτ' ἀποστρέψας τὸν ὄμον, αὐτὸν ἐνεκολλήβασας·  
 καὶ σκοπεῖς γε τῶν πολιτῶν ὅστις ἐστὶν ἀμνοκῶν,

260

labours of their office; and the dicasts, in their turn, were the influential support of the demagogues in the Public Assemblies. And to these formidable old men the charge of *συνομοσία* was like the cry of "Rats" to a terrier. "Who said CONSPIRATORS?" ὡς ἀπανθ' ὑμῖν *τυραννίς ἐστι καὶ ξυνομοταί*, says Bdelycleon to the dicasts in *Wasps* 488.

258. *πρὶν λαχεῖν*] The metaphor is taken from a greedy guest, who helps himself out of the common mess before his turn has arrived; ἢ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις ἀρπαζόντων πρὸ διανομῆς, as the Scholiast says. See *Lysistrata* 208. Kock's notion that there is here an allusion to the distribution of land in Lesbos as allotments, *κληροί* (*Thuc.* iii. 50), seems wide of the mark. Neither in this play nor anywhere else is any charge brought against Cleon in this respect; nor is the suggestion altogether in keeping with the context here.

259. *ἀποσυκάζεις*] This word is employed for two purposes; first to introduce the idea of *συκοφαντία*, and then to commence a metaphor from persons gathering figs. All officials were required to pass their accounts; see *Wasps*

571, 587, and the notes there. And they must have had an anxious time when those accounts were being overhauled by some unscrupulous demagogue, ready to pick holes in them on any pretence, and capable of influencing against the accounting parties both the Assemblies and the dicasteries. This may well have given rise to a regular system of blackmail. *μὴ πέπων* means *not quite ripe*.

262. *διαβαλῶν*] No feature of Paphlagon's character is more prominently brought out in this Comedy than his *διαβολαί*, the slanderous accusations which he levelled against all sorts and conditions of men. See on line 7 *supra*. Allusions to this practice occur in the most unexpected places. Here for *διαλαβῶν*, *grasping him round the body*, Aristophanes substitutes *διαβαλῶν*, *calumniating him*, exactly as *infra* 491 for *διαλαβῶς* he substitutes *διαβολάς*. *διαλαβῶν* of course, like the participles which follow, is a term of the palaestra; and some difficulty has been felt by reason of the abrupt change of metaphor, from *fig-gathering* to *wrestling*; and Professor Mahaffy (*Hermathena* i. 137) would read

Whom through right and wrong I nourish, bawling, shouting all I can,  
Help me, by conspiring traitors shamefully abused and beaten.

CHOR. Rightly, for the public commons you before your turn have eaten,  
And you squeeze the audit-passers, pinching them like figs, to try  
Which is ripe, and which is ripening, which is very crude and dry.  
Find you one of easy temper, mouth agape, and vacant look,  
Back from Chersonese you bring him, grasp him firmly, fix your hook,  
Twist his shoulder back and, glibly, gulp the victim down at once.  
And you search amongst the townsmen for some lambkin-witted dunce,

in the next line *ὠμὸν* for *ὤμων*, and preserve the fig-metaphor throughout. But it seems clear that we are now dealing with the language of the gymnasium. See Norman Gardiner's illustrated article on "Wrestling" in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. *διαλαβὼν* (understood under *διαβαλὼν*) is a technical word in that connexion; *ἀγκύρισμα* is an *εἶδος παλαίσματος*, a *σχῆμα τῶν ἐν πάλλῃ*, a *σχῆμα παλαιστρικὸν*, Scholiast, Hesychius, s.v., Pollux iii. 155, Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 327, Id. *Anti-Atticista*, p. 81. 4. The last-mentioned grammarian quotes the words *ἀγχυρίσας ἔρρηξεν*, attributing them, wrongly, to the present Comedy. *ἀγκυρίζειν* means "to hook your leg round your antagonist's, so as to trip him up and throw him." It has much the same signification as *ὑποσκελίζειν*, by which the Scholiast explains it, and which Demosthenes (de Corona 176) couples with *σκολοπιεῖν*. Finally *ἀποστρέψας τὸν ὤμῳ* is "twisting back his shoulder," an operation displayed in many of the illustrations in Mr. Gardiner's article.

263. *ἐνεκολήθασας*] Having got his antagonist into this helpless attitude,

what does Paphlagon do with him? He opens his mouth and swallows him down whole at a gulp, just as a boa-constrictor disposes of its victim. This is a tribute to the boundless voracity of the demagogue. The word is explained by *καταπέπωκας* or *κατέπιες* by the grammarians; the Scholiast here, Hesychius, Etym. Magn. and Eustathius at Od. xvii. 222. The same interpretation is given by Suidas, s.v. *ἐκολήθισας*, and he adds, quite accurately, *βούλεται δὲ λέγειν ὅτι δὴ ἂν παραλάβῃ, ἄρδην ἀπόλλυσιν*. But Suidas also adds another explanation, *παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ κόλοις βαιεῖν· κόλα δὲ ἡ γαστήρ*. See the Scholiast on Clouds 552. Whence some have taken the word to mean that after throwing him he leapt upon him; cf. Clouds 550. But I make no doubt that the common view is correct, and that we are to consider the unfortunate official entirely absorbed into the rapacious maw of the demagogue.

264. *σκοπεῖς*] *You have your eye upon him*. The word is intended to recall the *σκοπῶν* of 259, bringing with it all the consequences described in lines 262, 263.

- πλούσιος καὶ μὴ πονηρὸς καὶ τρέμων τὰ πράγματα. 265
- ΠΑ. ξυνεπέκεισθ' ὑμεῖς; ἐγὼ δ', ὦνδρες, δι' ὑμᾶς τύπτομαι,  
ὅτι λέγειν γνώμην ἔμελλον ὡς δίκαιον ἐν πόλει  
ἰστάναι μνημεῖον ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἀνδρείας χάριν.
- ΧΟ. ὡς δ' ἀλαζῶν, ὡς δὲ μάσθλης· εἶδες οἶ' ὑπέρχεται  
ὥσπερ εἰ γέροντας ἡμᾶς, κάκκοβαλικεύεται; 270  
ἀλλ' ἐὰν ταύτη παρέλθῃ, ταυτηὶ πεπλήξεται  
ἦν δ' ὑπεκκλίνῃ γε δευρὶ, πρὸς σκέλος κυρηβάσει.
- ΠΑ. ὦ πόλις καὶ δῆμ', ὑφ' οἴων θηρίων γαστρίζομαι.
- ΧΟ. καὶ κέκραγας, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ τὴν πόλιν καταστρέφει;
- ΑΛ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε τῇ βοῇ ταύτῃ γε πρῶτα τρέψομαι. 275
- ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἐὰν μέντοι γε νικᾶς τῇ βοῇ, τήνελλος εἶ·  
ἦν δ' ἀναιδεία παρέλθῃς, ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς.

266. τύπτομαι] By these low fellows, the slave and the sausage-seller. He is merely seeking to curry favour with the Chorus, as at other times with Demus. We are not to suppose that Cleon ever thought of proposing any measure in honour of the Knights. They were at daggers drawn in the political arena, as they are in this Comedy.

269. μάσθλης] *A surrle sneak*. Literally "a thong of leather, dressed and softened," and so rendered flexible. ἰδίας ὁ μεμαλαγμένος λῶρος.—Scholiast at Clouds 449. μάσθλης δὲ κυρίως ἰμὰς μεμαλαγμένος.—Scholiast here. Though apparently a recognized term of vituperation, it is of course peculiarly appropriate to the *βυρσοδέψης*. Cf. infra 389. For ὑπέρχεται, "comes under," possibly the best English translation is the exact opposite, *comes over*.

271. παρέλθῃ] I have substituted this word for the MS. γε νικᾶ, which is here manifestly out of place. There is no

question, at this stage, of a victory for Paphlagon. He is obviously over-matched, and is crying out for help; whilst the Chorus fear, not that he will overcome, but that he will escape from, their champions. They are now indignant at his endeavour to come over them by the grossest flattery, as if they, the gallant young Knights, were drivelling old dotards, and they mean to show him that they have all their wits about them. They will arrest his flight in whichever direction he attempts to flee. If he comes that way, says the Coryphaeus, there shall he feel the weight of my arm (*τὰς χεῖρας δείκνυσι*, Scholiast); if *this* way, here will he find himself butting against my leg. The Chorus are endeavouring to obstruct both his ways of escape; one with their hands, the other with their outstretched legs. I imagine that the eye of the copyist was confused by seeing the words γε νικᾶς and παρέλθῃς a very few

Wealthy, void of tricks and malice, shuddering at disputes and fuss.

PAPH. You assail me too, my masters? 'tis for you they beat me thus;  
'Tis because I thought of moving that 'twere proper here to make  
Some memorial of your worships for your noble valour's sake.

CHOR. Hear him trying to cajole us! O the supple-bending sneak,  
Playing off his tricks upon us, as on dotards old and weak.  
Nay, but there my arm shall smite him if to pass you there he seek;  
If he dodge in this direction, here against my leg he butts.

PAPH. Athens! Demus! see the monsters, see them punch me in the guts.

CHOR. Shouting, are you? you who always by your shouts subvert the town.

S.S. But in this I'll first surpass him; thus I shout the fellow down.

CHOR. If in bawling you defeat him, sing we ho! for Victory's sake.

If in shamelessness you beat him, then indeed we take the cake.

(five and six) lines below employed as synonyms, and occupying the same position in two successive lines; and that by some oversight the wrong synonym was transferred to this place. *γε νικᾶ* is here susceptible of no rational interpretation.

272. *πρὸς σκέλος κερηβάσει*] Shall butt, like a he-goat, against my leg. Paphlagon is attempting to bolt with his head down from his persecutors. The Scholiast says that there was a stage-direction, *παρεπιγραφῆ*, to that effect; *παρεπιγραφῆ δὲ, συγκεύκφε γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν διακόντων τύπτεται*.

275. *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.*] Hitherto the Sausage-seller, though joining in the assault on Paphlagon, has not opened his lips, but now all at once he sees his opportunity. Paphlagon has been bawling at the top of his *μαρὰ φωνή*; but the Sausage-seller has a *μαρὰ φωνή* too, *supra* 218; he will see if he cannot outbawl Paphlagon. At the first sound

of those stentorian lungs the *Κεκραξιδάμας* (Wasps 596) feels that there is a formidable rival in the field; and in a moment, though knowing nothing of his antecedents, threatens to denounce him before the dicasteries on a charge of treason. By *πρῶτα* the Sausage-seller means that to outbawl the leather-seller is only the *first* step in the combat; he will afterwards have to out-impudence him.

276. *τήνελλος*] This word seems to have been coined by Aristophanes with reference to the song of triumph composed by Archilochus, *τήνελλα καλλίεικε*, a song with which the Comedies of the Acharnians and the Birds are closed, and which was the equivalent of our "See the conquering hero comes!" It means, as the Scholiast and Suidas observe, *νικηφόρος*. If he can outbawl Paphlagon they will hail him as a victor; but this is not sufficient: he must surpass him in impudence as well

- ΠΑ. τουτονὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ ἕνδεικνυμι, καὶ φήμ' ἐξάγειν  
ταῖσι Πελοποννησίων τριήρεσι ζωμεύματα.
- ΑΛ. ναὶ μὰ Δία κᾶγωγε τοῦτον, ὅτι κενῆ τῇ κοιλίᾳ 280  
εἰσδραμῶν εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, εἶτα πάλιν ἐκθεῖ πλέα.
- ΔΗ. νῆ Δί', ἐξάγων γε τὰ πόρρηθ', ἅμ' ἄρτον καὶ κρέας  
καὶ τέμαχος, οὗ Περικλέης οὐκ ἠξιώθη πώποτε.
- ΠΑ. ἀποθανεῖσθον αὐτίκα μάλα.
- ΑΛ. τριπλάσιον κεκράξομαί σου. 285
- ΠΑ. καταβοήσομαι βοῶν σε.
- ΑΛ. κατακεκράξομαί σε κράζων.
- ΠΑ. διαβαλῶ σ', ἐὰν στρατηγῆς.
- ΑΛ. κυνοκοπήσω σου τὸ νῶτον.

as in noise; then only will the victory be complete; then the prize-cake will be ours. The phrase ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς occurs again in Thesm. 94, where it is more fully explained. The Scholiast here says Πυραμοῦς' εἶδος πλακοῦντος ἐκ μέλιτος ἐφθοῦ καὶ πυρῶν πεφρυγμένων, ὡς καὶ σησαμοῦς τὸ διὰ σησάμων. ταῦτα δὲ ἐτίθεσαν ἄθλα τοῖς διαγρυνηταῖς. εἰῶθασι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἀμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ ἀγρυνίας, καὶ ὁ διαγρυνήσας μέχρι τῆς ἑω ἐλάμβανε τὸν πυραμοῦντα. No distinction is intended between the victory of the Sausage-seller (τήνελλος εἶ) and the victory of the Chorus (ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς). For this purpose their interests are identical; he is their champion. The victory of the one is the victory of the other.

278. ἐνδείκνυμι] What is to be done about this formidable stranger? As to this Paphlagon has no doubt. He at once indicts him as a traitor who (like Thorycion in Frogs 362-4) exports contraband of war, ἀπόρρητα, forbidden

stores, for the use of the enemy's triremes.

279. ζωμεύματα] Rich sauces. In a storm at sea, when a ship was so beaten and broken by the winds and waves that it seemed doubtful if her planks would hold together, it was customary to undergird or "frap" her, by passing strong cables or chains underneath her keel, made fast at each end on the deck. These cables or chains were called ὑποζώματα and were part of the regular gear of a ship, Smith of Jordanhill's "Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul," pp. 65-7, 173-7; Bp. Jacobson on Acts xxvii. 17. For ὑποζώματα Paphlagon substitutes ζωμεύματα in reference to his adversary's trade which, as we see from 146 supra, was sufficiently disclosed by his dress and culinary utensils.

280. κενῆ . . . πλέῃ] Κενῆ as he enters the Prytaneum to enjoy the σίτησις there awarded him on account of the affair at Sphacteria; πλέῃ as he leaves the

- PAPH. I denounce this smuggling fellow; contraband of war he takes  
For the Peloponnesian galleys, frapping them with — girdle-cakes.
- S.S. I denounce this juggling fellow; at the Hall, from day to day,  
In he runs with empty belly, with a full one hies away.
- De. ~~CHA.~~ Fish, and flesh, and bread exporting, and a hundred things like these,  
Contraband of peace, which never were allowed to Pericles.
- PAPH. Death awaits you at once, you two.
- S.S. Thrice as loud can I squall as you.
- PAPH. Now will I bawl you down by bawling.
- S.S. Now will I squall you down by squalling.
- PAPH. Lead our armies, and I'll backbite you.
- S.S. I'll with dog-whips slash you and smite you.

Prytaneum after having enjoyed the dinner. See Plautus, *Truculentus* i. 2. line 2. It would seem from what follows that this *σίτησις* was never awarded to Pericles; probably because, as the Scholiast suggests, he was too highminded to accept it. Of Pericles Aristophanes always speaks with respect. The *ἐξάγων* in line 282 is an echo of the *ἐξάγειν* four lines above.

284. *ἀποθανείσθον κ.τ.λ.*] Thrice, in this slanging-match between the rivals, a crisis, involving possibly a personal encounter, is indicated by a sharp little exchange of cut and thrust in a system of short verses, half the length of, but otherwise in the same metre as, the long verses immediately preceding. Here, after a series of trochaic tetrameters, we have a set of trochaic dimeters; while at 367 and 441 *infra*, after iambic tetrameters, we have iambic dimeters. Every line in these little encounters is intended to be specially characteristic of the speaker

who utters it. Paphlagon commences with a tremendous threat, a repetition of that with which he concluded his first fulmination, *supra* 239. There it fairly frightened the Sausage-seller; but now that the latter has discovered the power of his own lungs, he replies with a still louder vociferation.

288. *διαβαλῶ σ'*] After the shouting competition Paphlagon falls back on his more usual expedient of *διαβολαί* (see the note on 262 *supra*), and especially of attacks on the Athenian commanders at home and abroad. The particular allusion is no doubt to the affair of Sphacteria, where Cleon had attacked as well Nicias the general at home, as Demosthenes and the generals at Pylus. The same word, *διέβαλλεν*, is employed by Thucydides (iv. 27) in his account of Cleon's proceedings on that occasion.

289. *κυνοκοπήσω*] The Scholiast says, no doubt rightly, *ταῦτο ὡς μάγειρος λέγει*, but the exact meaning of the word is not clear. *κυνοκοπήσαι, ὥσπερ κύνα τῷ*

ΠΑ.	περιελῶ σ' ἀλαφρονείαις.	290
ΑΛ.	ὑποτεμοῦμαι τοὺς πόδας σου.	
ΠΑ.	βλέψον εἰς μ' ἀσκαρδάμυκτος.	
ΑΛ.	ἐν ἀγορᾷ κἀγὼ τέθραμμαι.	
ΠΑ.	διαφορήσω σ', εἴ τι γρύξεις.	
ΑΛ.	κοπροφορήσω σ', εἴ λαλήσεις.	295
ΠΑ.	ὁμολογῶ κλέπτειν σὺ δ' οὐχί.	
ΑΛ.	νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀγοραῖον, κάπτιορκῶ γε βλεπόντων.	
ΠΑ.	ἀλλότρια τοῖνυν σοφίζει, καί σε φαίνω τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν,	300

ξύλφ κατακόψαι.—Phryn. Bekk. 49. 3. Probably the force of *κυνο-* is practically lost in the compound as that of *βου-* in *βουθυτεύω* (see Plutus 819 and the note there), and the Sausage-seller means simply, *I will score your back* like a butcher cutting up a carcase. Compare *ἐδενδροτόμησε τὸ νῶτον*, Peace 747.

290. *περιελῶ*] *Will circumvent*, infra 887. The metaphor is in the word itself, not in its usage here. Paphlagon, if foiled in his direct attack, will get round his adversary by artful and circuitous methods.

291. *τοὺς πόδας σου*] The MSS. and editions read *τὰς ὁδοὺς σου*, which gives no acceptable meaning. Bergler translates "obstruam vias tuas." Brunck "molitiones tuas praecidam." Schutz "vias et rationes tibi praecidam calumniandi, furandi, decipiendi." Green, "I will clip short your ways and means." Merry, "I will give a sly cut

across your path." But even if these interpretations, or any of them, could be obtained from the Greek, they would not be appropriate in this little dialogue. See the note on 284 supra. I have therefore changed *τὰς ὁδοὺς σου* into *τοὺς πόδας σου* which, except for the addition of the π, consists of the very same letters. And nothing can be more natural than that the pork-butcher should threaten to cut off the pig's feet to be served up to table as pettitoes. Athenaeus (iii. 49) quotes from the "Satyrs" of Eephantides *πόδας ἔτ' εἰ δέοι πριάμενον καταφαγεῖν ἐφθούς ἰός*; and from the *Δουλοδιδάσκαλος* of Pherecrates, *φύσκη τόμος, ποὺς ἐφθός. φύσκη*, it should be observed, has much the same meaning as *ἀλλᾶς*. See infra 364.

294. *διαφορήσω*] *I will tear you into strips*, as a tanner does with his leather. *κοπροφορήσω*, *I will cart you as dung*, as a butcher treats the offal of his carcases.



- PAPH. I'll outwit you by fraud and lying.  
 S.S. I'll your pettitoes chop for frying.  
 PAPH. Now unblinking regard me, you.  
 S.S. I was bred in the agora too.  
 PAPH. Say but g-r-r, and to strips I'll tear you.  
 S.S. Speak one word, and as dung I'll bear you.  
 PAPH. I confess that I steal. Do you?  
 S.S. Agora Hermes! yes, I do.  
 If I'm seen, I'm a perjurer too.  
 PAPH. Somebody else's tricks you're vaunting;  
 Now to the Prytanes off I'll run,

297. Ἐρμῆν τὸν ἀγοραῖον] Ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἴδρυται Ἐρμού ἀγοραίου ἄγαλμα.—Scholiast. As the God of commerce (ἐμπολαῖος) and of tricks and deceit (δόλιος) he would be in his proper place in the Agora. Kock refers to Pausanias i. 15. Ἴ τοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοάν, ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἐρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος. And to Lucian's *Bis Accusatus* 8, where Justice, addressing Hermes, says that he consorts with men ἐν τε γυμνασίοις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ Ἀγοραῖος γὰρ εἶ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κηρύττει. To which I may add the same author's *Jupiter Tragoedus* 33, where Zeus sees a bronze figure approaching, of graceful shape and outline, with its hair tied up in antique fashion, and says ὁ σὸς, ὦ Ἐρμῆ, ἀδελφός ἐστιν, ὁ Ἀγοραῖος, ὁ παρὰ τὴν Ποικίλην. πίττης γοῦν ἀναπέπλησται ὀσημέραι ἐκματόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδριανοποιῶν. As to the coating of tar mentioned in the last sentence see the note on 846 infra.

298. κάπιορκῶ] Not only will I admit that I am a thief, I admit that if anybody sees me steal, I am a perjurer too. I deny the theft upon oath even to those who witnessed it. We shall find him declaring infra 1239 that κλέπτων ἐπιορκεῖν καὶ βλέπειν ἐναντίον constituted the entire stock of his educational acquirements.

299. ἀλλότρια τοῖνον σοφίζεις] You are practising arts which belong to another, that is to myself. You are poaching on my preserves; "quasi Cleoni sit proprium furari et peierare," as Bergler says, ὡσεὶ ἔλεγε, τὰ ἐμὰ τοῖνον κλέπτεις· ἐμὰ ἐστι ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιχειρήματα.—Scholiast. Enraged at this invasion of his own particular province, Paphlagon at once denounces the Sausage-seller to the Prytanes (who are sitting in the βουλευτικὸν as spectators of the Comedy, see Peace 887 and the note there) on a suddenly trumped-up and wholly irrelevant charge.

ἀδεκατεύτους τῶν θεῶν ἱε-  
ρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

ΧΟ. ὦ μιὰρὲ, καὶ βδελυρὲ, καὶ κατακε- [στρ. α  
κρᾶκτα, τοῦ σοῦ θράσους  
πᾶσα μὲν γῆ πλέα, 305  
πᾶσα δ' ἔκκλησία,  
καὶ τέλη, καὶ γραφαὶ,  
καὶ δικαστήρι', ὦ  
βορβοροτάραξι, καὶ  
τὴν πόλιν ἄπασαν ἡ- 310  
μῶν ἀνατετυρβακῶς,  
ὅστις ἡμῶν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκκεκῶφκας βοῶν,  
κάπο τῶν πετρῶν ἀνωθεν τοὺς φόρους θυννοσκοπῶν.

302. κοιλίας] Παρὰ προσδοκίαν for οὐσίας. So the Scholiast; δέον εἰπεῖν ἀδεκάτευτον ἔχοντα οὐσίαν, ὃ δὲ ἀντὶ οὐσίας κοιλίας ἐπήνεγκεν, ὡς ἀλλαντοπόλη. Though Paphlagon says τῶν θεῶν generally, it was Athene to whom tithes were payable out of confiscated estates, spoils of war, and the like. See Boeckh's Public Economy iii. 4. It will be sufficient here to refer to the decrees (1) against the generals after Arginusae, (2) against Archeptolemus and Antiphon, and (3) against traitors generally, in each of which decrees it is declared that their property is to be confiscated, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι, Xen. Hell. i. 7. 10; Life of Antiphon, X Orators; Andocides de Myst. 96. The Sausage-seller is to be accused of having possessed himself of some of these confiscated estates (represented by "sausages"), without having paid τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τῇ θεῷ. The word

ἱερὰς is disyllabic, as often in Aristophanes.

303-11. ὦ μιὰρὲ . . . ἀνατετυρβακῶς] The first bout is now over, and as the combatants pause the Chorus indulge themselves with a little outburst of passionate indignation against Paphlagon, couched in that cretico-paeonic metre which was a special favourite of Aristophanes in his earlier plays. The first line is purely paeonic: three paeons. Then follow five lines purely cretic: two cretics each; while each of the last three lines consists of one paeon and one cretic. This arrangement is substantially that of the MSS. and the early editions; until Bothe and Dindorf crushed the nine lines into five and destroyed the metrical simplicity of the lyric. The form which they concocted has held the field ever since, and is indeed responsible for my translation. This little lyrical outburst is followed

Tell them you've got some holy pig-guts,  
Tell them you've paid no tithe thereon.

CHOR. O villain, O shameless of heart,  
O Bawler and Brawler self-seeking,  
The land, the Assembly, the Tolls,  
are all with thine impudence reeking,  
And the Courts, and the actions at law ;  
they are full unto loathing and hate !  
Thou stirrest the mud to its depths,  
perturbing the whole of the State.  
Ruffian, who hast deafened Athens with thine everlasting din,  
Watching from the rocks the tribute, tunny-fashion, shoaling in.

by ten trochaic tetrameters; and they by another lyric. The whole system, 303-32, is reproduced with great exactness, infra 382-406, save only that in the second system there are but eight (instead of ten) trochaic tetrameters.

311. ἀνατετυρβακός] Ἀνατάρξας. τυρβάσαι δὲ κυρίως λέγεται τὸ τὸν πηλὸν τάρξαι. — Scholiast. Compare Wasps 257 τὸν πηλὸν, ὥσπερ ἀτταγᾶς, τυρβάσεις βαδίζων.

313. θυννοσκοπῶν] They mean that the demagogue gets hold of the incoming tribute as the fishermen do of the tunnies. In the Mediterranean, at certain seasons of the year, the tunnies approach the coast in vast shoals; and look-out men, θυννοσκόποι, are stationed on the heights to detect an approaching shoal, and give notice to the fishing-boats which are waiting with nets to surround it. As this notice was given by shouting, a stentorian voice, a ματὰ φωνῆ, was as necessary a qualifi-

cation for a θυννοσκόπος as it was for a demagogue. Many passages have been collected descriptive of the tunny fishery in ancient times, from Aristotle (H. A. viii. 20. 8-10), Theocritus (iii. 26), Pliny (N. H. ix. 20), Oppian (Halieutics iii. 620 ad fin.), Philostratus (Imagines i. 13), Aelian (N. A. xiii. 16, 17), and others. See Bp. Blomfield at Persæ 480. To these I will only add one of Alciphron's letters (i. 17), where a fisherman complains bitterly of a look-out man (σκοπιωρὸς) who mistook the ruffling of the sea for an enormous shoal of tunnies, and got him to throw out his nets which immediately enclosed a great weight. Overjoyed, he called his neighbours to share in the sport, but when the nets were dragged to land they were found to contain nothing but a dead and putrid camel. Mitchell refers to the interesting description given of the tunny fishery in Yarrell's "British Fishes," i. 152, which

- ΠΑ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦθ' ὅθεν πάλαι καττύεται.  
 ΑΛ. εἰ δὲ μὴ σύ γ' οἶσθα κάττυμ', οὐδ' ἐγὼ χορδεύματα, 315  
 ὅστις ὑποτέμων ἐπώλεις δέρμα μοχθηροῦ βοδὸς  
 τοῖς ἀγροίκοισιν πανούργως, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι παχὺ,  
 καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν φορῆσαι, μείζον ἦν δυοῖν δοχμαῖν.  
 ΝΙ. νῆ Δία κάμῃ τοῦτ' ἔδρασε ταύτων, ὥστε καὶ γέλων 320  
 πάμπολυν τοῖς δημόταισι καὶ φίλοις παρασχεθεῖν.  
 πρὶν γὰρ εἶναι Περγασῆσιν, ἔνεον ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσιν.  
 ΧΟ. ἄρα δῆτ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐδήλους ἀναί- [στρ. β  
 δειαν, ἥπερ μόνη προστατεῖ ρητόρων; 325  
 ἦ σὺ πιστεύων ἀμέλγεις τῶν ξένων τοὺς καρπίμους,  
 πρῶτος ὢν· ὁ δ' Ἴπποδάμου λείβεται θεώμενος.

shows that the modern system varies in no material respect from that practised in ancient times. The same learned Commentator suggests that "by the word *πετρῶν* is probably insinuated the Pnyx." But although this suggestion has been accepted by several editors, it seems to me highly improbable. The word is the most appropriate for the tunny-metaphor; the tribute would not be described, or captured, from the Pnyx; nor was the plural *πέτραι* ever employed to signify the orators' *βῆμα*. I presume that it was for this reason that Dobree proposed to read *πέτρας* for *πετρῶν* here.

314. *καττύεται*] *Is stitched up*. Paphlagon reverts to his "plot," which he describes by a word borrowed from his leather-selling business. The leather swindle with which the Sausage-seller taunts him in his reply may refer, literally, to some trick in that business, or allegorically, to some political transaction. But the comment of the

Chorus, that Paphlagon had in this way displayed his shamelessness ἀπ' ἀρχῆς *from the very beginning*, seems to carry back the allusion to his earlier days, whilst he was still a mere leather-seller. However the whole thing is only a comic jest.

316. *ὑποτέμων*] *Cutting the leather* (not straight through, but) *aslant*, so that it may appear thicker than it really is. *ὑποτέμεται γὰρ τὰ δέρματα*, says the Scholiast, *ἵνα παχέα φαίνηται*. *διαφέρει γὰρ τὸ τέμνειν τοῦ ὑποτέμνειν*. *ὅταν γὰρ ὑποτέμνη, παχύτερον φαίνεται, ἀσθενέστερον δέ ἐστι*. *τέμνειν δέ, τὸ ὀρθὴν ποιῆσθαι τὴν τομὴν*. *τὸ γὰρ ἀνώμαλον τῆς τομῆς παχύτητος δόξαν ἐργάζεται*. This scholium, though now attributed to line 291, must, one would think, have originally belonged to the present passage.

318. *πρὶν ἡμέραν φορῆσαι*] *Before they had worn it a day*. *δοχμῆ* is a *hand's breadth*, about three inches.

319. *νῆ Δία κάμῃ*] This speech is in

- PAPH. Well I know the very quarter where they cobbled up the plot.  
 S.S. You're a knowing hand at cobbling, else in mincing meat I'm not ;  
 You who cheated all the rustics with a flabby bullock-hide,  
 Cutting it aslant to make it look like leather firm and dried ;  
 In a day, the shoes you sold them wobbled half a foot too wide.  
 NIC. That's the very trick the rascal played the other day on me,  
 And my friends and fellow burghers laughed with undissembled  
 glee,  
 I was swimming in my slippers ere I got to Pergasae.  
 CHOR. So then thou hast e'en from the first that shameless bravado  
 displayed  
 Which alone is the Orators' Patron. And foremost of all by its aid  
 Thou the wealthy strangers milkest, draining off their rich supplies ;  
 And the son of Hippodamus watches thee with streaming eyes.

the MSS. given to Demosthenes, but is quite unsuited to his character; and Elmsley (*Classical Journal* vi. 223) transferred it to Nicias under the erroneous belief that he belonged to the deme of Pergasae. But the "Nicias Περγασῆθεν" of Athenaeus (xii. 52) and Aelian (V. H. iv. 23) is not the general, and probably received that specific appellation for the express purpose of distinguishing him from the general. Nevertheless, he would in all probability be a relative; and the fact that he hailed from Pergasae may serve to show that his more famous namesake was somehow connected with that deme. Its locality is unknown, but it certainly was not far from Athens, and may have been the first stage on the way to the general's silver mines at Laureium. And the whole tone of the speech is so exactly appropriate to his character that I have not hesitated to follow

Elmsley's suggestion. Beer, who seems to have possessed a special faculty for making incongruous conjectures, proposed to assign it to the Chorus, as if Aristophanes would have represented his gallant Knights, of all persons, as the helpless gulls of Paphlagon. With *ἔνεον ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσιον* Kuster compares Ovid's *nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet*, *Art of Love* i. 516.

322-32. ἄρα δῆτ' . . . κοβαλικείμασιν] The Choral song, with which this little system concludes (see on 303-11 supra), has a greater variety of metres than that with which it commenced. It begins with two (sometimes divided into four) cretic lines; then follow two trochaic tetrameters; then two dactyls; then another trochaic tetrameter; and finally there are two dimeters, the first iambic, the second trochaic.

327. ὁ δ' Ἰπποδάμου] That is, Arche-

ἀλλ' ἐφάνη γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἕτερος πολὺ  
 σοῦ μιαιώτερος, ὥστε με χαίρειν,  
 ὅς σε παύσει καὶ πάρεισι, δῆλός ἐστιν, αὐτόθεν, 330  
 πανουργία τε καὶ θράσει  
 καὶ κοβαλικεύμασιν.  
 ἀλλ' ὦ τραφεῖς ὄθενπέρ εἰσιν ἄνδρες οὔπερ εἰσὶ,  
 νῦν δείξον ὡς οὐδὲν λέγει τὸ σωφρόνως τραφήναι.

- ΑΛ. καὶ μὴν ἀκούσαθ' οἶός ἐστιν οὕτωσὶ πολίτης. 335  
 ΠΑ. οὐκ αὖ μ' ἔασεις; ΑΛ. μὰ Δί', ἐπεὶ κάγω πονηρός εἰμι.  
 ΧΟ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ταύτη γ' ὑπέικη, λέγ' ὅτι κάκ πονηρῶν.  
 ΠΑ. οὐκ αὖ μ' ἔασεις; ΑΛ. μὰ Δία. ΚΛ. ναὶ μὰ Δία. ΑΛ. μὰ  
 τὸν Ποσειδῶ,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ περὶ τοῦ πρότερος εἰπεῖν πρῶτα διαμαχοῦμαι.  
 ΠΑ. οἴμοι, διαρραγήσομαι. ΑΛ. καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ οὐ παρήσω. 340  
 ΧΟ. πάρες πάρες πρὸς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶ διαρραγήναι.

ptolemus who is mentioned infra 794. His father is said to have been the famous Milesian architect, Hippodamus, famous as the planner and constructor of cities. He laid out Rhodes, Thurium, Peiraeus, &c. His reconstruction (known in history as ἡ Ἰπποδάμου νέμησης) of the last-mentioned town, the agora of which was called, after him, ἡ Ἰπποδάμεια, endeared him to the Athenians, and probably gained for him admission, as an Athenian citizen, into the deme of Agryle, a south-eastern suburb of Athens. His son, Archepolemus, was a moderate politician who in the preceding summer had endeavoured to terminate the Peloponnesian War, but was foiled by the vehement opposition of Cleon; see infra 794. Afterwards he was mixed

up with the affair of the Four Hundred, and on the restoration of the democracy shared the fate of Antiphon. The decree condemning them to death is given in Plutarch's Life of Antiphon (X Orators); and commences Προδοσίας ὄφλον Ἀρχεπτόλεμος Ἰπποδάμου Ἀγρύληθεν παρῶν, καὶ Ἀντιφῶν Σοφίλου Ῥαμνούσιος παρῶν. τοῦτοι ἐτιμήθη, τοῖς ἔνδεκα παραδοθῆναι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημόσια εἶναι, καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον κ.τ.λ. It seems probable that on witnessing the frustration of his hopes for peace he displayed unusual emotion, whence he is here described as "dissolved in tears" at the sight of Cleon's iniquities. The metre requires the penultimate of Hippodamus to be long, whereas there is every reason to believe it is short. Some however, with Fritzsche, think

Ah, but another has dawned on us now,  
 Viler and fouler and coarser than thou,  
 Viler and fouler and coarser by far,

One who'll beat thee and defeat thee (therefore jubilant we are),  
 Beat thee in jackanapes tricks and rascality,  
 Beat thee in impudence, cheek, and brutality.

O trained where Men are trained who best deserve that appellation,  
 Now show us of how little worth is liberal education.

S.S. The sort of citizen he is, I'll first expose to view.

PAPH. Give *me* precedence. S.S. No, by Zeus, for I'm a blackguard too.

CHOR. And if to that he yield not, add "as all my fathers were."

PAPH. Give *me* precedence. S.S. No, by Zeus. PAPH. O yes, by Zeus. S.S. I swear  
 I'll fight you on that very point; you never *shall* be first.

PAPH. O, I shall burst. S.S. You never shall. CHOR. O let him, let him burst.

that the name is the Doric form of Ἰπποδῆμος, and others, with Hermann, would write it Ἰππόδαμος. πρῶτος δὲ seems to mean *being the chief of those who do so*, cf. supra 6; whilst αὐτόθεν, three lines below, probably signifies, like οἴκοθεν, *from his own resources*.

333. ἀλλ' ὃ τραφεῖς] The Chorus now turn to the Sausage-seller, and exhort him to show how greatly, for the purposes of a demagogue at least, an Agora training, ἐν ἀγορᾷ τραφήναι (supra 181, 218, 293), excels a liberal training, σωφρόνως τραφήναι. They are of course not expressing their own sentiments; they are merely enunciating the root-principle of democracy, viz. that the more completely the chief power in the State can be transferred from the educated to the uneducated

classes the better will the State be governed.

336. οὐκ αὖ μ' ἐάσεις;] Οὐκ ἐπιτρέψεις, οὐ συγχωρήσεις μοι. ὁ δὲ Κλέων ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων πρὸς τὸν ἀλλαντοπώλην. ἐπιστομίζειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος βουλόμενος λέγει.—Scholiast. *Will you not let me speak?* See line 339.

340. οὐ παρήσω] The Sausage-seller, not heeding Paphlagon's angry ejaculation, is proceeding with his former asseveration οὐκ ἐάσω, *I will not permit you to speak first*, οὐ παρήσω εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, as the Scholiast rightly explains it. But the Chorus, taking him to mean *I will not permit you διαρραγήναι*, immediately deprecate the supposed intention to interfere with a consummation so devoutly to be desired.

- ΠΑ. τῷ καὶ πεποισθὼς ἀξιοῖς ἐμοῦ λέγειν ἔναντα ;  
 ΑΛ. ὅτι ἢ λέγειν οἶός τε κάγῳ καὶ καρυκοποιεῖν.  
 ΠΑ. ἴδου λέγειν. καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν σὺ πρᾶγμα προσπεσόν σοι  
 ὤμοσπάρακτον παραλαβὼν μεταχειρίσαιο χρηστῶς. 345  
 ἀλλ' οἶσθ' ὃ μοι πεπονθέναι δοκεῖς ; ὅπερ τὸ πλήθος.  
 εἶ που δικίδιον εἶπας εὖ κατὰ ξένου μετοίκου,  
 τὴν νύκτα θρυλῶν καὶ λαλῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σεαυτῷ,  
 ὕδωρ τε πίνων, κάπιδεικνύς τοὺς φίλους τ' ἀνιῶν,  
 ᾧ δυνατὸς εἶναι λέγειν. ὃ μῶρε τῆς ἀνοίας. 350  
 ΑΛ. τί δαί σὺ πίνων τὴν πόλιν πεποίηκας, ὥστε νυνὶ  
 ὑπὸ σοῦ μονωτάτου κατεγλωττισμένην σιωπᾶν ;  
 ΠΑ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀντέθηκας ἀνθρώπων τιν' ; ὅστις εὐθὺς  
 θύννεια θερμὰ καταφαγὼν, κᾶτ' ἐπιπιῶν ἀκράτου  
 οἴνου χόρα κασαλβάσω τοὺς ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγούς. 355

343. καρυκοποιεῖν] All ancient authorities agree that *καρύκη* was a Lydian sauce, compounded of blood and various rich and costly ingredients. Athenaeus (xii. 12) mentions no less than eighteen writers who have treated of this dainty in their cookery books. But the word was also used, as the Scholiast and Suidas observe, of dressing up a dainty speech: *κοσμεῖν ποικιλίᾳ τινὶ ῥημάτων τὸν λόγον*· πлагίως δὲ τῇ λέξει ὡς μάγειρος ἐχρήσατο. Plutarch in his treatise "How to distinguish a flatterer from a friend" says τοῦ δὲ κόλακος τοῦτ' ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ τέλος, αἰεὶ τινα παιδιὰν ἢ πρᾶξιν ἢ λόγον ἐφ' ἡδονῇ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὀψοποιεῖν καὶ καρυκεύειν, chap. 11. Sozomen (H. E. iii. 16. 2) says, very truly, that translators of Greek works cannot preserve the *καρυκίαν*, the rich flavour, of Hellenic humour. Whilst therefore the Sausage-seller is selecting a word

of his own trade, it is one which really admits of the metaphorical use to which he applies it.

345. ὤμοσπάρακτον] *Torn bleeding from the body. Speaking, is it? Well and fairly could you take in hand and dress a raw piece of oratory!* Paphlagon also is describing the Sausage-seller's oratory in terms drawn from the Sausage-seller's trade.

347. ξένου μετοίκου] All *μέτοικοι* were ξένοι, but being licensed residents in Athens they are often contrasted with *mere ξένοι* who had no such licence. Here ξένος μέτοικος seems to mean a *newly-licensed alien*, one who is still somewhat of a stranger in the land of his residence. Mitchell refers to Oed. Tyr. 452 ξένος λόγῳ μέτοικος.

349. κάπιδεικνύς] *Ἐπιδείκνυμι* is, one may almost say, the technical expression to describe an orator, poet, sophist,



- PAPH. How dare you try in speech to vie with ME? On what rely you?
- S.S. Why I can speak first-rate, and eke with piquant sauce supply you.
- PAPH. O speak you can! and you're the man, I warrant, who is able  
 A mangled mess full well to dress, and serve it up to table.  
 I know your case, the common case; against some alien folk  
 You had some petty suit to plead, and fairly well you spoke.  
 For oft you'd conned the speech by night, and in the streets discussed it,  
 And, quaffing water, shown it off, and all your friends disgusted.  
 Now you're an orator, you think. O fool, the senseless thought!
- S.S. Pray what's the draught which you have quaffed that Athens you have brought  
 Tongue-wheedled by yourself alone to sit so mute and still.
- PAPH. Who to compare with ME will dare? I'll eat my tunny grill,  
 And quaff thereon a stoup of wine which water shall not touch,  
 And then with scurrilous abuse the Pylvian generals smutch.

juggler or the like, giving a display of his powers before an assembled audience. Cf. *Frogs* 771; Plato, *Gorgias* ad init. with Stallbaum's note. On these occasions the performer would sometimes take a draught of water to relieve the dryness of his throat, and enable him to prolong the exhibition, so "boring his friends." It is plain however from the lines which follow that the words ἕδωρ τε πίνων in the present passage mean a good deal more than this. ἕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν, as Cratinus said; and water-drinking was considered as unsuitable for an orator as for a poet. "They say that being a water-drinker, ἕδωρ πίνων," says Demosthenes, "I am naturally a cross-grained and ungenial fellow."—Second Philippic 32 (p. 73). Bergler refers to that passage and to Athenaeus ii, chap. 22.

354. θύννεια θερμά] The question of their respective drinks leads up to a

boast by each antagonist of the food on which his powers have been nurtured. Paphlagon will eat his hot tunny cutlets, washed down with a gallon of neat wine. The Sausage-seller outdoes him by gobbling up a cow's paunch and pig's intestines, washed down by the broth in which they were cooked.

355. κασαλβάσω] Λοιδορήσω.—Scho-liast. But the word implies something more than ordinary abuse. κασαλβὰς is a *harlot* (Eccl. 1106); and κασαλβάζειν is the equivalent of our vulgar expression to *blackguard* a person. It seems to me that each of these speeches winds up with a little bit of by-play; Paphlagon with the words τοὺς ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγούς flooring by a backhanded blow Demosthenes on the one side; and the Sausage-seller with the words καὶ Νικίαν ταραξῶ paying the same compliment to Nicias on the other.

- ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἤνυστρον βοὸς καὶ κοιλίαν ὑείαν  
καταβροχθίσας, κᾶτ' ἐπιπιῶν τὸν ζωμὸν ἀναπόνητος  
λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταράξω.
- ΧΘ. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μ' ἤρεσας λέγων· ἐν δ' οὐ προσίεται με  
τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι μόνος τὸν ζωμὸν ἐκροφήσεις. 360
- ΠΑ. ἀλλ' οὐ λάβρακας καταφαγὼν Μιλησίους κλονήσεις.
- ΑΛ. ἀλλὰ σχελίδας ἐδηδοκῶς ἀνήσομαι μέταλλα.
- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεισηδῶν γε τὴν βουλὴν βίᾳ κυκῆσω.
- ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ κινήσω γέ σου τὸν πρωκτὸν ἀντὶ φύσκης.
- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἐξέλεξω σε τῆς πυγῆς θύραζε κύβδα. 365
- ΔΗ ~~ΧΘ~~. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ κάμ' ἄρ', ἤνπερ γε τοῦτον ἔλκῃς.
- ΠΑ. οἶόν σε δῆσω 'ν τῷ ξύλῳ.
- ΑΛ. διώξομαι σε δειλίας.

356. ἤνυστρον] The third stomach. The three stomachs are: (1) the κεκρῦφαλος, (2) the ἐχῆνος, the true stomach, and (3) the ἤνυστρον in which the digestive process is completed, ἡνύσθη.—Scholiast. So also Aristotle de Partibus Anim. iii. 14. The rumen of ruminating animals is not included in this computation.

361. λάβρακας] The λάβραξ is the *basse*, the *Labrax lupus* of Cuvier, the *Perca Labrax* of Linnaeus. Yarrell, who commences his treatise on British Fishes with the *basse*, observes that the Romans called it *lupus* on account of its voracity. And indeed the name λάβραξ (from λάβρος) has a somewhat similar meaning. The *basse*, and particularly the Milesian *basse*, was a prime favourite with Hellenic epicures. "When you go to Miletus," sings Arcestratus, the laureate of the dinner-table, "be sure you get that child of the Gods, the

*basse*, τὸν θεόπαιδα λάβρακα, for there are the best of them all. Fatter ones you may find elsewhere, but they will not have the fragrant unctuousness, the delicious pungency, of the Milesian *basse*. "O my friend," he exclaims with enthusiasm, as the memory steals over him, "the Milesians are amazingly good! ἐκεῖνοι δ' εἰσὶν, εἰταίρε, | τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμαστοί."—Athenaeus vii. 87. And the words λάβρακας Μιλησίου passed into a proverb (Suidas, s. v.) ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μιλήτῳ πλείστοι τε καὶ μέγιστοι εἰσιν, Prov. Coislin 300 (Gaisford, p. 146). As the proverbial words are always found in the accusative plural they are probably borrowed from the passage before us, though here the two words are not really connected. For doubtless, as Dr. Merry observes, the audience were to be deluded into coupling the words together, till the addition of κλονήσεις showed them their mistake.

- S.S. I'll eat the paunch of cow and swine, and quaff thereon their stew,  
And rising from the board with hands which water never knew  
I'll throttle all the orators, and flutter Nicias too.
- CHOR. With all beside I'm satisfied, but one thing likes me not,  
You speak as if you ate alone whatever stew you've got.
- PAPH. You'll not consume your basse and then Miletus bring to grief.
- S.S. But mines I'll purchase when I've first devoured my ribs of beef.
- PAPH. I'll leap the Council-chamber in, and put them all to rout.
- S.S. I'll treat you like a sausage-skin, and twirl your breech about.
- PAPH. I'll hoist you by your crupper up, and thrust you through the gate, sir.
- DE. If him you thrust, me too you must; you must as sure as fate, sir.
- PAPH. Your feet in the stocks I'll fix full tight.
- S.S. And you for your cowardice I'll indict.

But how had Paphlagon contrived to agitate the Milesians? If we put together this passage and 932 infra, we may suspect that Cleon had been urging an increase, or opposing a reduction, of their tribute, and then had been bought off by the alarmed Milesians. It was, in fact, by some such job as this that Cleon obtained the famous "five talents" which the Knights had compelled him to disgorge. See the note on Achærians 6.

362. *σχελίδας*] *Ribs of beef. Βοδὸς πλευρά.*—Scholiast. There is doubtless some special allusion in the words *ὠνήσομαι μέταλλα*, but we do not know what it is. Mitchell supposes it to refer to some dealings of Cleon in respect of the silver mines of Laureium.

363. *ἐπεισηδῶν*] *Συνταράξω ἐπεισεσῶν. τὸ βίαιον δι' αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς λέξεως ἐδήλωσεν.*—Scholiast. We shall have a description, further on, of Paphlagon's demeanour

before the Council.

364. *φύσκης*] *Φύσκη ἐντερόν ἐστι παχύν, εἰς δ' ἐμβάλλεται ἄλευρα καὶ κρέα, καὶ μάσσουσιν ἐξ οὗ γίνεται ὁ ἄλλᾶς. ὡς ἄλλαντοπῶλης δὲ τῆς φύσκης ἐμνημόνευσε.*—Scholiast.

367. *οἶον . . . ξύλῳ*] *How I will set you in the stocks; or as we might rather say, Won't I just set you in the stocks.* The Scholiast explains *ξύλον* by *ποδοκάκη* which indeed was an older name for the stocks. Kock refers to Lysias Against Theonnestus 16, where the speaker quotes from a law of Solon, *δεδέσθαι δ' ἐν τῇ ποδοκάκῃ ἡμέρας πέντε τὸν πόδα*, and explains *ἡ ποδοκάκη αὕτη ἐστίν, ὃ Θεόμνηστε, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ δεδέσθαι*. Cf. infra 394, 705; Acts of the Apostles xvi. 24. Here after the long iambic tetrameters we have a set of short iambic dimeters. See the note on 284 supra.

ΠΑ.	ἡ βύρσα σου θρανεύσεται.	
ΑΛ.	δερῶ σε θύλακον κλοπῆς.	370
ΠΑ.	διαπατταλευθήσει χαμαί.	
ΑΛ.	περικόμματ' ἔκ σου σκευάσω.	
ΠΑ.	τὰς βλεφαρίδας σου παρατιλῶ.	
ΑΛ.	τὸν πρηγορεῶνά σου κτεμῶ.	
ΔΗ.	καὶ νῆ Δί' ἐμβalόντες αὐ- τῷ πάτταλον μαγειρικῶς ἐς τὸ στῆμα, εἴτα δ' ἔνδοθεν τὴν γλῶτταν ἐξείραντες αὐ- τοῦ σκεψόμεσθ' εἷ κἀνδρικῶς κεχηνῶτος	375
	τὸν προκτὸν, εἰ χαλασῶ.	380

369. ἡ βύρσα] After an exchange of legal threats, the rivals proceed to rail at each other in good set terms, drawn from their respective trades. παρατηρητέον, says the Scholiast, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντιθετικοῖς ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀνόμασι χρῆται καὶ ταῖς λέξεσιν. Paphlagon says (1) *Your hide shall be stretched on the tan-board.* θρανεύσεται ἐκταθήσεται. θρᾶνος γὰρ τὸ ὑποπόδιον ὅπου τὰ δέρματα ἐκτείνεται. πάλιν δὲ ὡς βυρσοπώλης τοῦτο λέγει.—Scholiast. θρᾶνος is a wooden bench or seat, Plutus 545. (2) *It shall be pegged down to the ground.* τὰς γὰρ βύρσας ἐκτείνοντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἵνα μὴ συνάγουντο καὶ συστῆλθουντο. ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου καύσεως, κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα παττάλοις κατακρούοντες ἐκτείνουσιν.—Scholiast. (3) *I will twitch out your eyelashes,* as tanners twitch hairs out of the hide. τῶν γὰρ βυρσέων ἐστὶν ἔργον τῶν δερμάτων ἀπομαδίζειν τὰς τρίχας.—Scholiast. Nor are the retorts of the Sausage-seller less

professional. (1) *I'll strip your skin off and turn it into a thief's wallet.* τὸ γὰρ ἐκδέρειν μᾶλλον τῶν μαγείρων τέχνη. ἐκδερῶ σε, φησὶν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματός σου θύλακον ποιῆσαι εἰς ὑποδοχὴν κλέμματος.—Scholiast. The use to which the skin is to be put refers of course to the well-known practices of Paphlagon. (2) *I'll make mincemeat of you; I'll chop you up into little bits.* κατὰ μέρος σου κόψω τὸ σῶμα. ὡς μάγειρος δὲ λέγει.—Scholiast. (3) *I'll cut out your crop,* like a cook cutting up a fowl.

375. ἐμβalόντες πάτταλον] There had probably, as Frere suggests, been a scuffle between the rivals, and the Sausage-seller has got Paphlagon into the position in which a butcher would place a swine when about to examine its tongue for the blackish pustules which are the sure symptom of measles. These measles, a disease peculiar to swine (χαλασῶ δὲ μόνον τῶν ζώων, ὄν

PAPH. Outstretched on my board your hide I'll pin.  
 S.S. "Pickpocket's purse" I'll make your skin.  
 PAPH. Your limbs on the tanhouse floor I'll stake.  
 S.S. Your flesh into force-meat balls I'll bake.  
 PAPH. I'll twitch the lashes off both your eyes.  
 S.S. I'll cut your gizzard out, poulterer-wise.  
 DE. Prop open his mouth with all your strength;  
 Insert the extender from jaw to jaw;  
 Pull out his tongue to its utmost length,  
 And, butcher-fashion, inspect his maw,  
 And whilst his gape is so broad and fine,  
 See if he's not The symptoms got  
 Which show that he's nought but a measly swine.

ἴσμεν, δs, Aristotle, H. A. viii. 21. 4), are a subcutaneous disease consisting of a multitude of small watery pustules scattered throughout the cellular tissue and adipose matter; and one of the attendant symptoms is the formation of blackish pustules under the tongue. —Youatt on the Pig, chap. 9. δῆλαι δέ εἰσιν αἱ χαλαζῶσαι [ἴες], says Aristotle ubi supra, ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ γλώττῃ τῇ κάτω ἔχουσι μάλιστα τὰς χαλάζας. And in Probl. xxiv. 4 he inquires how it happens that the tongue is such an index of disease, as in the case of fevers, and again εἰν χάλαζαι ἐνῶσι. Hence the swine's mouth was kept open by a peg, for the cook or butcher, for the μάγειρος combined both trades, drew out and examined the tongue. The whole of this little speech of Demosthenes is directed to this process, and the only incongruous element is the

introduction, infra 381, of the word πρωκτὸν, which is universally taken as the accusative after σκεψόμεσθα, and has never been satisfactorily explained. In my judgement the words κεχρηῶτος τὸν πρωκτὸν are to be taken together, the accusative τὸν πρωκτὸν being unexpectedly added to κεχρηῶτος as if the victim were a χαινόπρωκτος. So taking the words, the entire speech hangs harmoniously together, as an exhortation to the Sausage-seller to clap a peg in the creature's mouth, and drawing out its tongue, to examine whether the measly spots are there. πάτταλος is usually translated a *skewer*, but we are dealing with the living animal and not with the dead carcass. It is a peg, such as dentists use to keep open the mouth of a patient under chloroform. Cf. Thesm. 222.

- ΧΟ. ἦν ἄρα πυρός γ' ἕτερα θερμότερα, [ἀντ. α  
καὶ λόγοι τῶν λόγων  
ἐν πόλει τῶν ἀναι-  
δῶν ἀναιδέστεροι·  
καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐ 385  
φαῦλον ᾧδ' [οὐδαμῶς].  
ἀλλ' ἐπιθι καὶ στρόβει,  
μηδὲν ὀλίγον ποίει·  
νῦν γὰρ ἔχεται μέσος.  
ὡς ἐὰν νυνὶ μαλάξης αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ,  
δειλὸν εὐρήσεις· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοὺς τρόπους ἐπίσταμαι. 390
- ΑΛ. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτος τοιοῦτος ὦν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον,  
κατ' ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τᾶλλότριον ἀμῶν θέρος.  
νῦν δὲ τοὺς στάχους ἐκείνους, οὓς ἐκείθεν ἤγαγεν,  
ἐν ξύλῳ δήσας ἀφαύει κάποδόσθαι βούλεται.
- ΠΑ. οὐ δέδοιχ' ὑμᾶς, ἕως ἂν ζῆ τὸ βουλευτήριον 395  
καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δήμου πρόσωπον μακκοᾶ καθήμενον.
- ΧΟ. ὡς δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ἀναιδέυεται κού μεθί- [ἀντ. β  
στησι τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ παρεστηκότος.

382. ἦν ἄρα πυρός γ'] Fire, we supposed, was the hottest thing in creation, and Cleon the most shameless. We have found a speaker more shameless than Cleon; we can now believe that there is an element hotter than fire. Plutarch in his Life of Demetrius Poliorcetes, chap. xii, after recording several instances of the shameless and extravagant adulation paid by the Athenians to that prince, introduces the most shameless of all by the words ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ πυρὸς ἕτερα θερμότερα κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη (that is, as Aristophanes says). There, as here, the words are employed in

a bad sense. St. Chrysostom, in the noble eulogy of St. Paul with which he concludes his dissertations on the Epistle to the Romans, employs them in a good sense. *Would, says the Preacher, that I could behold though it were but the ashes of St. Paul's heart, that heart which was brighter than sunshine, which was warmer than fire, τὴν τῆς ἀκτίνας φαιδροτέραν, τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς θερμότεραν.*—Hom. xxxii in Rom. (758 E). Cf. Id. Hom. xxxi in 1 Cor. (284 A).

387. μηδὲν ὀλίγον ποίει] *Do nothing niggling and petty, but rise to the height of the occasion.* Compare Livy xxix. 1,



- εἴ σε μὴ μισῶ, γενοίμην ἐν Κρατίνου κώδιον, 400  
καὶ διδασκοίμην προσάδειν Μορσίμου τραγωδίαν.  
ὦ περὶ πάντ' ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε πράγμασι  
δωροδόκοισιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν ἴζων,  
εἶθε φαύλως, ὥσπερ εὔρες, ἐκβάλοις τὴν ἔνθεσιν.  
ἄσαιμι γὰρ τότ' ἂν μόνον· 405  
πῖνε πῖν' ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς·  
τὸν Ἰουλίου τ' ἂν οἶομαι, γέροντα πυροπίπην,  
ἡσθέντ' ἰηπαιωνίσαι καὶ Βακχέβακχον ᾄσαι.
- ΠΑ. οὐ τοί μ' ὑπερβαλεῖσθ' ἀναιδεία μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ,  
ἢ μή ποτ' ἀγοραίου Διὸς σπλάγχχοισι παραγενοίμην. 410

400. ἐν Κρατίνου] *In the house of Cratinus*. He means that owing to his old rival's love of the bottle the sheepskins on which he slept had a particularly bad time; ὡς ἐνουρητὴν καὶ μέθυσον διαβάλλει τὸν Κρατίνον.—Scholiast. The attack on the old poet's convivial habits is more fully developed in the Parabasis; and to the audience the zest of it would be greatly heightened by the fact that Cratinus was one of the three competitors in this very theatrical contest.

401. Μορσίμου] Not only are the Chorus, if they hate not Paphlagon, willing to be one of those filthy sheepskins; they are willing to be a yet more miserable thing, a Chorus in a Tragedy of Morsimus; a Chorus who would have Morsimus for their χοροδιδάσκαλος. This worthless tragedian was the son of Philocles, and the great-nephew of Aeschylus; but all our poet's reverence for Aeschylus could not bring him to tolerate the insipidity of his

great-nephew. His tragedies are repudiated with equal vigour in Peace 803, Frogs 151.

402. ὦ περὶ πάντ' κ.τ.λ.] In this little lyrical outburst, very possibly a parody of some poet unknown, Cleon is likened to a busy bee, at all times and in every business which he undertakes gathering golden honey from the flowers of bribery. And O, say the Chorus, that thou mightest be made to disgorge thy mouthful, ἔνθεσιν, as easily as thou gottest it. Of one such disgorgement we are told at the commencement of the Acharnians; and just as the heart of Dicaeopolis was refreshed by that delightful occurrence, so now, if it recurs, the Chorus will do nothing but sing *Drink, drink for these happy events*.

406. πῖνε πῖν' ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς] The corresponding line in the strophe is trochaic, καὶ κοβαλικεύμασιν; but this little glyconic line seems permitted here, because it is taken verbally from a triumphal ode of Simonides. τότε γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐπάσαιμί



Let me be a filthy sheepskin, that whereon Cratinus lay,  
Or let Morsimus instruct me as the Chorus to his Play.

Thou in all places, and thou at all hours,  
Flitting and sitting in bri-berry flowers,  
Sucking and sipping the gold they contain,  
Mayst thou lightly, as 'twas swallowed, cast thy mouthful up  
again.

Then will I ever the roundelay sing  
*Drink for the luck which the Destinies bring,*  
And old Iulius's son, the pantler Prytanean,  
For joy will "Bacche-Bacchus" shout, and chant his Io-Paeon.

PAPH. Think you in shamelessness to win? No, by Poseidon, no!  
Or may I evermore the feasts of Agora Zeus forego.

σοι τὸ Σιμωνίδου μέλος "πῖνε πῖν' ἐπὶ  
συμφοραῖς" ἐκ τῶν Σιμωνίδου δὲ τοῦτο  
Τεθρίππων. τὸ δὲ συμφοραῖς ἐπ' ἐσθλαῖς.  
τῶν μέσων γὰρ ἡ συμφορά.—Scholiast.  
By ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς we are to understand,  
as the Scholiast says, ἐπ' ἐσθλαῖς συμ-  
φοραῖς, a phrase employed by Admetus  
in the closing lines of the Alcestis; or  
ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖσιν, as Aristophanes  
himself words it infra 655, Lysistrata  
1276. The simple form ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς  
occurs in the same sense Soph. El. 1230.

407. τὸν Ἰουλίου] This old man was  
the pantler at the Prytaneum, and  
Cratinus is said to have given him the  
name of πυροσίπην, *one who keeps a  
loving eye on the bread*; τοῦτον, says the  
Scholiast, ὁ Κρατῖνος πυροσίπην λέγει,  
τουτίστι τὸν φύλακα τοῦ σίτου, ὡς εἰς τὸ  
Πρυτανεῖον παρέχοντα ἄρτους. He was  
possibly in this way brought into con-  
nexion with Cleon, and may here be  
represented as rejoicing in his down-

fall; but it seems to me more probable  
that he is merely introduced as a merry  
old soul who, like the Tigellius of whom  
Horace tells us (Sat. i. 3. 7), would  
when in the vein keep singing his  
Io Bacche—or Io Paeon—*ab ovo usque  
ad mala*. The words ἰηπαιωνῖσαι and  
βακχέβακχον are mere comic coinages  
of the poet to represent these two  
songs. He will go Io-paeaning and  
Bacche-bacchusing all the banquet  
through.

410. ἀγοραίου Διός] Cf. infra 500.  
There was an altar, the Scholiast tells  
us, of Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος in the Athenian  
agora, and another in the Pnyx. And,  
under that title, Zeus was the Divine  
Overseer, not only of all transactions in  
the market, but also of all debates and  
oratorical eloquence. Ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς  
ἀγοραῖος, exclaims Athene in the Eu-  
menides, when her arguments have at  
last prevailed to win over the offended

- ΑΛ. ἔγωγε νῆ τοὺς κονδύλους, οὓς πολλὰ δὴ πὶ πολλοῖς  
 ἠνεσχόμην ἐκ παιδίου, μαχαιρίδων τε πληγὰς,  
 ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι σ' οἴομαι τούτοιςιν, ἢ μάτην γ' ἂν  
 ἀπομαγαλιαῖς σιτούμενος τοσοῦτος ἐτραφεῖην.
- ΠΑ. ἀπομαγαλιαῖς ὥσπερ κύων; ὦ παμπόνηρε, πῶς οὖν 415  
 κυνὸς βορὰν σιτούμενος μάχει σὺ κυνοκεφάλῳ;
- ΑΛ. καὶ νῆ Δί' ἄλλα γ' ἐστὶ μου κόβαλα παιδὸς ὄντος.  
 ἐξηπάτων γὰρ τοὺς μαγείρους ἂν λέγων τοιαυτί·  
 σκέψασθε, παῖδες· οὐχ ὄραθ' ; ὦρα νέα, χελιδῶν.  
 οἱ δ' ἔβλεπον, κἀγὼ 'ν τοσοῦτῳ τῶν κρεῶν ἔκλεπτον. 420
- ΧΟ. ὦ δεξιώτατον κρέας, σοφῶς γε προϋνόησω·  
 ὥσπερ ἀκαλήφας ἐσθίων πρὸ χελιδόνων ἔκλεπτες.
- ΑΛ. καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν ἐλάνθανόν γ'· εἰ δ' οὖν ἴδοι τις αὐτῶν,  
 ἀποκρυπτόμενος εἰς τὰ κοχῶνα τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπώμυν·  
 ὥστ' εἴπ' ἀνὴρ τῶν ρητόρων ἰδὼν με τοῦτο δρῶντα· 425  
 οὐκ ἔστ' ὅπως ὁ παῖς ὄδ' οὐ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτροπεύσει.
- ΧΟ. εὐ γε ξυνέβαλεν αὐτ'· ἀτὰρ δῆλόν γ' ἀφ' οὗ ξυνέγνω·

and reluctant deities. It was around the altar of Zeus ἀγοραῖος at Marathon that Euripides grouped his suppliant Heracleids. And when Socrates was a boy the oracle advised his anxious parents to pray for him Διὶ ἀγοραίῳ καὶ Μούσαις, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μὴ πολυπραγμανεῖν περὶ Σωκράτους.—Plutarch de Genio Socr. chap. 20. See the oath taken at the altar of Zeus ἀγοραῖος at Thurium, Stobæus xlv. 22. And cf. Hdt. v. 46. As to Hermes ἀγοραῖος see supra 297. πόλλ' ἐπὶ πολλοῖς in the next line means *over and over again*, as in Wasps 1046.

414. ἀπομαγαλιαῖς] These were little pellets of dough which guests used for wiping their fingers (ἀπομάττεσθαι infra 819), and afterwards threw to the dogs.

ἀπομαγαλιά· στέαρ ἐν ᾧ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπεμάττοντο ἐν τοῖς δειπνοῖς· βαλόντες αὐτὸ τοῖς κυσὶν ἀναλύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν δειπνῶν.—Hesychius. So Alciphron iii. 44 ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀγαπᾶν εἰ τὰς ἀπομαγαλιαῖς ὡς κυσὶ τις παραρρίψειε, where see Bergler's note. The Scholiast here says ἀπομαγαλιά· τὸ σταῖς ᾧ ἀπομάττονται οἱ μάγειροι, ὅπερ ἐκάλουν χειρόμακτρον, ὃ μετὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀπερρίπτον τοῖς κυσίν. It was on pellets of this kind, thrown away by the μάγειροι, that the sturdy little gutter-snipe lived and thrived.

416. κυνοκεφάλῳ] The dog-headed baboons, the "Cynocephali" as they are still called, comprising every sort of baboon, the Chacma, the Papion, the Gelada, &c., are the most ferocious

- S.S. Now by the knuckles which in youth would discipline my head,  
And those hard-handled butchers' knives they often used instead,  
I think in shamelessness I'll win; else vainly in the slums  
Have I to such a bulk been reared on finger-cleaning crumbs.
- PAPH. On finger-pellets like a dog? And reared on these, you seek  
To fight a dog-faced fierce baboon! I marvel at your cheek.
- S.S. And lots of other monkey-tricks I practised as a boy.  
O how I used to chouse the cooks by shrieking out *Ahoy!*  
*Look lads, a swallow! spring is here. Look up, look up, I pray.*  
So up they looked whilst I purloined a piece of meat away.
- CHOR. Shrewd body, you were provident, and stole away your meat  
Before the vernal swallow came, as folk their nettles eat.
- S.S. And no one caught me out, or else, if any saw me pot it,  
I clapped the meat between my thighs and vowed I hadn't got it;  
Whereat an orator observed, who watched me at my tricks,  
*Some day this boy will make his mark as leader in the Pnyx.*
- CHOR. His inference was just; but still 'tis plain from whence he drew it;

of all the *Quadrumana*; and "woe to the inexperienced hound," says Mr. Wood (*Nat. Hist.* i. 64), "who is foolish enough to venture its person within grasp of the baboon's feet or hands. The whole affair is the work of only a few seconds; the baboon springs upon it, and in an instant flings the dying hound on the earth, the blood pouring in torrents from its mangled throat."

419. *ἄρα νέα*] *Spring, the new year.* See note on *Thesm.* 1. And compare *Birds* 713.

422. *ἀκαλήφας ἐσθίων*] The common stinging-nettle (*urtica dioica*), though now little eaten in England, is really, as all authorities inform us, one of the most valuable of our spring vegetables.

Boiled for twenty minutes, and served up like spinach, it is said to be very palatable, and at the same time to possess useful diuretic and antiscorbutic qualities. But it is only while young and tender that it is fit for the table; and the Athenians may have been quite right in considering that it should only be eaten before the advent of the swallow, *πρὸ χειλιδόνων* as the Chorus here express it; *ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὴν χειλιδόνα*, says the Scholiast, *ἄβρωτοι αἱ κνίδαι.*

424. *τὰ κοχῶνα*] *The buttocks.* *κοχῶνη* τόπος ὑπὸ τὸ αἰδοῖον, τὸ μετὰ τῶν μηρῶν καὶ τῆς κοτύλης καὶ τῶν ἰσχίων.—Scholiast. *τοὺς γλουτούς.*—*Id.* at 484 *infra.*

427. *ἀτὰρ δῆλον*] They mean that, true as the inference was, it required no

- ὅτι ἡ πῶρκεις θ' ἠρπακῶς καὶ κρέας ὁ πρωκτὸς εἶχεν.
- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ σε παύσω τοῦ θράσου, οἶμαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἄμφω.  
ἔξειμι γάρ σοι λαμπρὸς ἤδη καὶ μέγας καθιείς, 430  
ὁμοῦ ταραττων τὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν εἰκῆ.
- ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ συστείλας γε τοὺς ἀλλάντας εἶτ' ἀφήσω  
κατὰ κύμ' ἔμαντὸν οὖριον, κλάειν σε μακρὰ κελεύσας.
- ΔΗ. κάγωγ', ἐάν τι παραχαλαῶ, τὴν ἀντλίαν φυλάξω.
- ΠΑ. οὐ τοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα καταπροίξει τάλαντα πολλὰ 435  
κλέψας Ἀθηναίων. ΧΟ. ἄθρει, καὶ τοῦ ποδὸς παρίει  
ὡς οὗτος ἤδη Καικίας καὶ Συκοφαντίας πνεῖ.
- ΠΑ. σὲ δ' ἐκ Ποτιδαίας ἔχοντ' εὐ οἶδα δέκα τάλαντα.

preternatural acuteness to draw it. As the boy was an expert thief and perjurer (supra 298, infra 1239), a sort of miniature Cleon in fact, it was self-evident that he was the stuff of which a successful demagogue was made.

430. λαμπρὸς καὶ μέγας] A fresh and mighty wind. Both epithets are constantly used of the winds. ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, as the Scholiast says; and the metaphor is continued for a dozen lines and more. Paphlagon will come forth sweeping down upon them like a strong and vehement gale. But the Sausage-seller will furl—not his sails but—his sausages, and scud merrily before the wind. And if his ship should spring a leak (τι παραχαλαῶ) Demosthenes will bale out the water; will look after the bilgewater. The Sausage-seller is to be the skipper, and Demosthenes the calker, of the little sausage-ship.

435. οὐ τοι κ.τ.λ.] This is the first gust of the storm with which Paphlagon has threatened to swamp his enemy.

436. τοῦ ποδὸς παρίει] To avoid the effect of this sudden squall, those on the ship will immediately begin to slacken sail. "The ποὺς or *pes veli* is the rope which extends the lower corner of the sail to the side of the ship; Anglice *the sheet*. All large square sails have two ropes at each lower corner of the sail, one to draw it aft, the other to draw it forward: the former is called *the sheet*, the latter (*πρόπους*) the *tack*." —Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 164 note. The consequence of *not* slacking the sheet (that is of keeping the sail tightly stretched) in such a squall as this is tersely stated by Sophocles in a passage to which Bergler refers—

ναὸς ὅστις ἐγκρατὴ πόδα  
τείνας ὑπέικει μὴδὲν, ὑπτίους κάτω  
στρέψας τὸ λοιπὸν σέλμασιν ναυτίλλεται (ANTIGONE 715-17).

He saw you filch the meat away, and swear you didn't do it.

PAPH. I'll stop your insolence, my man; your friend's and yours together.

I'll swoop upon you like a gale of fresh and stormy weather,

And all the land and all the sea in wild confusion throw.

S.S. But I will furl my sausages, and down the tide will go

With prosperous seas, and favouring breeze, at you my fingers snapping.

DE. And if your bark a leak should spring, the water I'll be tapping.

PAPH. Full many a talent have you filched, and dearly shall you pay,

You public-treasury thief! CHOR. Look out, and slack the sheet away,

I hear a loud Nor'-Easter there or Sycophanter blow.

PAPH. From Potidaea you received ten talents, that I know.

"A pilot who will not slacken his sheet when squalls impend, will finish his voyage keel uppermost"; his ship will

speedily turn turtle. The same Commentator refers to a similar passage in Euripides—

καὶ ναῦς γὰρ ἐνταθείσα πρὸς βίαν ποδὶ  
ἐβαψεν ἔστη δ' ἀδῆς ἦν χαλᾷ πόδα (ORESTES 706, 707),

where the Scholiast, explaining *ποῦς*, says, λέγεται οὕτω τὸ σχοινίον, τὸ κατέχον κάτωθεν τὸ ἰστίον. And as *πόδες* are the ropes at the lower corner, so *τέρβριοι* (infra 440) are the ropes at the upper corner, of the sail.

437. *Kaikias*] *Kaikias* is shown by its position on the Tower of the Winds (Stuart and Revett i, chap. 3, p. 47; and Plates XIV, XXI, see the Commentary on Wasps 265) to be the north-east wind, one of the most violent winds in the Mediterranean, always accompanied with clouds and rain. The Scholiast quotes a proverb, κακὰ | ἔλκων ἐφ' αὐτὸν, ὡς ὁ Καικίας νέφη (ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπισπωμένων ἑαυτοῖς κακὰ), which is found in Aristotle, Plutarch, Pliny, and other authors, and in the Paroemiographers, Bodl. 430, Diogenianus iv. 66, Gaisford,

pp. 50, 188, where see Schott's note. It is the wind called by St. Luke (Acts xxvii. 14) an *ἄνεμος τυφωνικός* (infra 511); for doubtless Euroclydon, if it should not rather be read *Εὐρακύλων*, is intended to represent the Latin Euro-aquilo; see Bentley's "Remarks on a Discourse of Freethinking," § 32 (iii. 353, ed. Dyce). *Συκοφαντίας* is merely a comic name for a wind, with a termination like *Kaikias* and other wind-names; ἄμα δὲ πρὸς τὴν συκοφαντίαν καὶ κακίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα πλάττει, says the Scholiast.

438. *σὲ δ' κ.τ.λ.*] This is the second gust. From a mere general charge of dishonesty Paphlagon now condescends to a specific instance, and accuses the Sausage-seller of receiving bribes from Potidaea. Potidaea had surrendered to the Athenians about five years before

ΑΛ.	τί δῆτα ; βούλει τῶν ταλάντων ἐν λαβὼν σιωπᾶν ;	
ΧΟ.	ἀνὴρ ἂν ἡδέως λάβοι. τοὺς τερθρίους παρίει.	440
ΑΛ.	τὸ πνεῦμ' ἔλαττον γίγνεται.	
ΠΑ.	[δαροδοκίας] φεύξει γραφὰς ἑκατονταλάντους τέτταρας.	
ΑΛ.	σὺ δ' ἀστρατείας εἴκοσιν, κλοπῆς δὲ πλεῖν ἢ χιλίας.	
ΠΑ.	ἐκ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων σέ φη- μι γεγυμέναι τῶν τῆς θεοῦ.	445
ΑΛ.	τὸν πάππον εἶναί φημί σου τῶν δορυφόρων—	ΠΑ. ποίων ; φράσον.
ΑΛ.	τῶν Βυρσίνης τῆς Ἰππίου.	
ΠΑ.	κόβαλος εἶ. ΑΛ. πανούργος εἶ.	450
ΧΟ.	παῖ' ἀνδρικῶς. ΠΑ. ἰὸν ἰού,	

the date of this Comedy, after a prolonged siege which had cost the Republic the enormous sum of 2000 talents. The Athenian generals had come to terms with the inhabitants, and allowed them to evacuate the town, the men with one garment, the women with two, and all with a little pocket money for their wintry journey.—Thuc. ii. 70. We are told that the Athenians blamed the generals for their leniency ; and we may be sure that Cleon would have been one of their loudest assailants. It is extremely probable that he accused them of receiving bribes to grant such favourable terms to the Potidaeans ; and that the present line is merely an echo of that old denunciation.

441. τὸ πνεῦμ'] After the two vehement gusts the gale for the moment appears to be subsiding. δεῖ νοῆσαι,

says the Scholiast, τὸν Κλέωνα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι καὶ τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ ταλάντου πεισθέντα ἐνδοῦναι. But the lull is merely temporary.

442. [δαροδοκίας]] This is the third gust, blowing from the same quarter as the two earlier ones, 435, 438. Four actions for bribery shall be brought against the Sausage-seller, in each of which the damages shall be laid at 100 talents. I have inserted, in brackets, the word *δαροδοκίας*, which is required both for the sense and for the metre. It is obvious from the form of the Sausage-seller's reply that the name of the action had been put prominently forward. One would think that the countercharge of *ἀστρατείας* in that reply must have been designed before the Sphacterian incident.

445. τῶν ἀλιτηρίων τῆς θεοῦ] He means that the Sausage-seller, of all men in

- S.S. Will you take one, and hold your tongue. CHOR. He'd take it like a shot.  
 Let out the yard-arm ropes a bit. S.S. The gale has milder got.  
 The stormy blast is falling fast.
- PAPH. You'll have, for bribery and deceit,  
 Four hundred-talent writs to meet.
- S.S. And you, for cowardliness a score,  
 For theft a thousand writs and more.
- PAPH. From that old sacrilegious race  
 I'll say that your descent you trace.
- S.S. Your father's father marched, I'll swear,  
 As body-guard to— PAPH. Whom? Declare!
- S.S. To Hippias's Byrsine.
- PAPH. You jackanapes! S.S. You gallows-tree!
- CHOR. Strike like a man! PAPH. O help me! Oh!

the world, belongs to the illustrious and aristocratic family of the Alcmaeonidae, who for their sacrilegious act of putting to death the adherents of Cylon while still under the protection of Athene were deemed to be under a curse, and were called, Thucydides tells us, *ἐναγείς*, and *ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ*, i. 126. We know from the narrative of Thucydides, of which the words just cited form a part, that immediately before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the Spartans, for the purpose of exciting a prejudice against Pericles, whose mother was a daughter of the House of Alcmaeon, called upon the Athenians to expel from their midst the thing accursed of Athene, *ελαίνειν τὸ ἄγος τῆς θεοῦ*. And from the promptitude with which Paphlagon endeavours to overwhelm his antagonist with the like insinuation, it is perhaps not unreason-

able to infer that on this, as on other points, Pericles had in his lifetime been *δηχθεὶς αἴθωνι κλέωνι*.

449. *Βυρσίνης τῆς Ἰππίου*] But the Sausage-seller can draw upon ancient history as well as Paphlagon; and if *his* ancestors are to be deemed guilty of the old Cylonian sacrilege, he will show that Paphlagon's ancestors were amongst the body-guards, and therefore the upholders and instruments, of Hippias the last Tyrant of Athens, or rather of the Tyrant's wife. Her name, we know, was Myrrhine or Myrsine (Thuc. vi. 55); and in order to connect the leather-seller with that detested family, the name *Μυρσίνη* is again, as supra 59, converted into *Βυρσίνη*, a *leathern thong*; whilst her husband's name *Ἰππίου* comes in handily to show that the thong had been cut out of *horse-hide*.

- τύπτουσί μ' οἱ ξυνωμόται.  
 ΧΟ. παῖ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικότατα, καὶ  
 γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις  
 καὶ τοῖς κόλοις, 455  
 χάπῳς κολᾷ τὸν ἄνδρα.  
 ὦ γεννικώτατον κρέας ψυχὴν τ' ἄριστε πάντων,  
 καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτῆρ φανείς ἡμῖν τε τοῖς πολίταις,  
 ὡς εὔ τὸν ἄνδρα ποικίλως θ' ὑπήλθες ἐν λόγοισιν.  
 πῶς ἂν σ' ἐπαινέσαιμεν οὕτως ὥσπερ ἠδόμεσθα ; 460  
 ΠΑ. ταυτὶ μὰ τὴν Δῆμητρά μ' οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν  
 τεκταινόμενα τὰ πράγματ', ἀλλ' ἠπιστάμην  
 γομφούμεν' αὐτὰ πάντα καὶ κολλώμενα.  
 ΧΟ. οἴμοι, σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀμαξουργοῦ λέγεις ;  
 ΑΛ. οὔκουν μ' ἐν Ἄργει γ' οἶα πράττει λανθάνει. 465  
 πρόφασιν μὲν Ἀργείους φίλους ἡμῖν ποιεῖ  
 ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐκεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις ξυγγίγνεται.  
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' οἷσιν ἐστι συμφυσώμενα  
 ἐγῶδ'. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεδεμένοις χαλκεύεται.  
 ΧΟ. εὔ γ' εὔ γε, χάλκευ' ἀντὶ τῶν κολλωμένων. 470  
 ΑΛ. καὶ ξυγκροτοῦσιν ἄνδρες αὐτ' ἐκεῖθεν αὖ,

455. κόλοις] Κόλον is the large intestine still called the *colon*, ὅθι πᾶσα βροτῶν ἄλις ἐμφέρεται δαίς, Nicander "Alexipharmaca" 23. The terms εὐκολος and δύσκολος exhibit the connexion supposed to exist between the digestion and the temper. Here of course there is a play upon the words κόλοις and κολᾷ, the second person, future middle, of κολάζω.

464. οἴμοι, σὺ δ' οὐδέν] Paphlagon's phraseology is not borrowed from the tannery ; it is probably intended as a sample of the homely and graphic

metaphors with which Cleon was accustomed to drive home his arguments. The Chorus, dismayed at hearing these well-known and effective figures of speech, can only hope that their champion will be able to meet the illustrations drawn from the carpenter's business with metaphors as homely and as forcible drawn from the wheelwright's trade,

465. ἐν Ἄργει] Some years before the conclusion, in 445 B. C., of their thirty years' truce with Athens, the Spartans had concluded a truce for a similar



These plotting traitors hurt me so.

CHOR. Strike, strike him, well and manfully,  
And with those entrails beat him,  
And strings of sausage-meat, and try  
Meet punishment to mete him.

O noblest flesh in all the world, O spirit best and dearest,  
To City and to citizens a Saviour thou appearest.  
How well and with what varied skill thou foil'st him in debate!  
O would that I could praise you so, as our delight is great.

PAPH. Now, by Demeter, it escaped me not  
That these same plots were framing; well I knew  
How they were pegged, and fixed, and glued together.

CHOR. O, me!

(To S.S.) Can't *you* say something from the cartwright's trade?

S.S. These Argos doings have escaped me not.  
He goes, he says, to make a friend of Argos,  
But 'tis with Sparta he's colloquing there.  
Aye and I know the anvil whereupon  
His plan is forged: 'tis welded on the captives.

CHOR. Good! good! return him welding for his glue.

S.S. And men from thence are hammering at it too.

period with the rival Dorian state of Argos; and Argos therefore had hitherto kept herself free from the complications of the Peloponnesian War. But that truce was now drawing to a close; and on its expiration she would be at liberty to throw the whole weight of her power and prestige into the scales in favour of either of the combatants. No one could foresee what line she would take; for, if she was Dorian like Sparta, she was also democratic like Athens. Both parties were equally anxious to secure her alliance for themselves; and Athenian

envoys to Argos would be frequently meeting with Spartan envoys who had come on a similar errand. In this way, the Sausage-seller infers, Cleon had got into communication with the Spartan leaders, for the purpose of obtaining good terms for himself in return for the release of the captives.

471. *ξυγκροτούσω*] *Are helping to hammer out the plot.* The applause of the Chorus encourages the Sausage-seller to persevere with his metaphorical phraseology; *ἐπέμεινε τῇ μεταφορᾷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν χαλκίων*, as the Scholiast says. The

- καὶ ταῦτά μ' οὐτ' ἀργύριον οὔτε χρυσίον  
 διδοὺς ἀναπέσεις, οὔτε προσπέμπων φίλους,  
 ὅπως ἐγὼ ταῦτ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίοις φράσω.
- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ' εἰς βουλὴν ἰὼν 475  
 ὑμῶν ἀπάντων τὰς ξυνομοσίας ἐρῶ,  
 καὶ τὰς ξυνόδους τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει,  
 καὶ πάνθ' ἃ Μήδοις καὶ βασιλεῖ ξυνόμνυτε,  
 καὶ τὰκ Βοιωτῶν ταῦτα συντυρούμενα.
- ΑΛ. πῶς οὖν ὁ τυρὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς ὄνιος; 480
- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ σε νῆ τὸν Ἑρακλέα παραστορῶ.
- ΧΟ. ἄγε δὴ σὺ τίνα νοῦν ἢ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις;  
 νυκτὶ διδάξεις, εἴπερ ἀπεκρύψω τότε  
 εἰς τὰ κοχῶνα τὸ κρέας, ὡς αὐτὸς λέγεις.  
 θέυσει γὰρ ἄξια εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, 485  
 ὡς οὗτος εἰσπεσῶν ἐκείσε διαβαλεῖ  
 ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ κραγὸν κεκράξεται.

three lines which follow read as if they were an imitation of some well-known language of Cleon; and possibly that is the reason why they appear to irritate Paphlagon beyond endurance.

475. εἰς βουλὴν] He is not contemplating any legal process. He is going to denounce the Sausage-seller and his supporters before the βουλὴ first, as he does afterwards before the Demus in the Ecclesia. See supra 395, 396.

477. ἐν τῇ πόλει] This, the reading of the best MS., is undoubtedly right. He is about to inform against the Sausage-seller under three distinct heads, viz. (1) intra-mural conspiracies, (2) conspiracies with the Persian empire, and (3) conspiracies with the Boeotians. The alternative reading ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει confuses the three things

together, for all would alike be denounced as directed "against the State." Kock has already referred to Thuc. viii. 54 τὰς ξυνομοσίας αἵπερ ἐτύχχανον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔσαι, and these "nightly gatherings in the city" may be illustrated by the conspiracy imputed infra 852-7 against Paphlagon himself.

479. τὰκ Βοιωτῶν] We know that about this time negotiations were being carried on with disaffected persons in various cities of Boeotia, with a view to the subversion of their existing constitution, and the establishment of a democracy in its stead; and indeed it was to further this scheme that the expedition to Boeotia was planned which ended in the disaster at Delium. And that Demosthenes, one of the persons whom Paphlagon is addressing,

And not by bribes of silver or of gold  
Or sending friends, will you persuade me not  
To tell the Athenians how you are going on.

PAPH. I'll go this instant to the Council-board,  
And all your vile conspiracies denounce,  
And all your nightly gatherings in the town,  
And how you plotted with the Medes and King,  
And all your cheese-pressed doings in Boeotia.

S.S. Pray, how's cheese selling in Boeotia now?

PAPH. I'll stretch you flat, by Heracles I will.

[Exit.

CHOR. Now then, what mean you? what are you going to do?  
Now shall you show us if in very truth  
You stole the meat and hid it as you said.  
So to the Council-house you'll run, for he  
Will burst in thither, and against us all  
Utter his lies and bawl a mighty bawl.

took a prominent part in these negotiations we are expressly told by Thucydides iv. 76. With regard to the expression *συντυρούμενα* the Scholiast says *Συμπηγνύμενα καὶ ὅτι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς πολὺς τυρός*. And Dodwell, travelling in the country at the commencement of the nineteenth century, observes that cheese is still one of the chief products of the Theban territory, i. 269. But though there is doubtless here a reference to the fact that Boeotia was a cheese-producing country, *τυρεύω* and its cognates are frequently employed in this metaphorical sense, both in classical and ecclesiastical writers. As to the former Casaubon refers to Demosthenes, De F. L. 337 (p. 436); and as to the latter see Theodoret i. 7. 17 and *passim*. The Sausage-seller's

retort, if not a mere bit of cheek, must mean that if there is any cheese-picking going on Paphlagon is sure to be trying to make money out of it. At all events it has such an effect upon Paphlagon that with a final threat, drawn from his tanyard, he at once makes off to complain to the Council.

481. *παραστορῶ*] 'Εκτενῶ' ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βυρσῶν.—Scholiast. With this Paphlagon departs, and the next sixteen lines are occupied with the Sausage-seller's preparations to follow him to the Council. But first he must be equipped, like an athlete, for the combat which will ensue.

487. *κραγὸν κειράξεται*] *Will bawl a bawling*; like *βάδον βαδίσομεν*, *we go a going*, in Birds 42. Both are merely comic phrases.

- ΑΛ. ἀλλ' εἶμι· πρῶτον δ', ὡς ἔχω, τὰς κοιλίας  
καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας ἐνθαδὶ καταθήσομαι.
- ΔΗ. ἔχε νυν, ἀλειψον τὸν τράχηλον τουτῶι, 490  
ἵν' ἐξολισθάνειν δύνῃ τὰς διαβολάς.
- ΑΛ. ἀλλ' εὖ λέγεις καὶ παιδοτριβικῶς ταυταγί.
- ΔΗ. ἔχε νυν, ἐπέγκαψον λαβῶν ταδί. ΑΛ. τί δαί;
- ΔΗ. ἵν' ἄμεινον, ὦ τᾶν, ἐσκοροδισμένος μάχη.  
καὶ σπεῦδε ταχέως. ΑΛ. ταῦτα δρῶ. ΔΗ. μέμνησό νυν 495  
δάκνειν, διαβάλλειν, τοὺς λόφους κατεσθίειν,  
χῶπως τὰ κάλλαι' ἀποφαγὼν ἤξεισ πάλιν.
- ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἴθι χαίρων, καὶ πράξειας  
κατὰ νοῦν τὸν ἐμὸν, καὶ σε φυλάττοι  
Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος· καὶ νικήσας 500  
αὐθις ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν ὡς ἡμᾶς  
ἔλθοις στεφάνοις κατὰπαστος.

490. ἔχε νυν] With Enger, Bergk, and all recent editors, I have transferred this speech and those in 493, 494, and 495 (given to the Chorus in the MSS. and the older editions) to Demosthenes, who is standing on the stage by the side of the champion, and is now applying lard to his neck and shoulders. The Chorus are in the orchestra, and could not have taken part in these manual performances. On τουτῶι the Scholiast says *στέραι διδοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἀλείφεισθαι, ἵνα εὐχερῶς ὀλισθαίνειν δύνῃται, καὶ δύσληπτος ἢ τῷ ἀνταγωνιστῇ, . . . δεῖν εἰπεῖν τὰς λαβῆς ὡς ἐπὶ πάλης, τὰς διαβολὰς εἶπεν αἰς ἔμελλε διαβάλλειν ὁ Κλέων.* The term *διαβολὰς*, expressive of Cleon's usual practice, is substituted for *λαβὰς* here, as *διαβαλῶν* was for *διαλαβῶν* in line 262 *supra*. The metaphor, as the Scholiast intimates, is taken from

the wrestling-school, whence the word *παιδοτριβικῶς* two lines below; for wrestlers anointed themselves with oil, the more easily to elude the grasp of their adversaries. "Take to yourselves," says St. Chrysostom, "mercy and loving-kindness for these will do more for the soul than oil for the body. These will enable you to escape from the attacks of the devil; ὅπου γὰρ ἂν κατάσχη, διωλισθαίνει λοιπὸν, οὐκ ἐῶντος τοῦ ἐλαίου τουτῶι τοῖς νότοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐνρίζειν τὰς ἐκείνου λαβὰς. τουτῶι τοίνυν ἑαυτοὺς συνεχῶς ἀλείφωμεν τῷ ἐλαίῳ."—Hom. 64 in Matth. (641 D). *διωλισθαίνων αὐτῶν τὰς λαβὰς.*—Id. Hom. 4 in 1 Cor. (31 C).

493. ταδί] Σκόροδα αὐτῷ προσφέρει.—Scholiast. The metaphor, he proceeds to say, is taken ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρονίων· ὅταν γὰρ εἰς μάχην συμβάλλωσιν αὐτοὺς, σκόροδα

- S.S. Well, I will go; but first I'll lay me down  
Here, as I am, these guts and butchers-knives.
- DE. Here take this ointment and anoint your neck,  
So can you slip more easily through his lies.
- S.S. Well now, that's good and trainer-like advice.
- DE. And next, take this and swallow it. S.S. What for?
- DE. Why, if you are garlic-primed, you'll fight much better.  
And now begone. S.S. I'm off. DE. And don't forget  
To peck, to lie, to gobble down his combs,  
And bite his wattles off. That done, return.
- CHOR. Good-bye and good speed: may your daring succeed,  
And Zeus of the Agora help you in need.  
May you conquer in fight, and return to our sight  
A Victor triumphant with garlands bedight.

διδόσασιν αὐτοῖς ἵνα δριμύτεροι ᾖσιν ἐν  
τῇ μάχῃ. κάλλαια δὲ τοὺς πάγωνας  
(wattles) τῶν ἀλεκτρονῶν. Cf. Acharnians  
166.

496. διαβάλλειν] He is to fight Paphlagon with his own weapons. Here we have the demagogue's mode of attack intermixed with the terms of the cock-pit, just as it was, five lines above, with those of the wrestling-school. And now the Sausage-seller, fully primed for the combat, leaves the stage with his friends; and the Chorus in the orchestra, after sending them off with a blessing, turn to the audience, and commence the Parabasis. Like the Parabasis which we have already seen in the Acharnians, and those which we shall presently see in the Wasps and the Birds, it is a complete Parabasis with all its seven component parts fully worked out.

498-506. THE COMMATION. The first five lines of the Commation convey a farewell greeting to the departing champion; and probably the Chorus do not actually turn to the audience until they come to the words *ἡμεῖς δ' ἡμῶν*. In the three next Comedies, the Clouds, the Wasps, and the Peace, the Commation commences in a very similar manner. The Scholiast tells us that some part of the Commation is *παρὰ τὸ Σοφόκλειον ἐξ Ἰοκλέους*, meaning probably not that it was borrowed from, but that it bore some resemblance to, a passage in Sophocles. No play called the Iocles is known, and it has been suggested that the Scholiast is referring to the Iphicles or the Iobates. As to Zeus Ἄγοραῖος see 410 supra and the Commentary there. The Sausage-seller is commended to the care of that deity because, being about to confront Paph-

ὕμεις δ' ἡμῖν πρόσχετε τὸν νόον  
 τοῖς τ' ἀναπαίστοις, ᾧ παντοίας  
 ἤδη Μούσης  
 πειραθέντες καθ' ἑαυτούς.

505

εἰ μὲν τις ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀρχαίων κωμφοδοδιδάσκαλος ἡμᾶς  
 ἠνάγκαζεν λέγοντας ἔπη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι,  
 οὐκ ἂν φαύλως ἔτυχεν τούτου· νῦν δ' ἀξιός ἐσθ' ὁ ποιητής,  
 ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν μισεῖ, τολμᾷ τε λέγειν τὰ δίκαια,  
 καὶ γενναίως πρὸς τὸν Τυφῶ χωρεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐριώλην.  
 ἃ δὲ θαυμάζειν ὑμῶν φησιν πολλοὺς αὐτῷ προσιόντας,  
 καὶ βασανίζειν, ὡς οὐχὶ πάλαι χορὸν αἰτοίη καθ' ἑαυτὸν,  
 ἡμᾶς ὑμῖν ἐκέλευε φράσαι περὶ τούτου. φησὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ  
 οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνοίας τούτο πεπονηθῶς διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ νομίζων  
 κωμφοδοδιδασκαλίαν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον ἔργον ἀπάντων·  
 πολλῶν γὰρ δὴ πειρασάντων αὐτὴν ὀλίγοις χαρίσασθαι

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lagon before the Council, he will need all the debating powers he can get.

504. ᾧ παντοίας κ.τ.λ.] They mean that they are speaking to the Athenian people, the most artistic and accomplished audience in the world. Many of them were themselves poets who had wooed (*πειραθέντες*) the Muses *on their own account*, καθ' ἑαυτούς. These compliments are intended to conciliate them here, just as the appellation σοφῖαι μυρίαὶ at the commencement of the Parabasis of the Frogs was intended to conciliate them there.

507-46. THE PARABASIS PROPER. Aristophanes explains to the public why he had never before applied to the Archon for a Chorus in his own name, but had always up to the present time produced his plays in the name of

Callistratus. And in doing this he takes occasion to review the careers of some of his predecessors, Magnes, Cratinus, and Crates; a review of only less interest to the history of Comedy than is his criticism of Aeschylus and Euripides in the Frogs to the history of Tragedy.

507. ἡμᾶς] The word is emphatic. For *we* are no mere Babylonian slaves, or Acharnian charcoal-carriers, we are the Knights, the famous cavalry of Athens: it is not every Comic poet who would have obtained *our* consent to form the Chorus of his play. ἠνάγκαζεν, *was for constraining, had attempted to constrain.*

511. Τυφῶ . . . ἐριώλην] Both these descriptions, the Tornado and the Whirlwind, are intended to personify

But YE to our anapaests listen the while,  
 And give us the heed that is due,  
 Ye wits, who the Muse of each pattern and style  
 Yourselves have attempted to woo.

If one of the old-fashioned Comedy-bards had our services sought to impress,  
 And make us before the spectators appear, to deliver the public address,  
 He would not have easily gained us ; but now, with pleasure we grant the request  
 Of a poet who ventures the truth to declare, and detests what we also detest,  
 And against the Tornado and Whirlwind, alone, with noble devotion advances.  
 But as for the question that puzzles you most, so that many inquire how it chances  
 That he never a Chorus had asked for himself, or attempted in person to vie,  
 On this we're commissioned his views to explain, and this is the Poet's reply ;  
 That 'twas not from folly he lingered so long, but discerning by shrewd observation  
 That Comedy-Chorus-instruction is quite the most difficult thing in creation.  
 For out of the many who courted the Muse she has granted her favours to few,

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one and the same thing, the fierce and destructive energy, the wild and whirling invective, of Cleon.

513. *χορὸν αἰροῖν*] A dramatic poet was said *χορὸν αἰρεῖν*, when he sent in his play to the Archon, as a candidate for public exhibition at one of the Dionysian festivals. The Archon was said *χορὸν δίδοναι*, if he selected the play as one of the three to be so exhibited, and assigned it to a Choregus, a wealthy citizen who would bear the entire expense of putting it on the stage, save and except the cost of the three actors who were provided by the State. If in some scenes, as in Comedy was frequently the case, a fourth actor was required, the Choregus was bound to supply him ; but a choregic actor never takes a prominent part in the programme, or does more

than utter a few short sentences. In the present play the three state or professional actors originally represent Demosthenes, Nicias, and the Sausage-seller ; but the actor personating Nicias became Paphlagon, and the one personating Demosthenes will presently become Demus ; while Nicias from the entrance of Paphlagon to the Parabasis (after which he returns no more) is relegated to a choregic actor, who again in the post-parabolic scenes is transferred to Demosthenes. This shifting from one character to another would create little difficulty in the ancient dramatic performances, where the face of the actor was concealed from the audience.

517. *χαρίσασθαι*] Aristophanes habitually, as Kuster observes, represents the Muse as a courtesan, wooed by

ὑμᾶς τε πάλαι διαγιγνώσκων ἐπετείους τὴν φύσιν ὄντας,  
 καὶ τοὺς προτέρους τῶν ποιητῶν ἅμα τῷ γήρᾳ προδιδόντας·  
 τοῦτο μὲν εἰδὼς ἄπαθε Μάγνης ἅμα ταῖς πολιαῖς κατιούσαις, 520  
 ὃς πλεῖστα χορῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων νίκης ἔσθησε τροπαία·  
 πάσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς ἰεῖς καὶ ψάλλων καὶ περυγίζων  
 καὶ λυδίζων καὶ ψηνίζων καὶ βαπτόμενος βατραχείοις  
 οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ γήρῳ, οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἤβης,  
 ἐξεβλήθη πρεσβύτης ὦν, ὅτι τοῦ σκώπτειν ἀπελείφθη· 525  
 εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῶ ῥεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ  
 διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίον ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων  
 ἐφόρει τὰς δρυὲς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμνους·  
 ἄσαι δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν ξυμποσίῳ πλὴν, Δωροῖ συκοπέδιλε,

many but granting her favours to few. See the last line of the Commation above, and the Commentary on Frogs 95. And cf. the Scholiast on Pindar's Second Pythian, line 75.

518. *ἐπετείους*] *Annuals*, a metaphor from the plants so called. Ye change your opinions with the changing seasons, and nobody can tell from your tastes this year what your tastes next year will be.

520. *Μάγνης*] The first poet to come under review is *MAGNES*, of whom little is known beyond what we can gather from the present passage. Aristotle (*Poetics*, chap. 5) speaks of him as one of the earliest writers of Attic Comedy; and the author of the short sketch *Περὶ κωμῳδίας* says that he won eleven victories (*Suidas* says *two*, but that is obviously a mistake). The five participles *ψάλλων* to *βαπτόμενος βατραχείοις* refer to the names of five of his Comedies, the *Βαρβιτισταί*, the *Lute-players*; the *\*Ορνίθες*, the *Birds*; the

*Λυδοί*, the *Lydians*; the *Ψῆνες*, the *Gall-fies* (see the note on *Birds* 590); and the *Βάτραχοι*, the *Frogs*. He had doubtless been dead for some years at the date of this Comedy. The participle *κατιούσαις* in connexion with grey hairs is to be understood of greyness being sprinkled over them like a fall of snow: not as *Casaubon* and the Commentators generally explain it, of grey hairs appearing first on the top of the head and then descending to the beard.

526. *Κρατίνου*] We come next to *CRATINUS*, the convivial old poet, reputed to be now upwards of 90 years of age, who, with the exception of *Aristophanes* himself, was the most notable figure in the old Attic Comedy. The Chorus freely admit the irresistible vigour, and the boundless popularity of the man in the early days of his dramatic career, when he carried everything before him, and his songs were on everybody's lips. But now, they say, he has become a mere



While e'en as the plants that abide but a year, so shifting and changeful are you ;  
 And the Poets who flourished before him, he saw, ye were wont in their age to betray.  
 Observing the treatment which Magnes received when his hair was besprinkled with grey,  
 Than whom there was none more trophies had won in the fields of dramatic display.  
 All voices he uttered, all forms he assumed, the Lydian, the fig-piercing Fly,  
 The Harp with its strings, the Bird with its wings, the Frog with its yellow-green dye.  
 Yet all was too little ; he failed in the end, when the freshness of youth was gone by,  
 And at last in his age he was hissed from the stage when lost was his talent for jeering.  
 Then he thought of Cratinus who flowed through the plains 'mid a tumult of plaudits and  
 cheering ;  
 And sweeping on all that obstructed his course, with a swirl from their stations he tore them,  
 Oaks, rivals, and planes ; and away on his flood uprooted and prostrate he bore them.  
 And never a song at a banquet was sung but *Doro fig-sandaled and true*,

drunken old driveller, who has outlived his powers, and is an object of contempt, and ought to be an object of compassion, to all beholders. The humour of this description consists in the fact that the jovial old bard was still in his full vigour, and indeed an actual competitor in this very theatrical contest. And although Aristophanes won the prize with the Knights, yet Cratinus came next with the Satyrs ; just as in the preceding year, when

Aristophanes won the prize with the Acharnians, Cratinus had come next with the Storm-tossed, *Χειμαζόμενοι*. And in the following year he had his revenge on the impertinent young poet, winning the prize with his Flagon, *Πυτίνη*, whilst Aristophanes with the Clouds was placed last of the three competitors. It was doubtless in the Parabasis of the Flagon that he retorts upon Aristophanes as a mere Euripidean quibbler

“σὺ δὲ τίς ;” κομψός τις ἔριτο θεατῆς,  
 “ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώτης, Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων ;”

The Scholiast on Plato's *Apology*, who preserves this retort of Cratinus, preserves also the reply of Aristophanes, admitting that his language may be in

the style of Euripides, but asserting that his *thoughts* are not so vulgar and commonplace.

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ,  
 τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἦττον ἢ 'κεῖνος ποιῶ.

529. Δωροὶ συκοπέδιλε] This and *Τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων* were two songs from the earlier comedies of Cratinus.

The first was obviously satirical, *Δωροὶ* representing *δῶρα*, *gifts* (that is, *bribery*), whilst *συκοπέδιλε* brings in the idea of

cf. *Μομῶν* &c.

καὶ, Τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων· οὕτως ἠνθησεν ἐκείνος. 530  
 νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὀρῶντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε,  
 ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἡλέκτρων, καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκ ἔτ' ἐνότος,  
 τῶν θ' ἀρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὧν περιέρρει,  
 ὡσπερ Κοινᾶς, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὖτον, δίψη δ' ἀπολωλὸς,  
 ὃν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ, 535  
 καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

the Sycophant, or Common Informer. Songs of this kind, getting into the popular repertory, would keep alive the popularity alike of the drama and of the dramatist. And the melodies of the old Attic Comedy frequently became the favourite songs of the people; just as the songs most in vogue with country gentlemen a century ago, "Ere around the huge oak," "The saucy Arethusa," "A jolly young waterman," "With my dear girl, my friend, and pitcher," and the like, are mostly traceable to the plays of O'Keefe, Charles Dibdin, and other Comic dramatists.

532. ἐκπιπτουσῶν] Cratinus is described in terms which will suit any worn-out frame; a *couch* according to the Scholiast (in which case the "ambers" are the ornamental studs, *τόνος* the bed-cord, and *ἀρμονία* the joints which hold the frame together); a *lyre* according to others (the ambers being the pegs or *κόλλοι*, the *τόνος* the musical pitch, the *ἀρμονία* the joints as before). But it is unnecessary to tie the description to any particular instrument, and whatever *τόνος* and *ἀρμονία* may mean in the metaphor, the words are no doubt selected as appropriate to the musical drama. The use of *ἡλεκτρος*

as a feminine is unique; and Dr. Ver-rall's daring proposal to translate the passage "now that his Electras fail, and the old vigour is not in them, and his Harmonias do not hang together," and to understand *ἐκπιπτουσῶν* in "its ordinary sense as applied to theatrical works, persons, and figures, *disapproved, rejected, hissed off,*" might be welcomed as a brilliant interpretation of the lines, if we had any reason to believe (1) that Cratinus ever wrote any Comedy or Comedies which could be identified by such descriptions as these, and (2) that he ever lost the favour of the Athenian public. But though he was undoubtedly at this moment over-topped by the rising genius of Aristophanes, he seems none the less to have retained his full popularity on the Comic stage.

534. ὡσπερ Κοινᾶς] The poet kills two birds (Connas and Cratinus) with one well-known proverb, *Δελφὸς ἀνὴρ, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων, δίψει δ' ἀπολωλὸς*. The proverb is preserved by the Scholiast, Suidas, and the Paroemiographers (Bodl. 337; Coisl. 103; Diog. iv. 26; Gaisford, pp. 35, 130, 184), and is said to have been used of persons sacrificing, with garlands round their heads, while themselves in want of the necessaries of

Or Framers of terse and artistical verse, such a popular poet he grew.  
 Yet now that he drivels and dotes in the streets, and Time of his ambers has reft him,  
 And his framework is gaping asunder with age, and his strings and his music have left him,  
 No pity ye show ; no assistance bestow ; but allow him to wander about  
 Like Connas, with coronal withered and sere, and ready to perish with drought ;  
 Who ought for his former achievements to DRINK in the Hall, nor be laid on the shelf,  
 But to sit in the Theatre shining and bright, beside Dionysus himself.

life. Here the words *στέφανος αἶος* apply to the victory wreaths won long ago and now withered and sere ; unless indeed they involve the idea of the reveller's wreath (see the note on Eccl. 691), as if these thirsty mortals were just starting from a wine-party for a *κῶμος*, and yet already their wreaths were dry, and their throats consumed

ἔσθιε, καὶ σῆ γαστρὶ δίδου χάριν, ὄφρα σε λιμὸς  
 ἔχθαιρῃ, Κοινῶς δὲ πολυστέφανός σε φιλήσῃ.

λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν τοσαῦτα νικῆσαντα μηδέποτε τετιμῆσθαι. The lines which the Scho-

Ἐργάζεν, Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ὄφρα σε λιμὸς  
 ἔχθαιρῃ, φιλήρῃ δέ σ' ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ (W. and D. 299).

Whether this Connas the *αἰλητής* is the same person as Connos the son of Metrobius, the famous *κιθαριστής*, whose teaching Socrates in his old age attended (Plato, Euthydemus, chap. 1) ; or as the Connos from whom the phrase *Κόννου θρίον* (see the note on Wasps 675) was derived, it is now impossible to ascertain.

535. ἐν τῷ Πρωτανείῳ] He is referring to the *σίτησις ἐν Πρωτανείῳ* so often mentioned in these Comedies, the daily banquet served at the Town Hall for (amongst others) citizens who had deserved well of the State. The proper expression would have been *δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ Πρωτανείῳ* (see Peace 1084 and the

with thirst. Of Connas (said to be used contemptuously for Connos) the Scholiast observes Ὁ Κοινῶς αἰλητής ἦν καὶ μέθυσος, ὃς εἰς συμπόσια παρῆει συν-εχῶς ἔστεμμένος. οὗτος Ὀλυμπιονίκης γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰκις στεφανωθείς πενιχρὸς ἦν, μηδὲν ἔχων ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν κότινον, ἐφ' οὗ Κρατίνος εἶπεν

liast quotes from Cratinus are parodied, as Bergler pointed out, from Hesiod :

note there), but for *δειπνεῖν* the poet substitutes *πίνειν* as more in accordance with the tastes and convivial habits of his jovial old antagonist.

536. παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ] So all the MSS. and so unquestionably Aristophanes wrote. Elmsley (at Ach. 1087) unfortunately suggested *παρὰ τῷ Διονύσου*, scil. *ιερεῖ*, and his suggestion has been adopted by a few editors. But it was not, I believe, known in Elmsley's time that the statue of Dionysus was regularly placed in the theatre during the dramatic representations (Corp. Insc. Att. ii. 470, 471 ; Haigh's Attic Theatre ii. § 6), probably not far from the stage, between it and the curve of the

οἷας δὲ Κράτης ὄργας ὑμῶν ἠνέσχετο καὶ στυφελιγμούς·  
 ὃς ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς δαπάνης ὑμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀπέπεμπε,  
 ἀπὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων ἀστειοτάτας ἐπινοίας·  
 χούτος μέντοι μόνος ἀντήρκει, τότε μὲν πίπτων, τότε δ' οὐχί. 540  
 ταῦτ' ὄρρωδῶν διέτριβεν αἰεὶ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισιν ἔφασκεν  
 ἐρέτην χρῆναι πρῶτα γενέσθαι, πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν,  
 κᾶτ' ἐντεῦθεν πρῶρατεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διαθρῆσαι,  
 κᾶτα κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ. τούτων οὖν οὐνεκα πάντων,  
 ὅτι σωφρονικῶς κοῦκ ἀνοήτως ἐσπηδήσας ἐφλυάρει, 545  
 αἶρεσθ' αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ρόθιον, παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἕνδεκα κόπαις

orchestra. See A. B. Cook in the Classical Review, ix. p. 377. Nor was it then known that the Priest of Dionysus sat in a throne in the front row of the auditorium, with the Exegetes appointed by the Pythian oracle on one hand and the Priest of Zeus the Protector of the City on the other (Haigh vii. § 3), one of whom would have had to be displaced to make room for Cratinus by the side

of the Priest of Dionysus. See the Commentary on Frogs 297 and 811. Moreover it was with Dionysus, and not with his Priest, that Cratinus was ordinarily associated. See Frogs 357 and the note there; and compare the last lines of the epigram in the Anthology (Nicaenetus 4) to which Brunck has already referred:

Οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος αἰοιδῷ·  
 ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν.  
 τοῦτ' ἔλεγεν, Διόνυσε, καὶ ἔπνεεν οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀσκοῦ  
 Κρατίνος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ἀδωδᾶς πίθου,  
 τοιγάρτοι στεφάναν δόμος ἔβρυνε· εἶχε δὲ κίττῳ  
 μέτωπον, οἶα καὶ σὺ, κεκροκωμένον.

*Oh, wine is a mettlesome steed that hurries a poet away.  
 But water-drinkers nothing smart can say.*

So Cratinus declared and exhaled, Dionysus, an odour combining  
 A whole cask's fragrance, not one stoup's alone.

And therefore with garlands his house overflowed; and the ivy entwining  
 Made thy bard's face as saffron as thine own.

The ivy of Dionysus was to the poetry of the theatre what the laurel of Apollo was to poetry in general. And hence

in his Christmas letter to Charles Deodati (Eleg. vi.) Milton says:

Quid quereris refugam vino dapibusque poesin?  
 Carmen amat Bacchum; carmina Bacchus amat.  
 Nec puduit Phoebum virides gestasse corymbos,  
 Atque hederam lauro praeposuisse suae.

And then he remembered the stormy rebuffs which Crates endured in his day,  
 Who a little repast at a little expense would provide you, then send you away ;  
 Who the daintiest little devices would cook from the driest of mouths for you all ;  
 Yet he, and he only held out to the end, now standing, now getting a fall.  
 So in fear of these dangers he lingered ; besides, a sailor, he thought, should abide  
 And tug at the oar for a season, before he attempted the vessel to guide ;  
 And next should be stationed awhile at the prow, the winds and the weather to scan ;  
 And then be the Pilot, himself for himself. So seeing our Poet began  
 In a mood so discreet, nor with vulgar conceit rushed headlong before you at first,  
 Loud surges of praise to his honour upraise ; salute him, all hands, with a burst

537. Κράτης] The sketch which Aristophanes gives us of CRATES represents a poet, not indeed endowed with any extraordinary vigour, but whose comedies were neat and finished, if somewhat finical, productions. He compares him to a cook who serves up for his guests a cheap but elegant little repast. The words ἀπὸ συμκρᾶς δαπάνης of course refer not to the expenses of putting the play on the stage (which was a matter for the Choregus, and not for the poet), but to the slenderness of the fare provided. There is some difficulty in determining the exact meaning of the word κραμβοτάτου, *driest*, but it is no doubt a culinary word, and probably refers to the oven in which the confections were baked ; the word στόματος being unexpectedly substituted, after the manner so familiar in Aristophanes, for the name of the kitchen utensil. Crates, like Magnes, seems to be now dead, so that Cratinus, the poet's living and most illustrious antagonist, is sand-

wiched in between two dead dramatists.

542. πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν] This expression is equivalent to κυβερνήαν, two lines below. To be the κυβερνήτης, the *gubernator navis*, was the highest post to which the sailor could aspire. Before he undertakes it, the poet says, he should acquire, by practical experience, a full knowledge of the duties of the oarsman, and of the signs of the weather. The safety of the entire vessel, passengers and crew, may depend altogether upon his sagacity in foreseeing the weather they are likely to encounter, and the capacity of the rowers to encounter it with success.

545. ὅτι σωφρονικῶς . . . ἐφλύαρει] With σωφρονικῶς we must supply, as Casaubon says, some such verb as προσήλθεν. The marvel is that the poet left it for us to supply. As the line stands it might well have been employed by Cratinus in his retort, mentioned in the note to 526 supra, to the present attack,

ὁ τ' Ἀριστοφάνης ὡς σωφρονικῶς ἐσπηδήσας ἐφλύαρει.

546. τὸ ῥόβιον] The wash and roar of the surging waves, whether breaking

upon the shore or churned into froth by the beat of many oars. See Lucian's

θόρυβον χρηστὸν ληναίτην,  
 ἴν' ὁ ποιητῆς ἀπήν χαίρων,  
 κατὰ νοῦν πράξας,  
 φαιδρὸς λάμποντι μετώπῳ.

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ἵππῃ' ἀναξ Πόσειδον, ᾗ  
 χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος  
 καὶ χρεμετισμὸς ἀνδάνει,  
 καὶ κνανέμβολοι θοαὶ  
 μισθοφόροι τριήρεις,

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Amores 6, where many of the terms here used are repeated. Then the word became applied to any similar noise, as here to a roar of applause. "The Greeks are full of seafaring sounds and allusions. I think the murmur of the Aegean wrought itself into their language," says Edward Fitzgerald in one of his letters. The exact meaning of the phrase with which the line concludes, ἐφ' ἔνδεκα κόπαις, is uncertain; but in all probability it refers to some salute given to the victorious boat in the races about to be mentioned. Eustathius (on *Odyssey* v. 412) says τὸ δὲ ῥόθιον, ἐπίθετον κύματος ῥοθοῦντος κατὰ ὀνοματοποιίαν. οἱ δὲ μεθ' Ὀμηρον τὸ ῥεῦμα οὕτω καλοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀττικοὶ τὴν σύντονον εἰρῆσιαν οὕτω φασί, καὶ ῥοθιάζειν τὸ ἐρέσσειν συντόνωσ. ἐλέγετο δὲ ῥοθιάζειν, καὶ ὅτε οἱ ναῦται ἐπὶ κόπαις δέκα τυχόν ἢ καὶ πλείοσι παίοντες, εἶτα ἅμα παυσάμενοι, ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος ἀπαξ ἀνεφώνουν, ὡς καὶ νῦν ποτε γίνεται. καὶ ἔστι τοιοῦτον παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει τὸ "αἶρεσθ' αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ῥόθιον, παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἔνδεκα κόπαις," τουτέστι, εὐφημήσατε τὸν δέικνα ῥοθιάζοντες ναυτικῶς. And Suidas, s. vv. ἀποπέμψατ'

ἐφ' ἔνδεκα κόπαις, says ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτικῶν. κέλυσμα γάρ ἐστι ναυτικὸν ἐφ' ἔνδεκα κόπαις. The Scholiast thinks that it was a cheer continued for eleven strokes of the oar, κέλυσμα ναυτικὸν ἐφ' ἔνδεκα κωπηλασίαις ἐκτεινόμενον. Whether this was so, or whether eleven oars were elevated to salute the winning trireme, or in what other manner the salute was given, it is now impossible to say. Several ingenious conjectures have been made for the purpose of connecting the ἔνδεκα κόπαι with something in the theatre itself, as that they represent the κερκίδες in the auditorium, the fingers of the spectators, the rows of the Choreaetae or the like, but even apart from the fact that the number eleven does not suit any of these conjectures, they seem to me to go on a wrong tack. The entire phrase παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἔνδεκα κόπαις is a nautical metaphor, but there is no reason to suppose that, within that metaphor, the word κόπαις is used in a non-natural sense.

547-50. THE PNIGOS OR MACRON. This, in the present play, merely winds up the Parabasis Proper, praying the

Of hearty triumphant Lenaeon applause,  
 That the bard may depart, all radiant and bright  
 To the top of his forehead with joy and delight,  
     Having gained, by your favour, his cause.

Dread Poseidon, the Horseman's King,  
 Thou who lovest the brazen clash,  
 Clash and neighing of warlike steeds;  
 Pleased to watch where the trireme speeds  
 Purple-beaked, to the oar's long swing,

audience to greet the poet with such a tumult of applause as will ensure him the victory. The applause is described as *θόρυβος Ληναίων*, because the occasion is the *Lenaeon* Dionysia. It is impossible that the closing line of the *Ἔνιχος*, *φαιδρὸς λάμπουσι μετώπῳ*, can involve, as some have thought, an allusion to the premature baldness of the poet.

551-64. THE STROPHE. The Strophe and Antistrophe are invocations, the former of Poseidon, the latter of Athene; the two Powers who in old times contended for the possession of Athens, and who now are her chiefest Protectors. Poseidon, *ὁ Ἴππιος*, was the special Patron of the Knights, the *ἱππίς*, but Athene was the special Patron of all Athens. In the invocation of Poseidon we shall find an occasional scintillation of comic humour; but Athene was too holy and exalted even for such harmless trifling as this. Each invocation consists of fourteen choriambic lines, of which the first eight are the ordinary choriambic dimeters, consisting of one choriamb, and one iambic dipody, the fifth and eighth being

catalectic. Then follow two longer lines, each containing two choriamb, preceded by a disyllabic base, and followed by a monosyllabic final. And the four remaining lines are pure glyconics, the last of them being a catalectic, or as it is sometimes called, a Pherecrateian, line. See the Introduction to the *Frogs*, pp. xxxii, xxxiii. The present strophe seems to have been in the mind of Sophocles when he composed the second antistrophe of his Ode "in praise of Colonus," Oed. Col. 707-19.

555. *μισθοφόροι*] To a dramatic poet the word *μισθός* would naturally recall *τοὺς μισθοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν*, the money-payment made to each of the competing poets at the Dionysian festival. See *Frogs* 367 and the note there. And probably a similar payment was made to each of the ten triremes (one from each tribe) which contended in the boat races—instituted it is supposed by Themistocles—in the harbour of Peiræus: see Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen*. p. 148. And if these races were really founded by Themistocles, it was peculiarly apposite that

μειρακίων θ' ἄμιλλα λαμ-  
 πρνομένων ἐν ἄρμασιν  
 καὶ βαρυδαιμονούντων,  
 δεῦρ' ἔλθ' ἐς χορὸν, ὧ χρυσοτρίαιν', ὦ  
 δελφίνων μεδέων, Σουνιάρατε,  
 ὦ Γεραίστιε παῖ Κρόνου,  
 Φορμίωνί τε φίλτατ', ἐκ  
 τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις πρὸς τὸ παρεστός.

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εὐλογῆσαι βουλόμεσθα τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, ὅτι  
 ἄνδρες ἦσαν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἄξιοι καὶ τοῦ πέπλου,

565

his monument should have been erected overlooking the harbour, and the scene of these aquatic contests. Plutarch (Themistocles, ad fin.) cites four lines from the Comedian Plato, addressed to Themistocles himself:

ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος  
 τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,  
 τοὺς ἐκπλέοντάς τ' εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὕψεται,  
 χάπότην ἄμλλ' ἢ τῶν νεῶν, θεάσεται.

It is, in my opinion, with reference to τοὺς μισθοὺς τῶν τριήρων competing in these races that Aristophanes employs the epithet μισθοφόροι, which has puzzled the Scholiast and Commentators.

558. βαρυδαιμονούντων] Either, as the Scholiast thinks, from the great expenses they incurred, or (more probably) from the accidents which would so frequently occur in the races.

561. Γεραίστιε] At Geraestus, the south-west promontory of Euboea, there was, says Strabo (x. 1. 7), ἱερὸν Ποσει-

δῶνος ἐπισημότατον τῶν ταύτη. He cites Odyssey iii. 177, and Eustathius in his Commentary on that line refers to the statement of Strabo. At Sunium, the southern promontory of Attica, the chief Temple belonged to Athene; and Mitchell and others contend that by Σουνιάρατε we are to understand merely that sailors leaving the mainland at Sunium to enter the Aegaeon were accustomed to offer up a prayer to Poseidon as they passed; but it seems more probable that he was worshipped in a Temple of his own at Sunium as well as at Geraestus.

562. Φορμίωνι] Phormio was the one hero of the Peloponnesian War, whom Aristophanes placed on a level with the men of Marathon and Salamis. His splendid dash, his tactical skill, his ungrudging patriotism, and the enthusiasm with which he inspired his troops, combined to make him a man after the poet's own heart. The date of his death is unknown, but it seems probable



Winning glory (and pay); but chief  
 Where bright youths in their chariots flash  
 Racing (coming perchance to grief);  
     Cronus's son,  
 Throned on Geraestus and Sunium bold,  
 Swaying thy dolphins with trident of gold,  
     Come, O come, at the call of us;  
 Dearest to Phormio thou,  
 Yea and dearest to all of us,  
 Dearest to all of us now.

Let us praise our mighty fathers, men who ne'er would quake or quail,  
 Worthy of their native country, worthy of Athene's veil;

that it had recently occurred, and that Aristophanes is here laying a wreath of everlasting upon the hero's grave.

564. πρὸς τὸ παρεστὸς] Πρὸς τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐνεστώτα πράγματα. ἐπεὶ νεωστὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, Φορμίωνος στρατηγούontos, περὶ ναυμαχίαν ἠνδραγάθησαν.—Scholiast. The exploits to which allusion is here made are recorded in the Second Book of Thucydides.

565-80. THE EPIRHHEMA. "Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us." The Chorus praise their noble ancestors, the Knights of old, whose valiant deeds by land and sea raised Athens to her present height

χαίρετ' ἀριστῆες πολέμον, μέγα κῆδος ἔχοντες,  
 κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων ἔξοχοι ἵπποσύνην,  
 οἱ ποτε καλλιχόρου περὶ πατρίδος ἄλυσσθ' ἤβην,  
 πλείστοις Ἑλλάνων ἀντία μαρνάμενοι.

566. τοῦ πέπλου] Worthy of Athens and of her patron Goddess. For by the πέπλος they mean the embroidered robe which at the Great Panathenaea

of renown. *They* sought no reward for their splendid services; *they* never applied for the σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ or the προεδρία in the public shows, which Cleon obtained after the affair at Sphacteria "for doing just nothing at all." And as it was with our fathers, say the Chorus, so it is still with ourselves, the Knights of to-day. We wish merely to fight for our country, receiving no pay or reward except the goodwill of our fellow citizens. There is an epigram in the Anthology (Simonides 45) on the Athenian cavalry which, if really composed by the great Simonides, must refer to these "Knights of old."

was borne, like a sail, on the mast of a ship through the streets of Athens to the Erectheum, the Temple of Athene Polias; infra 1180; Birds 827.

οἵτινες περζαῖς μάχαισιν ἐν τε ναυφράκτῳ στρατῷ  
 πανταχοῦ νικῶντες αἰεὶ τήνδ' ἐκόσμησαν πόλιν·  
 οὐ γὰρ οὐδεὶς πάποτ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἰδὼν  
 ἠρίθμησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ θυμὸς εὐθὺς ἦν ἀμυνίας· 570  
 εἰ δέ που πέσοιεν ἐς τὸν ὄμιον ἐν μάχῃ τινί,  
 τοῦτ' ἀπεψήσαντ' ἄν, εἴτ' ἠρνοῦντο μὴ πεπτωκέναι,  
 ἀλλὰ διεπάλαιον αὐθις. καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐδ' ἄν εἰς  
 τῶν πρὸ τοῦ σίτησιν ἦτησ' ἐρόμενος Κλεαίνετον·  
 νῦν δ' ἐὰν μὴ προεδρίαν φέρωσι καὶ τὰ σιτία, 575  
 οὐ μαχεῖσθαί φασιν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἀξιοῦμεν τῇ πόλει  
 προῖκα γενναίως ἀμύνειν καὶ θεοῖς ἐγχωρίοις.  
 καὶ πρὸς οὐκ αἰτοῦμεν οὐδέν, πλὴν τοσουτονὶ μόνον·  
 ἦν ποτ' εἰρήνη γένηται καὶ πόνων παυσώμεθα,  
 μὴ φθονεῖθ' ἡμῖν κομῶσι μηδ' ἀπεστλεγγισμένοις. 580

ὁ πολιοῦχε Παλλὰς, ὦ  
 τῆς ἱερωτάτης ἀπα-

570. ἀμυνίας] Ἔτοιμος πρὸς τὸ ἀμύναι.  
 ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν πάλῃ ἀγωνιζομένων.—Scho-  
 liast. *Up in arms: eager for the fray.*  
 We must not confine ἀμύνειν to *defensive*  
 operations. The form ἀμυνίας is coined  
 by Aristophanes with a caustic reference  
 to the Ἄμυνίας ἦτις οὐ στρατεύεται of  
 Clouds 692. It has been suggested that  
 the Chorus are still keeping Phormio  
 in mind (Thuc. ii. 88): and if so they  
 would, in the following lines (571-3), be  
 alluding to the manner in which he  
 turned defeat into victory at Nau-  
 pactus, Thuc. ii. 90-2. But as they  
 are speaking of deeds done in their  
 fathers' time, it seems more probable  
 that, if there is a reference to any  
 particular event within our knowledge,

they are thinking of the victory of the  
 Athenians under Myronides sixty-two  
 days after their defeat at Tanagra.

574. σίτησιν] Τὴν ἐν Πρυτανείῳ τράπεζαν.  
 —Scholiast. But neither the Scholiast  
 nor any Commentator seems to have  
 noticed that the Chorus are alluding  
 to the σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ and the  
 προεδρία awarded to Cleon after his re-  
 turn from Pylus. Cleaenetus mentioned  
 at the end of the line was Cleon's  
 father, and considerable difficulty has  
 been felt as to the meaning of the  
 words ἐρόμενος Κλεαίνετον. Neil's inter-  
 pretation, "Our fathers did not apply  
 to Cleaenetus to procure them rewards,  
 as we now do to Cleon," can hardly be  
 right, for there is no reason to suppose

Men who with our fleets and armies everywhere the victory won,  
 And adorned our ancient city by achievements nobly done.  
 Never stayed they then to reckon what the numbers of the foe,  
 At the instant that they saw him, all their thought was *At him go!*  
 If they e'er in desperate struggling on their shoulder chanced to fall,  
 Quick they wiped away the dust-mark, swore they ne'er were thrown at all,  
 Closed again in deadly grapple. None of all our generals brave  
 Then had stooped a public banquet from Cleaenetus to crave.  
 Now unless ye grant them banquets, grant precedence as their right,  
 They will fight no more, they tell you. *Our* ambition is to fight  
 Freely for our Gods and country, as our fathers fought before,  
 No reward or pay receiving; asking this and nothing more,  
 When returning Peace shall set us free from all our warlike toil,  
 Grudge us not our flowing ringlets, grudge us not our baths and oil.

Holy Pallas, our guardian Queen,  
 Ruling over the holiest land,

that Cleaenetus was a man of any influence whatever in the time of their fathers or until his son had acquired the position of leading demagogue. Far better than this is the ordinary explanation, that persons who sought to procure a vote in their favour from the Assembly would have to approach Cleon through the medium of his father. But when we realize that the Chorus are here speaking of the rewards granted to Cleon himself, we may perhaps infer that Cleon, unable to move in the matter in his own person, would get his father to take the necessary steps in his stead.

580. *κομῶσι*] Allusions to the long hair worn by the Knights, as by our own Cavaliers, are common enough.

*νοῦς οὐκ ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ἰμῶν* says Demus to the Knights infra 1121, where the Scholiast observes *ὅτι ἐκόμων οἱ ἰππεῖς*. Cf. Clouds 14, *Lys.* 561. *ἀπεστλεγγισμένοις*, *well groomed*, literally well scraped (after bathing) with a strigil. A description of the *στλεγγίς* will be found in the Commentary on Thesm. 556.

581-94. THE ANTISTROPHE. Here follows the invocation of the holy Goddess Athene, whose worship was to every Athenian the high-water mark of his religion. The Knights beseech her, who has so often given them victory in the battle, to give them the victory now in these dramatic contests. As to the epithet *πολιούχος* see Birds 827 and the note there.

σῶν, πολέμῳ τε καὶ ποιη-  
ταῖς δυνάμει θ' ὑπερφερού-  
σης μεδέουσα χάρας, 585  
δεῦρ' ἀφικοῦ λαβοῦσα τὴν  
ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις  
ἡμετέραν ξυνεργὸν

Νίκην, ἣ χορικῶν ἐστὶν ἑταίρα,  
τοῖς τ' ἐχθροῖσι μεθ' ἡμῶν στασιάζει. 590  
νῦν οὖν δεῦρο φάνηθι· δεῖ  
γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖσδε πά-  
ση τέχνη πορίσαι σε νί-  
κην εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν.

ἂ ξύνισμεν τοῖσιν ἵπποις, βουλόμεσθ' ἐπαινέσαι. 595  
ἄξιοι δ' εἶσ' εὐλογεῖσθαι πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ πράγματα  
ξυνδίηνεγκαν μεθ' ἡμῶν, εἰσβολάς τε καὶ μάχας.  
ἀλλὰ τὰν τῇ γῆ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄγαν θανμάζομεν,  
ὡς δτ' εἰς τὰς ἵππαγωγούς εἰσεπήδων ἀνδρικῶς,  
πριάμενοι κώθωνας, οἱ δὲ καὶ σκόροδα καὶ κρόμμνα· 600

589. *Νίκην*] To bring victory to her favourite heroes was Athene's part in the earliest legends. In Homer, her appearance to Diomed, to Achilles, to Odysseus, was always an assurance of success; and in Hesiod (*Scutum* 339) she is described as "holding Victory in her immortal hands," *Νίκην ἀθανάτης χερσὶν . . . ἔχουσα*. A statuette of Victory was an adornment of the great gold and ivory Athene in the Parthenon, though its exact position is uncertain; Pausanias i. 24; Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 4. So intimate was her connexion with Victory that she was sometimes actually identified with it, *Νίκη τ' Ἀθάνα Πολιάς*,

Soph. Phil. 134; Eur. Ion 457, 1529. See an article by E. E. Sikes in *Classical Review*, ix, p. 280. Aristophanes, however, keeps to the true legend. Athene is not herself Victory, but she is the giver of victory to her chosen ones.

595-610. THE ANTEPIRRHEMA. In the Epirrhema the Knights sang the praises of their fathers and themselves. In the Antepirrhema they sing the praises of their horses, with special reference to an expedition against Corinth made under the command of Nicias in the preceding autumn, apparently as a counterpoise to Cleon's success at Sphacteria. The story is told

Land poetic, renowned, and strong,  
 First in battle and first in song,  
 Land whose equal never was seen,  
 Come to prosper our Choral band!  
 Bring thou with thee the Maiden bright,  
 Her who greets us in every fight,

## VICTORY!

She in the choir-competition abides with us,  
 Always against our antagonists sides with us.  
 Come, great Goddess, appear to us,  
 Now, if ever, we pray,  
 Bring thou victory dear to us,  
 Crown thine Horsemen to-day.

What we witnessed with our horses we desire to eulogize.  
 Worthy they of praise and honour! many a deed of high emprise,  
 Many a raid and battle-onset they with us have jointly shared.  
 Yet their feats ashore surprise not, with their feats afloat compared,  
 When they bought them cans and garlic, bought them strings of onions too,  
 Leapt at once aboard the transports, all with manful hearts and true,

in the Fourth Book of Thucydides (chaps. 42-5): and the historian mentions that the expedition was accompanied by 200 *ἵππεις* in horse-transports, and that these *ἵππεις* mainly contributed to the victory of the Athenians in the obstinate combat which ensued immediately on their disembarkation upon Corinthian territory.

600. *κώθωνας* . . . *σκόροδα* . . . *κρόμνα*] These are the articles which soldiers and sailors, suddenly summoned to undertake an expedition, would busy themselves to procure. The *κώθων* was a campaigner's drinking-cup, said to

have originated with the Lacedaemonians. It was very handy in an expedition, and easily carried in a knapsack, *ἐπιτηδεύσαστον εἰς στρατείαν, καὶ εὐφοράσαστον ἐν γυλίφ*; Athenaeus xi. 66. And it had a little ridge on its inner surface which, when the soldiers were compelled to drink muddy water, arrested the sediment and allowed only the clearer water to pass over to the drinker's lips. See the Commentary on Peace 1090. As to the *σκόροδα* and *κρόμνα* which they carried in their knapsacks see Ach. 550, 1099, Peace 529, 1129, Frogs 654. And as to the

εἶτα τὰς κόπας λαβόντες ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ βροτοὶ  
 ἐμβαλόντες ἀνεβρύξαζαν, ἵππαπαῖ, τίς ἐμβαλεῖ;  
 ληπτέον μᾶλλον. τί δρῶμεν; οὐκ ἔλας, ὦ σαμφόρα;  
 ἐξεπήδων τ' ἐς Κόρινθον· εἶτα δ' οἱ νεάτατοι  
 ταῖς ὀπλαῖς ὄρυττον εὐνάς καὶ μετῆσαν στρώματα· 605  
 ἦσθιον δὲ τοὺς παγούρους ἀντὶ ποίας Μηδικῆς,  
 εἴ τις ἐξέρποι θύραζε, κάκ βυθοῦ θηρώμενοι·  
 ὥστ' ἔφη Θέωρος εἰπεῖν καρκίνον Κορίνθιον·  
 δεινά γ', ὦ Πόσειδον, εἰ μήτ' ἐν βυθῷ δυνήσομαι,  
 μήτε γῆ μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἵππείας. 610

ΧΟ. ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεανικώτατε,  
 ὄσσην ἀπὼν παρέσχεσ ἡμῖν φροντίδα·  
 καὶ νῦν ἐπειδὴ σῶς ἐλήλυθας πάλιν,  
 ἄγγειλον ἡμῖν πῶς τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἠγωνίσω.

ascription of manliness (*ἀνδρικῶς*) to dumb animals see Wasps 1090 and the note there.

602. *ἵππαπαῖ*] "Ἐπαῖξε παρὰ τὸ ῥυππαπαῖ, εἰρηκῶς ὡς ἐπὶ ἵππων. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ῥυππαπαῖ ἐπιφώνημα ναυτικόν.—Scholiast. See Wasps 909, Frogs 1073.

603. *οὐκ ἔλας, ὦ σαμφόρα*;) These words are repeated in Clouds 1298, but there *ἐλαῖνω* is used in reference to a horse's ordinary movement; here to the act of rowing. *Σαμφόρας* is a horse branded with a *σίγμα* (οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὸ σίγμα σὰν λέγουσιν, Scholiast); just as *κοππατίας* (Clouds 23) is a horse branded with a *κόππα*; the brand in each case signifying the horse's breed.

606. *ποίας Μηδικῆς*] This is the well-known *Medicago sativa*, which in England was formerly called *Snail-clover*, but is now more commonly known by the name of *Lucerne*. This plant, which

has always been esteemed a most valuable fodder for horses and cattle (see Stebler and Schröter's *Best Forage Plants*, McAlpine's translation, p. 147) derived its name *Μηδική* from the fact, or the belief, that it was first introduced into Europe by the Medes (or Persians) during their great invasion of Hellas; Pliny, N. H. xviii. 43. It was common in Italy during the Roman Empire; Virgil gives directions as to the season for sowing it, and it is discussed very fully by Pliny, *ubi supra*, and many other writers. It seems however to have subsequently disappeared from Italy, and to have been reintroduced there in the sixteenth century, whilst for two centuries later it was scarcely cultivated in England. See Miller and Martyn's Dict. s. v. *Medicago*.

608. *Θέωρος*] Who this Theorus was,

Took their seats upon the benches, dipped their oar-blades in the sea,  
 Pulled like any human beings, neighing out their *Hippapae!*  
*Pull my hearties, pull your strongest, don't be shirking, Sigma-brand!*  
 Then they leapt ashore at Corinth, and the youngest of the band  
 Hollowed with their hoofs their couches or for bedding searched about.  
 And they fed on crabs, for clover, if they met one crawling out,  
 Or detected any lurking in the Ocean's deepest bed,  
 Till at length a crab of Corinth, so Theorus tells us, said:  
*Hard it is, my Lord Poseidon, if the Knights we cannot flee*  
*Even in the depths of Ocean, anywhere by land or sea.*

CHOR. Dearest of men, my lustiest, trustiest friend,  
 Good lack! how anxious has your absence made us!  
 But now that safe and sound you are come again,  
 Say what has happened, and how went the fight.

and why he is selected to make the remark, is unknown. He *may* be the *κόλαξ* more than once satirized in the Wasps, or again he may be, as Blaydes thinks, one of the Knights themselves. There seems to be no ground for Reiske's ingenious suggestion that *καρκίνος* was an Athenian nickname for a Corinthian. The epithet *Κορινθίος*, is added here to distinguish the Corinthian crustacean from the well-known Tragic poet, the "poetic Crabbe" of Athens. In the lines which follow there is doubtless a reference, as has often been pointed out, to the Scolium of Timocreon, to which the poet has already referred in Acharnians 532-4. The Scholiast thinks it necessary to mention that Poseidon was specially worshipped at Corinth; but it is not on that account that he is invoked here.

The crabs, complaining that the horses follow them into the sea, would naturally raise their protest to Poseidon, as the Lord of both sea and horses.

611. ὁ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν] The Parabasis is over, and the Sausage-seller, who at its commencement had just gone off to try conclusions with Paphlagon before the βουλή, now returns to the stage, and is cordially welcomed by the Chorus from the orchestra. Apparently they never expected to see him alive again. But the first bolt threatened by Paphlagon supra 395 has missed fire, and the Sausage-seller is returning in triumph. The second bolt is still to come. Before the Parabasis the controversy was merely between the rivals *inter se*. Now the appeal is first to the Council, and secondly to the People in the Public Assembly.

- ΑΛ. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' εἰ μὴ Νικόβουλος ἐγενόμην ; 615  
 ΧΟ. νῦν ἄρ' ἄξιόν γε πᾶσιν ἔστιν ἐπολολύξαι. [στρ.  
 ὦ καλὰ λέγων, πολὺ δ' ἀ-  
 μείνου' ἔτι τῶν λόγων  
 ἐργασάμεν', εἴθ' ἐπέλ-  
 θοις ἅπαντά μοι σαφῶς·  
 ὡς ἐγὼ μοι δοκῶ 620  
 κἂν μακρὰν ὁδὸν διελθεῖν  
 ὥστ' ἀκοῦσαι. πρὸς τὰδ', ὦ βέλ-  
 τιστε, θαρρήσας λέγ', ὡς ἅ-  
 παντες ἠδόμεσθά σοι.
- ΑΛ. καὶ μὴν ἀκοῦσαί γ' ἄξιον τῶν πραγμάτων.  
 εὐθὺς γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατόπιν ἐνθένδ' ἰέμην· 625  
 ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔνδον ἐλασίβροντ' ἀναρρηγνύς ἔπη  
 τερατευόμενος ἤριεδε κατὰ τῶν ἰππέων,  
 κρημνοὺς ἐρείδων καὶ ξυνωμότας λέγων  
 πιθανώταθ'· ἢ βουλή δ' ἅπασ' ἀκροωμένη  
 ἐγένεθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ψευδατραφάξυος πλέα, 630

615. Νικόβουλος] Νικόβουλος and Νικόδημος are real Athenian names; and it may be, as Bergk suggests, that there is an allusion here to a Nicobulus whose epitaph is still in existence, Νικόβουλος Μυνηίου Εἰτειαῖος· Σῆς ἀρετῆς ἕστηκεν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πλείστα τροπαῖα. But it seems more probable that the name is used here merely as a comic method of announcing the result of the contest before the Council.

616-23. νῦν ἄρ' ἄξιόν κ.τ.λ.] This little ode at the commencement of the Sausage-seller's narrative, the antistrophe to which will be found at the conclusion of that narrative, begins with a trochaic tetrameter brachy-

catalectic (i.e. with a trochee short). The remaining nine lines are all dimeters; the first, second, third, and fifth being cretico-paeonics, and the fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth trochaics. It seems to me however extremely probable that all the first five lines should be cretico-paeonic, and that, as Bentley suggests, the fourth line in the strophe should be read -θοις ἅπαν μοι σαφῶς, and in the antistrophe καὶ δόλοισ ποικίλοισ. But I have made no alteration, since Aristophanes often mingles these two metres, as for example in the three odes in the Peace, 346, 385, and 582.

624. καὶ μὴν] The Sausage-seller now



S.S. How else but thus? The Council-victor I.

CHOR. Now may we, joyous, raise the song of sacred praise.

Fair the words you speak, but fairer

Are the deeds you do.

Far I'd go, This I know,

But to hear them through.

Now then tell us all the story,

All that, where you went, befell;

Fearless be, Sure that we

All delight in all you tell.

S.S. Aye and 'tis worth the hearing. When behind him

I reached the Council-chamber, there was he

Crashing and dashing, hurling at the Knights

Strange wonder-working thunder-driving words,

Calling them all, with all-persuading force,

CONSPIRATORS! And all the Council, hearing,

Grew full of lying orach at his talk,

gives, in detail, an account of the proceedings before the *βουλή*. And although the main topic is the discomfiture of Paphlagon, the narrative is hardly less satirical upon the *βουλή* itself.

627. *ἰππέων*] Observe that Paphlagon does not attack his own personal rival, the Sausage-seller. He launches out against the Knights, the real antagonists of Cleon, and we shall not, I think, be far wrong in believing that Aristophanes is here describing some actual outburst of Cleon against the Knights, possibly on the occasion, mentioned in the opening lines of the *Acharnians*, of their forcing him to disgorge the five talents which he had received as a

bribe. It would be quite in his way to denounce his accusers as *συνωμότας*, "that word of fear." See the note on 234 supra. And the poet is probably also thinking of Cleon's attack upon himself in the *βουλή*, *Ach.* 379-82. Aristophanes describes him as speaking *πιθανώτατα*, and Thucydides twice declares that he was *τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος*, iii. 36, iv. 21.

630. *ψευδατραφέυος*] The *ἀτράφαξ* (*ἀδράφαξ* Theophrastus, *ἀτράφαξ* Dioscorides) was a species of *orach*, akin to, but apparently not identical with, our tall shrubby *orach* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Its seed springs up in a week, *ἀδράφαξ* *ὄγδοαία* (*διαφέρειαι*) Theophrastus vii. 1. 3; and "the shoots will

κᾶβλεψε νᾶπυ, καὶ τὰ μέτωπ' ἀνέσπασεν.  
 κἀγὼ γ' ὅτε δὴ ἔγνω ἐνδεχομένην τοὺς λόγους  
 καὶ τοῖς φενακισμοῖσιν ἐξαπατωμένην,  
 ἄγε δὴ Σκίταλοι καὶ Φένακες, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ,  
 Βερέσχεθοί τε καὶ Κόβαλοι καὶ Μόθων, 635  
 ἀγορά τ', ἐν ἧ παῖς ὧν ἐπαιδεύθην ἐγὼ,  
 νῦν μοι θράσος καὶ γλῶτταν εὔπορον δότε  
 φωνήν τ' ἀναιδῆ. ταῦτα φροντίζοντί μοι  
 ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἀπέπαρδε καταπύγων ἀνὴρ.  
 κἀγὼ προσέκυσα· κᾶτα τῷ πρωκτῷ θενῶν 640  
 τὴν κιγκλίδ' ἐξήραξα, κἀναχανὼν μέγα  
 ἀνέκραγον· ὦ βουλή, λόγους ἀγαθοὺς φέρων  
 εὐαγγελίσασθαι πρῶτον ὑμῖν βούλομαι·

in one month be two feet long" (Miller and Martyn). It has therefore been found impossible to keep an orach hedge in good order, for "if allowed to grow wild it will spread several feet in compass." It therefore became, and is here used as, an emblem of rapid growth. The prefix ψευδ- means not that it was a spurious orach, but that it was a rapid growth of lies. The Scholiast rightly explains the word by πλήρης ψευσμάτων. ἀτράφαξις δὲ εἶδος λαχάνου,

δ ταχέως εἰς μέγεθος αὔξεται.

631. τὰ μέτωπ' ἀνέσπασεν] We more commonly find in this connexion τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνέσπασεν. The phrase does not mean, as the Scholiast supposes, συνέσπειλε τὰς ὀφρῦς, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ δείγμα ὀργῆς: it involves no idea of anger; it means to *purse* or *pucker up* the brow, as if the mind were busy on some serious matter. So when Iago is throwing out his mysterious hints about Desdemona, Othello says:

Thou didst contract and purse thy brow together,  
 As if thou then hadst shut up in thy brain  
 Some horrible conceit (iii. 3).

The phrase τὰς ὀφρῦς &c. ἀνασπᾶν is rightly explained by the Oxford Lexicographers as meaning "to put on a grave and important look," and they illustrate it by many examples, of which perhaps the most convincing is the curious passage in Xen. Symp. iii. 10,

where each guest in turn is asked on what he most plumes himself, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς; Presently the question is put to Socrates himself. And he, μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνασπᾶσας τὸ πρόσωπον, replies *On the business of a pimp*. And when the company begin to laugh, he

Wore mustard looks, and puckered up their brows.  
 So when I saw them taking in his words,  
 Gulled by his knavish tricks, *Ye Gods*, said I,  
*Ye Gods of knavery, Skitals, and Phenaces,*  
*And ye Beresceths, Cobals, Mothon, and*  
*Thou Agora, whence my youthful training came,*  
*Now give me boldness and a ready tongue*  
*And shameless voice!* And as I pondered thus,  
 I heard a loud explosion on my right,  
 And made my reverence; then I dashed apart  
 The railing-wicket, opened wide my mouth,  
 And cried aloud, *O Council, I have got*  
*Some lovely news which first I bring to you.*

says "O you may laugh, but I am sure that I could make a lot of money in that business." There can be no note of anger in the phrase there, any more than there can be in Acharnians 1069.

634. Σκίταλοι] About to address this august assembly for the first time, the Sausage-seller summons to his aid all the Powers of Impudence and Trickery. He invokes them under fancy names, some apparently improvised by himself at the moment. The Σκίταλοι and Βερέσχοι are quite unknown, but the former appear to be Powers of Frivolity from Σκίτων explained by Photius to be equivalent to ἀσθενής, οὐδενὸς ἄξιος, whilst the latter are, according to the Scholiast, οἱ ἀνόητοι, Powers of Folly. Φένακες of course are Powers of cheating; Κόβαλοι, imps of trickery; and Μόθων, the spirit of drunken wantonness. See the Commentary on Plutus 279.

638. φωνήν τ' ἀναιδῆ] This is the μαρὰ φωνή, the loud brutal voice which, we heard long ago (supra 218), was one of the chief requisites for a demagogue.

640. προσέκυσσ] *I made my reverence.* προσεκύνησα, ὥσπερ σημείου τινὸς δοθέντος.—Scholiast.

641. τὴν κικκλίδ'] The Council in the Council-chamber, like the dicasts in the dicasteries, were fenced off from the public by a low railing, δρύφακτοι, something in the style of the altar-rails in one of our churches. And just as in our altar-rails a part swings open to admit of the entrance of the Priests, so also in the δρύφακτοι did a part swing open to admit of the entrance of the Councillors or the dicasts, as the case might be. This entrance-gate was the κικκλῖς, which the Sausage-seller burst open in the unmannerly way he is here depicting. See the notes on Wasps 124, 386.

ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος κατερράγη,  
 οὐπόποτ' ἀφύας εἶδον ἀξιοτέρας. 645  
 οἱ δ' εὐθέως τὰ πρόσωπα διεγαλήνισαν·  
 εἶτ' ἔστεφάνουν μ' εὐαγγέλια· κἀγὼ φρασα  
 αὐτοῖς ἀπόρρητον ποιησάμενος, ταχὺ,  
 ἵνα τὰς ἀφύας ὠνοῖντο πολλὰς τοῦβολοῦ,  
 τῶν δημιουργῶν συλλαβεῖν τὰ τρύβλια. 650  
 οἱ δ' ἀνεκρότησαν καὶ πρὸς ἔμ' ἐκεχήμεσαν.  
 ὁ δ' ὑπονοήσας, ὁ Παφλαγῶν, εἰδὼς θ' ἅμα  
 οἷς ἦδεθ' ἡ βουλή μάλιστα ῥήμασιν,  
 γνώμην ἔλεξεν· ἄνδρες, ἦδη μοι δοκεῖ  
 ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖσιν εἰσηγγελμένας 655  
 εὐαγγέλια θύειν ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῇ θεῷ.  
 ἐπένευσεν εἰς ἐκείνον ἡ βουλή πάλιν.  
 κἀγὼγ' ὅτε δὴ γνων τοῖς βολίτοις ἠττημένος,  
 διηκοῖησι βουσὶν ὑπερηκόντισα·  
 τῇ δ' Ἀγροτέρα κατὰ χιλιῶν παρήνεσα 660  
 εὐχὴν ποιήσασθαι χιμάρων εἰσαύριον,  
 αἰ τριχίδες εἰ γενοίαθ' ἑκατὸν τοῦβολοῦ.

646. τὰ πρόσωπα διεγαλήμισαν] *Smoothed*  
*down their countenances*, changing them,  
 as it were, from storm to calm. "Vul-  
 tum tranquillavi," Plautus, Capt. i.  
 2. 21.

648. ἀπόρρητον ποιησάμενος] *Making it*  
*a secret*, that is, stipulating that they  
 should not divulge it to any one. The  
 phrase is not an uncommon one. Mitchell  
 refers to Hdt. ix. 45, 94; Xen. Anab. vii. 6. 48, where exactly the  
 same words are employed in exactly  
 the same signification.

650. δημιουργῶν] *Of the manufacturers;*  
*τῶν σκευοποιῶν, τῶν κεραμῶν.*—Scholiast.  
 They are to lay hands on, and collect,

all the platters that are in the stores of  
 the artificers; for the purpose of re-  
 ceiving and taking home τὰς ἀφύας.  
 Cf. Birds 77.

656. τῇ θεῷ] That is, to Athene.  
 There was no need to mention her  
 name. To every Athenian she was  
 emphatically "the Goddess."

660. τῇ Ἀγροτέρα] *To the huntress*  
*Artemis.* Cf. Thesm. 415, Lys. 1262,  
 Pausanias i. 19. 7. The Temple of  
 Artemis Ἀγροτέρα stood on the bank  
 of the Ilissus at a spot called Agrae,  
 where Artemis was believed, on her  
 first arrival in Attica after leaving the  
 island of Delos, to have inaugurated

*For never, never, since the War broke out,  
 Have I seen pilchards cheaper than to-day.*  
 They calmed their brows and grew serene at once,  
 And crowned me for my news; and I suggested,  
 Bidding them keep it secret, that forthwith,  
 To buy these pilchards, many for a penny,  
 'Twere best to seize the cups in all the shops.  
 They clapped their hands, and turned agape to me.  
 But Paphlagon perceived, and well aware  
 What kind of measures please the Council best,  
 Proposed a resolution; *Sirs*, quoth he,  
*I move that for these happy tidings brought,  
 One hundred beeves be offered to Athene.*  
 The Council instantly inclined to him.  
 So, overpowered with cow-dung, in a trice  
 I overshot him with *two hundred beeves.*  
 And *vow*, said I, *to slay to-morrow morn,*  
*If pilchards sell one hundred for an obol,*  
*A thousand she-goats to our huntress Queen.*

her favourite sport of hunting. There every year, on the 6th of Thargelion, five hundred *χίμαιραι* were sacrificed τῇ Ἀγγορίῳ in perpetual remembrance of the battle of Marathon. The reason of that sacrifice is told, as Kuster observed, by Xenophon, *Anabasis* iii. 2. 12; and with variations by Aelian, *V. H.* ii. 25, and the Scholiast here. On that memorable evening, just before the armies closed, the Athenians, by the mouth of either Miltiades or the polemarch Callimachus, vowed a vow τῇ Ἀγγορίῳ, that if she granted them the victory they would offer upon her altar a *χίμαιρα* for every Persian slain.

They had not however reckoned on the completeness of their victory. No less than 6,400 of the Persians were slain, and it was found impossible to provide so many *χίμαιραι*. And the vow was therefore commuted into a yearly sacrifice of five hundred. It is to this sacrifice that the Sausage-seller is here referring; and he proposes to sacrifice, though for this year only, as a thank-offering for the cheap supply of pilchards, double the number of she-goats which year by year were offered at the shrine of Artemis as a thank-offering for their great national victory.

- ἐκαραδόκησεν εἰς ἔμ' ἢ βουλή πάλιν.  
 ὁ δὲ ταυτ' ἀκούσας ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐφληνάφα.  
 κᾶθ' ἔλλκον αὐτὸν οἱ πρυτάνεις χοῖ τοξόται. 665  
 οἱ δ' ἐθορύβουν περὶ τῶν ἀφύων ἐστηκότες·  
 ὁ δ' ἠντιβόλει γ' αὐτοὺς ὀλίγον μείναι χρόνον,  
 ἴν' ἄτθ' ὁ κῆρυξ οὐκ Λακεδαίμονος λέγει  
 πύθησθ'· ἀφίκται γὰρ περὶ σπονδῶν, λέγων.  
 οἱ δ' ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἅπαντες ἀνέκραγον· 670  
 νυνὶ περὶ σπονδῶν; ἐπειδὴ γ', ὦ μέλε,  
 ἦσθοντο τὰς ἀφύας παρ' ἡμῖν ἀξίας;  
 οὐ δεόμεθα σπονδῶν· ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω.  
 ἐκεκράγεσάν τε τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἀφιέναι·  
 εἴθ' ὑπερεπήδων τοὺς δρυφάκτους πανταχῆ· 675  
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ κορίανν' ἐπριάμην ὑποδραμῶν  
 ἅπαντα τά τε γήτει ὄσ' ἦν ἐν τάγορᾷ·  
 ἔπειτα ταῖς ἀφύαις ἐδίδουν ἠδύσματα  
 ἀποροῦσιν αὐτοῖς προῖκα, κάχαριζόμεν.  
 οἱ δ' ὑπερεπήνον ὑπερεπύπασζόν τέ με 680  
 ἅπαντες οὕτως ὥστε τὴν βουλήν ὅλην  
 ὀβολοῦ κοριάννοις ἀναλαβῶν ἐλήλυθα.
- XO. πάντα τοι πέπραγας οἶα χρὴ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα. [αντ.]

664. ἐφληνάφα] *Began to babble; talked incoherently*, Clouds 1475. In the next line *ἔλλκον αὐτὸν*, *were for haling him off*; Wasps 793 and the note there. The Prytanes would give the order, and the Scythian archers would execute it. See Achaemians 54.

673. ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω] This phrase, expressive of a reckless indifference to the matter, is employed again in Lysistrata 129, 130. It was doubtless, for some reason or other, very familiar to the audience, and possibly this little

speech is a caricature of the answer given by Cleon to Archeptolemus and his peace-proposals (*infra* 794), the cheap pilchards taking the place here of the Spartans blockaded in Sphacteria.

675. τοὺς δρυφάκτους] The *κιγκλῖς* was open (*supra* 641), but they are so eager to get to the fish that they will not stop to press through it, which with their numbers would be a tedious process, but jump over the railing itself in every direction.

Back came their heads, expectantly, to me.  
 He, dazed at this, went babbling idly on ;  
 So then the Prytanes and the Archers seized him.  
 And *they* stood up, and raved about the pilchards ;  
 And *he* kept begging them to wait awhile  
 And hear the tale the Spartan Envoy brings ;  
*He has just arrived about a peace*, shrieked he.  
 But all the Council with one voice exclaimed,  
*What ! now about a peace ? No doubt, my man,*  
*Now they've heard pilchards are so cheap at Athens !*  
*We want no truces ; let the War go on !*  
 With that, *Dismiss us, Prytanes !* shouted they ;  
 And overleaped the railings everywhere.  
 And I slipped out, and purchased all the leeks  
 And all the coriander in the market ;  
 And as they stood perplexed, I gave them all  
 Of my free bounty garnish for their fish.  
 And they so praised and purred about me, that  
 With just one obol's worth of coriander  
 I've all the Council won, and here I am.

CHOR. What rising men should do      Has all been done by you.

676. *κορίαννα*] Not coriander *seeds*, but coriander *leaves*, which the ancients used as garnish for their fish, much as we nowadays use fennel with our mackerel. The plant is the *Coriandrum sativum*, the "Common or Great Coriander" (Miller and Martyn), which is a native of the south of Europe, and is found wild in some parts of England. Though little used at present, it was formerly in much request as a culinary herb for salads and other purposes.

678. *ταῖς ἀφύαις ἡδύσματα*] So Wasps 496 *ἦν δὲ γήτειον προσάιτη ταῖς ἀφύαις*

*ἡδύσμα τι.*

680. *ὑπερεπίππαζον*] *Kept crying επίππαξ over me. επίππαξ ἐπεφώνουν, ὃ ἡμεῖς ποππύζειν λέγομεν.*—Scholiast. The ejaculation *πίππαξ* is variously explained by the grammarians, and doubtless its meaning varies according to circumstances. Phrynichus (Bekkeri 69. 7) calls it an *ἐπίρρημα θαυμασμοῦ*; Photius s. v. an *ἐπίφθεγμα σχετλιασμοῦ*; but this Hesychius appears to deny. Here it seems to denote admiration, as in Plato, Euthydemus chap. 28 (303 A). For *ποππύζειν* cf. Wasps 626.

- εὔρε δ' ὁ πανούργος ἔτε-  
 ρον πολὺ πανουργίαις  
 μείζοσι κεκασμένον, 685  
 καὶ δόλοισι ποικίλοις,  
 ῥήμασιν θ' αἰμύλοις.  
 ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀγωνιεῖ φρόν-  
 τιζε τὰπίλοιπ' ἄριστα·  
 συμμαχούς δ' ἡμᾶς ἔχων εὐ-  
 νους ἐπίστασαι πάλαι. 690
- ΑΛ. καὶ μὴν ὁ Παφλαγῶν οὕτοσὶ προσέρχεται,  
 ὠθῶν κολόκυμα καὶ ταραττων καὶ κυκῶν,  
 ὡς δὴ καταπιόμενός με. μορμῶ τοῦ θράσους.
- ΠΑ. εἰ μὴ σ' ἀπολέσαιμ', εἴ τι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ  
 ψευδῶν ἐνεΐη, διαπέσοιμι πανταχῆ. 695
- ΑΛ. ἦσθην ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψολοκομπίαις,  
 ἀπεπυδάρισα μύθωνα, περιεκόκκυσα.
- ΠΑ. οὐ τοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ', ἐὰν μὴ σ' ἐκφάγω  
 ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς, οὐδέποτε βιώσομαι.
- ΑΛ. ἦν μὴ 'κφάγῃς; ἐγὼ δέ γ', ἦν μὴ σ' ἐκπίω, 700  
 κατ' ἐκροφήσας αὐτὸς ἐπιδιαρραγῶ.
- ΠΑ. ἀπολῶ σε νῆ τὴν προεδρίαν τὴν ἐκ Πύλου.

685. κεκασμένον] *Adorned*. κεκοσμη-  
 μένον.—Scholiast. Kock refers to *Iliad*  
 iv. 339, where Agamemnon addresses  
 Odysseus with the words καὶ σὺ, κακοῖσι  
 δόλοισι κεκασμένε, κερδαλέφρον.

691. Παφλαγῶν] Paphlagon returns,  
 after his failure before the Council,  
 raging with spitefulness and wrath,  
 though still confident in his influence  
 over Demus. The Sausage-seller, for  
 his part, is more insolent and cock-  
 a-hoop than ever. The contest before  
 the βουλὴ is described in a single  
 speech; the contest before the Demus

will occupy, practically, the remainder  
 of the play.

692. κολόκυμα] Κόλον κῦμα. The  
 ground-swell before or after a storm  
 when the sea, "too full for sound and  
 foam," heaves to and fro without  
 breaking in waves. This is the real  
 meaning of the various interpretations  
 given to the word by the old gram-  
 marians. κολόκυμα' τὸ κωφὸν κῦμα, καὶ  
 μὴ ἐπικαχλάζον.—Suidas, τὸ τυφλὸν  
 κῦμα, οἱ δὲ τὸ μικρὸν κῦμα.—Hesychius.  
 τὸ κολοβὸν κῦμα, ὅπερ τυφλὸν διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 καχλάζειν λέγουσιν. ὅπερ τινὲς κωφὸν



He, the rascal, now has met a  
 Bigger rascal still,  
 Full of guile Plot and wile  
 Full of knavish skill.  
 Mind you carry through the conflict  
 In the same undaunted guise.  
 Well you know Long ago  
 We're your faithful true allies.

S.S. See here comes Paphlagon, driving on before him  
 A long ground-swell, all fuss and fury, thinking  
 To drink me up. Boh! for your impudent bluster.

PAPH. O if I've any of my old lies left,  
 And don't destroy you, may I fall to bits!

S.S. I like your threats; I'm wonderfully tickled  
 To hear you fume; I skip and cuckoo around you.

PAPH. O by Demeter, if I eat you not  
 Out of the land, I'll never live at all.

S.S. You won't? Nor I, unless I drink you up,  
 And swill you up, and burst myself withal.

PAPH. I'll crush you, by my Pylus-won precedence.

καλοῦσι, τὸ μὴ ἐπηχοῦν μηδὲ καχλάζον.—  
 Scholiasts here. See Homer's Iliad xiv.  
 16-19. The two words *παράττω* and  
*κυκῶ* are often conjoined, and are ap-  
 plied to Cleon's methods Peace 320,  
 654, and recommended to his assail-  
 ants, supra 251. cf. Ach. 688.

693. *καταπίεμενος*] Having regard to  
 the repetition of this language a few  
 lines below, we may suspect that the  
 poet is intending to caricature some  
 graphic phrase of Cleon's oratory. As  
 to *μορμῶ* see the note on Ach. 582.

696. *ψολοκομπίας*] "*Vapoury dom-  
 bastic boasts*," Mitchell. The Sausage-

seller capers round Paphlagon in vulgar  
 triumph, snapping his fingers, as  
 Mitchell says, and crying "cuckoo."  
*πυδαρίζειν* is explained by the Scholiast  
 and grammarians as equivalent to  
*ἄλλεσθαι*. *μόθων* is a drunken sailor's  
 hornpipe. *φορτικὸν ὄρχημα καὶ ναυτικόν*.  
 —Pollux iv. 101. *ὄρχημα φορτικὸν καὶ  
 κορδακῶδες*.—Photius. *φορτικὸν ὄρχή-  
 σεις εἶδος*.—Scholiast.

702. *προεδρίαν*] Cleon was, in all prob-  
 ability, sitting at this very moment in  
 the front row of the audience. And  
 the Sausage-seller, in his retort, would  
 point first to the demagogue enjoying

- ΑΛ. ἰδοὺ προεδρίαν· οἶον ὄψομαί σ' ἐγὼ  
ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας ἔσχατον θεώμενον.
- ΠΑ. ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ δήσω σε νῆ τὸν οὐρανόν. 705
- ΑΛ. ὡς ὀξύθυμος. φέρε τί σοι δῶ καταφαγεῖν ;  
ἐπὶ τῷ φάγοις ἠδιστ' ἄν ; ἐπὶ βαλλαντίῳ ;
- ΠΑ. ἐξαρπάσομαί σου τοῖς ὄνυξι τάντερα.
- ΑΛ. ἀπουχιῶ σου τὰν Πρυτανείῳ σιτία.
- ΠΑ. ἔλξω σε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα δῶς μοι δίκην. 710
- ΑΛ. κἀγὼ δέ σ' ἔλξω καὶ διαβαλῶ πλείονα.
- ΠΑ. ἀλλ', ὦ πόνηρε, σοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν πείθεται·  
ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνου καταγελῶ γ' ὅσον θέλω.
- ΑΛ. ὡς σφόδρα σὺ τὸν δῆμον σεαυτοῦ νενόμικας.
- ΠΑ. ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οἷς ψωμίζεται. 715
- ΑΛ. κἄθ' ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι γε σιτίξεις κακῶς.  
μασώμενος γὰρ τῷ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐντίθεις,  
αὐτὸς δ' ἐκείνου τριπλάσιον κατέσπακας.
- ΠΑ. καὶ νῆ Δί' ὑπὸ γε δεξιότητος τῆς ἐμήs  
δύναμαι ποιεῖν τὸν δῆμον εὐρὺν καὶ στενόν. 720
- ΑΛ. χῶ προκτὸς οὐμὸς τουτογι σοφίζεται.
- ΠΑ. οὐκ, ὦγάθ', ἐν βουλή μὲ δόξεις καθυβρίσαι.

his προεδρία there, and then to the seats at the very back of the auditorium.

707. ἐπὶ τῷ κ.τ.λ.] *On what would you most like to dine? On a money-bag?* Although ἐπὶ, used in this manner, sometimes refers to the garnish or adjunct to the principal food (Ach. 835), yet it also frequently, as here, introduces the principal food itself. The money-bag is itself the meal: cf. Hesiod's δωροφάγοι βασιλῆες (W. and D. 264). And the compounds ἐπιδειπνεῖν infra 1140, Eccl. 1178, and ἐπεσθίειν Plutus 1005, involve no idea of an adjunct to the meals. In this little speech the

Sausage-seller appears to be purposely irritating Paphlagon by addressing him as if he were a savage dog, "the watchdog of the State" as he was accustomed to style himself. If that were his intention, it seems to have been entirely successful.

708. ἐξαρπάσομαι] It seems hardly possible that there should be here any allusion, as the Scholiast suggests, to the comparison of Paphlagon (supra 205) to an eagle, ὅτι ἀγκύλαις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀρπάξων φέρει. Nor do I think he is right, though the Commentators generally adopt the same view, in giving to

- S.S. Precedence, is it? I'm in hopes to see you  
In the last tier, instead of here in front.
- PAPH. By Heaven, I'll clap you in the public stocks.
- S.S. How fierce it's growing! what would it like to eat?  
What is its favourite dainty? Money-bags?
- PAPH. I'll tear your guts out with my nails, I will.
- S.S. I'll scratch your Town Hall dinners out, I will.
- PAPH. I'll hale you off to Demus; then you'll catch it.
- S.S. Nay, I'll hale *you*, and then out-slander you.
- PAPH. Alack, poor chap, he pays no heed to you,  
But I can fool him to my heart's content.
- S.S. How sure you seem that Demus is your own!
- PAPH. Because I know the tit-bits he prefers.
- S.S. And feed him badly as the nurses do.  
You chew, and pop a morsel in his mouth,  
But thrice as much you swallow down yourself.
- PAPH. And I'm so dexterous-handed, I can make  
Demus expand, and then contract again.
- S.S. I can do that with many things, I trow.
- PAPH. 'Twont be like bearding me in the Council now!

*ἀπονοχίζω* in the following line its ordinary sense of *paring, cutting short*. It is more probably intended, as Mitchell and others take it, as a play on Paphlagon's language *τοῖς ὄνυξι*, meaning *I will scratch out with my nails*. The word *σιτία* here, as supra 575, represents the *σίτησις ἐν Πρωτανείῳ*.

712. *πείθεται*] *He pays no heed to you; you have no influence with him*. He uses the present tense, both in this line and the next, because he is not *directly* referring to what is going to happen on their special appeal to Demus; he is stating generally what he considers the

actual position of the Sausage-seller and himself.

714. *δῆμον στενωτοῦ*] Of all the taunts in the play, one would suppose this line to have been the most unpalatable to Cleon, as he sat in the front row, with the audience who were in fact, though not in form, the Demus, laughing tumultuously behind him.

720. *εὐρὴν καὶ στενὸν*] Meaning that he could mould the Demus into any form he pleased; it was like wax in his hands.

722. *ἐν βουλήῳ με δόξεις*] Our contest before the Demus, he means, will be

- ἴωμεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. ΑΛ. οὐδὲν καλύει·  
 ἰδοῦ, βάδιζε, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἰσχέτω.
- ΠΑ. ὦ Δῆμε, δεῦρ' ἔξελθε. ΑΛ. νῆ Δί', ὦ πάτερ, 725  
 ἔξελθε δῆτ'. ΠΑ. ὦ Δημίδιον, ὦ φίλτατον,  
 ἔξελθ', ἵν' εἰδῆς οἶα περιυβρίζομαι.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. τίνες οἱ βοῶντες; οὐκ ἄπιτ' ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας;  
 τὴν εἰρεσιώνην μου κατεσπαράξατε.  
 τίς, ὦ Παφλαγῶν, ἀδικεῖ σε; ΠΑ. διὰ σέ τύπτομαι 730  
 ὑπὸ τουτουὶ καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων. ΔΗΜΟΣ. τίη;
- ΠΑ. ὀτιῆ φιλῶ σ', ὦ Δῆμ', ἔραστῆς τ' εἰμί σός.  
 ΔΗΜΟΣ. σὺ δ' εἶ τίς ἐτέόν; ΑΛ. ἀντεραστῆς τουτουὶ,  
 ἐρῶν πάλαι σου, βουλόμενός τέ σ' εὔ ποιεῖν,  
 ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί. 735  
 ἄλλ' οὐχ οἴοι τ' ἐσμὲν διὰ τουτονί. σὺ γὰρ  
 ὅμοιος εἶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐρωμένοις·  
 τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς οὐ προσδέχει,  
 σαυτὸν δὲ λυχνοπώλαισι καὶ νευρορράφοις  
 καὶ σκυτοτόμοις καὶ βυρσοπώλαισιν δίδως. 740
- ΠΑ. εὔ γὰρ ποιῶ τὸν δῆμον. ΑΛ. εἰπέ νυν, τί δρῶν;

quite a different matter to our late contest before the Council. *There* you could insult me with impunity; you will find it otherwise here. When we are before the Demus, *you will not fancy yourself to be insulting me before the Council.*

725. ὦ Δῆμ', ἔξελθε] Now the two rivals press up to the door of Demus's house, clamouring for his immediate appearance. That some noisy scuffling and disturbance took place between them is plain from the first remarks which Demus makes.

728. τίνες οἱ βοῶντες;] Demus, the testy

old gentleman described supra 40-3, now opens his door and comes out; and henceforth the Demus in the auditorium contemplates itself as Demus on the stage. He enters, complaining of the disturbance going on about his house, and declaring that these noisy and riotous fellows have smashed his *εἰρεσιώνη*, the harvest-wreath suspended over his door. The *εἰρεσιώνη* was an olive-branch wreathed with wool, wherein were stuck symbols of harvest and vintage, figs, bread-cakes, and vessels containing honey, and oil, and wine. It was borne about in the festival

No, come along to Demus. S.S. Aye, why not?  
I'm ready; march; let nothing stop us now.

PAPH. O Demus, come out here. S.S. O yes, by Zeus,  
Come out, my father. PAPH. Dearest darling Demus,  
Come out, and hear how they're illtreating me!

DEMUS. What's all this shouting? go away, you fellows.  
You've smashed my harvest-garland all to bits!

Who wrongs you, Paphlagon? PAPH. He, and these young men,  
Keep beating me because of you. DEMUS. Why so?

PAPH. Because I love you and adore you, Demus.

DEMUS. (*To S.S.*) And who are you? S.S. A rival for your love.  
Long have I loved, and sought to do you good,

With many another honest gentleman,  
But Paphlagon won't let us. You yourself,  
Excuse me sir, are like the boys with lovers.

The honest gentlemen you won't accept,  
Yet give yourself to lantern-selling chaps,  
To sinew-stitchers, cobblers, aye and tanners.

PAPH. Because I am good to Demus. S.S. Tell me how.

Pyanepsia (at the end of October), Plutarch, Theseus 22; and was afterwards hung out over the door of the house. See Wasps 399, Plutus 1054, and the notes there.

730. *τίς, ὁ Παφλαγών*] The first question which Demus asks betokens the high place which Paphlagon had contrived to acquire in his affection. In the latter's reply the *νεανίσκοι* are of course the youthful *ἰππεῖς* who form the Chorus of the play.

732. *φιλῶ . . . ἐραστής τ' εἰμί*] Looking at the Sausage-seller's retort, *ἀντεραστής τουτουῖ*, and his subsequent rebuke of

Demus for being taken in by demagogues who say *ἐραστής τ' εἰμι σὸς, φιλῶ τὲ σε*, we can hardly doubt that we have here the phraseology with which Cleon was accustomed to express his devotion to the Athenian Demus.

739. *λυχνοπώλαισι*] He is referring to Hyperbolus, the lamp-seller, infra 1315, Clouds 1065. It is probable that the other three words are all meant to apply to Cleon; for there seems no sense in the Scholiast's remark that the word *νευρογράφους* refers to Lysicles because he was a *προβατοπώλης*.

- ΠΑ. ὅ τι; τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑποδραμῶν, τοὺς ἐκ Πύλου,  
πλεύσας ἐκείσε, τοὺς Λάκωνας ἤγαγον.
- ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ περιπατῶν γ' ἀπ' ἐργαστηρίου  
ἔφροντος ἑτέρου τὴν χύτραν ὑφειλόμην. 745
- ΠΑ. καὶ μὴν ποιήσας αὐτίκα μάλ' ἐκκλησίαν,  
ὦ Δῆμ', ἴν' εἰδῆς ὀπότερος νῶν ἐστί σοι  
εὐνούστερος, διάκρινον, ἵνα τοῦτον φιλήῃς.
- ΑΛ. ναὶ ναὶ διάκρινον δῆτα, πλὴν μὴ 'ν τῇ πυκνί.  
ΔΗΜΟΣ. οὐκ ἂν καθιζοίμην ἐν ἄλλῃ χωρίῳ. 750  
ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθε χρῆ παριέν' ἐς τὴν πύκνα.
- ΑΛ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὡς ἀπόλωλ'. ὁ γὰρ γέρων  
οἴκοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐστί δεξιότατος,  
ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ καθῆται τῆς πέτρας,  
κέχηεν ὥσπερ ἐμποδίζων ἰσχάδας. 755
- ΧΟ. νῦν δὴ σε πάντα δεῖ κάλων ἐξίεναί σεαυτοῦ,  
καὶ λῆμα θούριον φορεῖν καὶ λόγους ἀφύκτους, [στρ.]

742. τὸν στρατηγὸν κ.τ.λ.] I have adopted Bentley's reading of this line which gives a simple and satisfactory meaning, *I slipped in before the general, says Paphlagon, and having sailed to Pylus brought thence the Spartans as prisoners.* Bentley observes that the same expression οἱ ἐκ Πύλου is used of these prisoners infra 1201, Clouds 186. And indeed in the latter place it is supplemented, as here, by the explanatory words *the Laconians*; τοῖς ἐκ Πύλου ληφθεῖσι, τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς. The participle ὑποδραμῶν, like ὑποθεῖν infra 1161, means "to cut in, unexpectedly, before another." The *στρατηγός* is Demosthenes, who was really in command of the operations, though he did not bear the official name of *στρατηγός* until he was appointed to that office, conjointly

with Cleon.

749. ἐν τῇ πυκνί] It is probable that during the Parabasis, while the stage was empty, some theatrical attendants had come in and arranged the stones in the foreground so that they bore a slight resemblance to the Πνυξ; if indeed the entire structure had not been brought in while the Parabasis was proceeding.

751. εἰς τὸ πρόσθε παριέναι] "Ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι καθαίρειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . . μικροῖς πάνν χοιριδίους ἅπερ ὀνόμαζον καθάρσια.—Harporation s.v. καθάρσιον. The sacrificed sucking-pigs were carried round the limits of the place wherein the Assembly was to be held, and only those within that limit could take part in the proceedings of the meeting. *πάρι' εἰς τὸ πρόσθε* was the formula

PAPH. 'Twas I slipped in before the general there  
And sailed to Pylus, and brought back the Spartans.

S.S. And I walked round, and from the workshop stole  
A mess of pottage, cooked by some one else.

PAPH. Come, make a full Assembly out of hand,  
O Demus, do; then find which loves you best,  
And so decide, and give that man your love.

S.S. O Demus, do. Not in the Pnyx however.

DEMUS. Aye, in the Pnyx, not elsewhere will I sit.  
So forward all, move forward to the Pnyx.

S.S. O luckless me, I'm ruined! The old fellow  
Is, when at home, the brightest man alive;  
But once he sits upon this rock, he moons  
With open mouth, as one who gapes for figs.

CHOR. Now loosen every hawser, now speed your bark along,  
And mind your soul is eager, and mind your words are strong,

whereby the *κῆρυξ* invited those who were without to come within the line of purification (Acharnians 43, 44, Eccl. 128, 129); and the same formula is repeated by Demus here in view of the proceedings about to commence.

755. ὥσπερ ἐμποδίζων ἰσχάδας] Like a boy, he means, opening his mouth as widely as he can, to catch the figs dangled before him. He is alluding to a favourite amusement of Athenian boys. A fig was tied by its stalk, *ποδὶ*, to a string, and either held or thrown up in the air to be caught by the boys in their mouths as it descended. Possibly the boys had to shut their eyes, since some signal, such as the cry of *Μέγας Διώνυσος*, was given when the attempts were to begin. For this, I imagine, is the game to which allusion

is made in the anecdote told by Diogenes Laertius (v. 18) about Aristotle and Diogenes the Cynic. The latter offered the philosopher, who was something of an exquisite, a dried fig, expecting that he would refuse it, and having a scoff ready if he did so. But Aristotle, divining his purpose, accepted the fig, and observed *Diogenes has lost both his fig and his scoff*. Thereupon Diogenes offered him another. Aristotle took it, held it up aloft, as children do, and calling out *Μέγας Διογένης*, gave it back; *μετεωρίσας, ὥσπερ τὰ παιδία, εἰπὼν τε Μέγας Διογένης, ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ*. Demus, mooning on his benches (supra 396) is compared to children sitting with their mouths open to catch the figs.

756. νῦν δῆ] Demus now takes his seat as the audience in the mimic Pnyx,

ὄτοισι τόνδ' ὑπερβαλεῖ. ποικίλος γὰρ ἀνήρ  
κὰκ τῶν ἀμηχάνων πόρους εὐμήχανος πορίζειν.

πρὸς ταῦθ' ὅπως ἔξει πολὺς καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα. 760

ἀλλὰ φυλάττου, καὶ πρὶν ἐκεῖνον προσκείσθαι σοι, πρότερον σὺ  
τοὺς δελφίνας μετεωρίζου καὶ τὴν ἄκατον παραβάλλον.

ΠΑ. τῇ μὲν δεσποίνῃ Ἀθηναίῃ, τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεοῦσῃ,  
εὐχομαι, εἰ μὲν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων γεγέννημαι  
βέλτιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Λυσικλέα καὶ Κύνναν καὶ Σαλαβακχῶ, 765  
ὥσπερ νυνὶ μηδὲν δράσας δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ Πρυτανεῖῳ.

Paphlagon and the Sausage-seller representing the rival orators. At this supreme moment, while they are getting into their places, and the great controversy is about to commence, the Chorus seek to encourage their champion with five lines of exhortation and advice, the antistrophe to which will be found *infra* 836-40. The second and third lines are in that compound iambo-trochaic metre which the poet employs in *Wasps* 248-73 and elsewhere (see the note on *Wasps* 248); the other three are ordinary iambic tetrameters. The language, as befits the occasion, is full of Tragic reminiscences. The metaphor πάντα κάλων ἐξίεναι is found in *Medea* 278 (as also in *Plato*, *Protag.* chap. 24, 338 A, *Lucian*, *Scytha* (11), *Alexander* (57), *Theodoret*, *H. E.* i. 5 and elsewhere), and means, to borrow *Dr. Verrall's* explanation, "to let out all your rope; in modern phrase, to set all sail." With line 759 the Scholiast compares *Aesch.* *Prom.* 59 δεινὸς γὰρ εὐρεῖν καὶ ἀμηχάνων πόρον.

760. πολὺς καὶ λαμπρὸς] *Like a strong,*

*fresh wind.* Cf. *supra* 430. Mitchell refers to *Demosthenes* (*First against Aristogeiton*) (68, p. 787) πολὺς ἔπνει καὶ λαμπρὸς.

762. τοὺς δελφίνας μετεωρίζου] The δελφίς was a dolphin-shaped mass of lead or iron, which was swung up to the yard-arm of a ship, for the purpose of falling upon an enemy's deck with crushing effect. The Scholiast describes it as σιδηροῦν κατασκεύασμα ἢ μολίβδινον, εἰς δελφίνα ἐσχηματισμένον. τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς κεραίας τοῦ ἰστοῦ αἱ ναυμαχοῦσαι ἠφίεσαν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ κατεδύοντο. The first thing for the sailors to do was to hoist the δελφίς up (τοὺς δελφίνας μετεωρίζου); and the second was to lay their ship alongside the enemy's (τὴν ἄκατον παραβάλλον), so that the weight might project over, and be in a position to be dropped on, the hostile vessel. As to παραβάλλον cf. *Frogs* 180, 269. From the expression used by *Thucydides* vii. 41 αἱ κεραῖαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκλάδων δελφινοφόροι, some have supposed that these weights were mostly carried by defenceless merchant-



No subterfuge admitting ; the man has many a trick  
 From hopeless things, in hopeless times, a hopeful course to pick.  
 Upon him with a whirlwind's force, impetuous, fresh and quick.

But keep on his movements a watch ; and be sure that before he can deal you a blow,  
 You hoist to the mast your dolphins, and cast your vessel alongside the foe.

APH. To the Lady who over the city presides, to our mistress Athene, I pray  
 If beyond all the rest I am stoutest and best, in the service of Demus to-day,  
 Except Salabaccho, and Cynna the bold, and Lysicles—then in the Hall  
 May I dine as of late at the cost of the State for doing just nothing at all.

men who, being without the protection of marines, *ἐπιβάται*, resorted to these artifices when in danger of being boarded. But however this may be, the term *ἄκατος* is used by the poets to denote any kind of ship, even a ship of war (Eur. Hec. 446, Orestes 342, Troades 1100), and here is undoubtedly used for the vessel which carried the *δελφίνας*.

763. *τῇ μὲν δεσποίνῃ κ.τ.λ.*] Paphlagon, whom we shall presently find quite ready to pit himself against Themistocles, commences his oration by adopting the words of that statesman : who, to obtain the evacuation of Athens at the approach of the Persian hosts, succeeded in passing a decree *τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ, τῇ Ἀθηναίων μεδεούσῃ κ.τ.λ.*, Plutarch, Themistocles, chap. 10. And compare 585 supra.

765. *μετὰ Λυσικλέα κ.τ.λ.*] Frere conjectures, and it seems very probable, that Cleon was accustomed to pronounce himself the foremost statesman of Athens, *μετὰ Περικλέα, καὶ Κίμωνα, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα*: and that it is by way

of parody on that vaunt that Aristophanes substitutes for these three great names those of a contemptible demagogue (see the Note on 132 supra) and two vulgar courtesans. In Wasps 1032 and Peace 755 the bold and baleful glances of Cynna are said to flash out of the eyes of Cleon ; and it is suggested in the Commentary on the Wasps that Cynna may have been thought to inspire the truculent oratory of Cleon, just as Aspasia is supposed to have inspired the lofty eloquence of Pericles. In Thesm. 805 the demagogue Cleophon is postponed to Salabaccho, just as Cleon is here.

766. *μηδὲν δρασάσας*] For of course the *σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ* was designed for great deeds, and signal public services. The Scholiast says *μηδὲν διαπραξάμενος ἔργον σπουδαῖον καὶ μέγα. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ μεγάλοις κατορθώμασι τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην Ἀθηναῖοι παρέιχον τοῖς ἀγαθόν τι εὐεργετήσασιν αὐτοῖς. νῦν οὖν σκόπτει τὸν Κλέωνα, δι' ὃν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντα ποιεῖ, ὅτι μηδὲν διαπραξάμενος τοιοῦτον ἔργον, τῆς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως μετέσχευ.*

εἰ δέ σε μισῶ καὶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ μάχομαι μόνος ἀντιβεβηκῶς,  
ἀπολοίμην καὶ διαπρισθεῖην κατατμηθεῖν τε λέπαδνα.

- ΑΛ. κἀγωγ', ὦ Δῆμ', εἰ μὴ σε φιλῶ καὶ μὴ στέργω, κατατμηθεὶς  
ἐψοίμην ἐν περικομματίοις· κεῖ μὴ τούτοισι πέποιθας, 770  
ἐπὶ ταυτησί κατακνησθεῖην ἐν μυττωτῶ μετὰ τυροῦ,  
καὶ τῇ κρεάγρᾳ τῶν ὀρχιπέδων ἐλκοίμην ἐς Κεραμεικόν.
- ΠΑ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον σε φιλῶν, ὦ Δῆμε, γένοιτο πολίτης ;  
ὄς πρῶτα μὲν, ἡνίκ' ἐβούλευόν σοι, χρήματα πλείστ' ἀπέδειξα  
ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοὺς μὲν στρεβλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄγχων, τοὺς δὲ μεταιτῶν,  
οὐ φροντίζων τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδενός, εἰ σοὶ χαριόίμην. 776
- ΑΛ. τοῦτο μὲν, ὦ Δῆμ', οὐδὲν σεμνόν· κἀγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό σε δράσω.  
ἀρπάζων γὰρ τοὺς ἄρτους σοι τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους παραθήσω.  
ὡς δ' οὐχὶ φιλεῖ σ' οὐδ' ἔστ' εὖνους, τοῦτ' αὐτό σε πρῶτα διδάξω,  
ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐθ' ὅτιή σου τῆς ἀνθρακιᾶς ἀπολαύει. 780  
σὲ γὰρ, ὃς Μῆδοισι διεξιφίσω περὶ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι,  
καὶ νικήσας ἡμῖν μεγάλως ἐγγλωττοτυπεῖν παρέδωκας,  
ἐπὶ ταῖσι πέτραις οὐ φροντίζει σκληρῶς σε καθήμενον οὔτως,  
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ραψάμενός σοι τουτὶ φέρω. ἀλλ' ἐπαναίρου,  
κᾶτα καθίζου μαλακῶς, ἵνα μὴ τρίβῃς τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. 785

767. ἀντιβεβηκῶς] Ἄνθιστάμενος τοῖς ἀδικεῖν σε προαιρουμένοις.—Scholiast.

768. λέπαδνα] Ἰμάντες πλατεῖς, οἷς ἀναδέονται οἱ τράχηλοι τῶν ἵππων πρὸς τὸ ζυγόν.—Hesychius. Schol. Ven. on Iliad v. 729. οἱ στηθιαῖοι λῶροι, ἢ οἱ μασχαλιστήρες τῶν ἵππων. τοῦτο δὲ ὡς βυρσοπώλης εἶπεν. λείπει δὲ ἢ εἰς, ἢ εἰς λέπαδνα.—Scholiast. A horse's breastbands.

770. περικομματίοις] *Mince-meat trimmings*. Cf. supra 372. Each of the rivals draws his self-imprecation from his own particular trade. *May I be cut up into leathern straps*, says the leather-seller. *May I be chopped into sausage-meat*, says the Sausage-seller. The

language might of course be put into anybody's mouth. In one of Henry Harland's dainty Anglo-Italian idylls (the Lady Paramount) an old Italian commendatore exclaims, "I would sell myself to be chopped into sausage-meat, before I would become a party to any such carnival tricks." The latter part of the line is explained by the Scholiast to mean εἰ μὴ πιστεύεις τούτῳ μου τῷ ὄρκῳ, ὁμοῦμαί σοι ἕτερον ὄρκον μείζονα.

771. ἐπὶ ταυτησί] Τὴν τράπεζαν δεικνὺς τὴν μαγειρικὴν.—Scholiast. See the note on 152 supra. A μυττωτός, the Scholiasts tell us, was a sort of salad composed of garlic (σκοροδόδου), cheese (τυροῦ),

But O if I hate you, nor stride to the van to protect you from woe and mishaps,  
Then slay me, and flay me, and saw me to bits, to be cut into martingale straps.

S.S. And I, if I love you not, Demus, am game to be slaughtered by chopping and mincing,  
And boiled in a sausage-meat pie; and if THAT is, you think, not entirely convincing,  
Let me here, if you please, with a morsel of cheese, upon this to a salad be grated,  
Or to far Cerameicus be dragged through the streets with my flesh-hook, and there be  
cremated.

PAΦH. O Demus, how can there be ever a man who loves you as dearly as I?  
When on *me* you relied your finances to guide, your Treasury never was dry,  
I was begging of these, whilst those I would squeeze and rack to extort what was due,  
And nought did I care how a townsman might fare, so long as I satisfied you.

S.S. Why, Demus, there's nothing to boast of in that; to do it I'm perfectly able.  
I've only to steal from my comrade a meal, and serve it up hot on your table.  
And as for his loving and wishing you well, it isn't for you that he cares,  
Excepting indeed for the gain that he gets, and the snug little fire that he shares.  
Why you, who at Marathon fought with the Medes, for Athens and Hellas contending,  
And won the great battle, and left us a theme for our songs and our speeches unending,  
He cares not a bit that so roughly you sit on the rocks, nor has dreamed of providing  
Those seats with the thing I have stitched you and bring. Just lift yourself up and  
subside in

This ease-giving cushion for fear you should gall what at Salamis sat by the oar.

oil (ἐλαίου), honey (μέλιτος), and leek (πράσον) all pounded together. Hence in the Peace the War-demon, preparing to pound into a salad (καταμυττωτεύειν) the various Hellenic cities, throws into his mortar Prasiae for leek, Megara for garlic, Sicily for cheese, and Athens for honey, Peace 242-52. As to the cook's κρεάγρα see Wasps 1155 and the note there. The Cerameicus to which he is to be dragged is of course the Cerameicus outside the City gates.

782. ἐγγλωττοσυπεῖν] Σεμνολογεῖν τὰ ἐκείνων καὶ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ γλώττης ἔχειν.—Scholiast. Alluding, as Mitchell puts it, to that tongue-coinage which the rhetorical mints of Athens were ever striking off in honour of the achievements at Marathon and Salamis.

785. ἵνα μὴ τρίβῃς] This is well illustrated by the language of the Scholiast on Thuc. ii. 93, defining ὑπηρέσιον as τὸ κῶας ᾧ ἐπικάθηται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ συντρίβεσθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πυγὰς.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἄνθρωπε, τίς εἶ; μῶν ἔγγονος εἶ τῶν Ἄρμοδιου τις ἐκείνων; τοῦτό γέ τοί σου τοῦργον ἀληθῶς γενναῖον καὶ φιλόδημον.

ΠΑ. ὡς ἀπὸ μικρῶν εὐνοὺς αὐτῷ θωπευματίων γεγένησαι.

ΑΛ. καὶ σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸν πολὺ μικροτέροις τούτων δελεάσμασιν εἶλες.

ΠΑ. καὶ μὴν εἴ ποῦ τις ἀνὴρ ἐφάνη τῷ δήμῳ μᾶλλον ἀμύνων 790 ἢ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σε φιλῶν, ἐθέλω περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιδόσθαι.

ΑΛ. καὶ πῶς σὺ φιλεῖς, ὅς τοῦτον ὄρων οἰκοῦντ' ἐν ταῖς πιθάκναισι καὶ γυπαρίοις καὶ πυργιδίοις ἔτος ὄγδοον οὐκ ἐλεαίρεις, ἀλλὰ καθείρξας αὐτὸν βλίπτεις· Ἀρχεπτολέμου δὲ φέροντος τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξεσκέδασας, τὰς πρεσβείας τ' ἀπελαύνεις 795

786. ἄνθρωπε, τίς εἶ;] The delicious sensation imparted by the cosy little cushion thus slipped underneath him makes Demus alive to the fact that a new benefactor of unparalleled thoughtfulness and liberality has arisen in the City. Who can he be? Surely he must be of the same strain as Harmodius, the darling of the Athenian democracy. The Sausage-seller's little gifts to Demus are intended as a skit upon the doles and indulgences to the Athenian people, chiefly in their character as dicasts, by which Cleon had won their hearts.

788. ὡς ἀπὸ μικρῶν κ.τ.λ.] This line is supposed by Van Leeuwen to be addressed to Demus; but it is generally, and no doubt rightly, considered to be addressed to the Sausage-seller, who accordingly answers it. εὐνοὺς τῷ Δήμῳ is almost a technical phrase in Athenian politics. See supra 779, where Mitchell quotes Xen. de Rep. Ath. iii. 10 ἐν οὐδεμῇ πόλει τὸ βέλτιστον εὐνοὺν ἐστὶ τῷ Δήμῳ ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιστον ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει εὐνοὺν τῷ

Δήμῳ, and Lysias against Agoratus 13, where the speaker says of Theramenes, στρατηγὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἀπεδοκιμάσατε, οὐ νομίζοντες εὐνοὺν εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ἡμετέρῳ. Many other instances might be cited. Paphlagon here says, *With what trivial bits of flattery have you approved yourself a good friend to Demus!*

792. πιθάκναισι κ.τ.λ.] *In little tubs, eyries, and turrets.* γυπάριον is the eyrie of the vulture. He is referring to the hardships occasioned by the great influx of all the country-folk of Attica into Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, hardships depicted by Thucydides in language hardly less graphic and picturesque than that which is employed by Aristophanes here. The historian ii. 14-17 describes how the entire rural population, some of them bringing with them the woodwork of their country homes, came flocking into the City which was really too small to contain them; and how they settled down, in swarms, in every vacant place

- DEMUS. Who are you? I opine you are sprung from the line of Harmodius famous of yore;  
So noble and Demus-relieving an act I never have witnessed before!
- PAPH. O me, by what paltry attentions and gifts you contrive to attract and delude him!
- S.S. 'Twas by baits that are smaller and poorer than mine, you rascal, you hooked and subdued him.
- PAPH. Was there ever a man since the City began who for Demus has done such a lot,  
Or fought for his welfare so stoutly as I? I will wager my head there is not.
- S.S. You love him right well who permit him to dwell eight years in the clefts of the City,  
In the nests of the vulture, in turrets and casks, nor ever assist him or pity,  
But keep him in durance to rifle his hive; and that is the reason, no doubt,  
Why the peace which, unsought, Archeptolemus brought, you were quick from the city  
to scout,

they could find, many even *ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν*. And later, in his account of the plague (ii. 52), he observes that these country immigrants were dwelling not in houses but in stifling huts, *ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς*, or as Plutarch (Pericles 34) expresses it, *ἐν οἰκήμασι μικροῖς καὶ σκηνώμασι πνιγηροῖς*. And these poor people, the Sausage-seller means, would at this moment, but for Cleon's opposition to all proposals for a peace, be again enjoying a happy and healthful life in their country homes.

793. *ἔτος ὄγδοον*] The Peloponnesian War commenced in the year 431 B. C. In the Acharnians, which was produced in the year 425, the poet speaks as if they were then in the sixth year, *ἔκτω ἔτει*, of the War. See the Commentary on that passage. But here in a play acted in the following year (424 B. C.) he speaks as if they were in not the seventh, but the eighth year of the

War. It is impossible to reconcile these two statements, which merely show that there was no precise date recognized as the commencement of the War. This is further shown by the statement in the Peace that in 421 B. C. they had been without the blessing of peace for thirteen years.

794. *βλίτταις*] *You rob him of his honey*, that is, of his wealth. *βλίττειν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀφαιρῆν τὸ μέλι ἀπὸ τῶν κηρίων*.—Scholiast. See Birds 498 and the note there. Archeptolemus is the son of Hippodamus, mentioned 327 supra, where see the Commentary. In all probability he, as an Athenian citizen, introduced into the Athenian Assembly the embassy which the Spartans sent when they heard that their troops were blockaded in Sphacteria, Thuc. iv. 15-23; an embassy which, as Thucydides expressly tells us, was frustrated by the vehement oratory of Cleon.

ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ραθαπυγίζων, αἱ τὰς σπονδὰς προκαλοῦνται.

- ΠΑ. ἴνα γ' Ἑλλήνων ἄρξῃ πάντων. ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λογιόισιν ὡς τοῦτον δεῖ ποτ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πεντωβόλου ἠλιάσασθαι, ἦν ἀναμείνῃ πάντως δ' αὐτὸν θρέψω γὰρ καὶ θεραπεύσω, ἔξευρίσκων εὖ καὶ μιαρῶς ὁπόθεν τὸ τριώβολον ἔξει. 800
- ΑΛ. οὐχ ἴνα γ' ἄρξῃ μὰ Δί' Ἀρκαδίας προνοούμενος, ἀλλ' ἴνα μᾶλλον σὺ μὲν ἀρπάξης καὶ δωροδοκῆς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς ὀμίχλης ἂ πανουργεῖς μὴ καθορᾶ σου, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἅμα καὶ χρείας καὶ μισθοῦ πρὸς σε κεχῆρη. εἰ δέ ποτ' εἰς ἀγρὸν οὗτος ἀπελθὼν εἰρηναῖος διατρίψῃ, 805 καὶ χίδρα φαγὼν ἀναθαρρήσῃ καὶ στεμφύλῳ εἰς λόγον ἔλθῃ, γνώσεται ὡς ἀγαθὼν αὐτὸν τῇ μισθοφορᾷ παρεκόπτου, εἶθ' ἤξει σοι δριμύς ἄγροικος, κατὰ σοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἰχνεύων. ἂ σὺ γιγνώσκων τόνδ' ἔξαπατᾶς, καὶ ὄνειροπολεῖς περὶ σαυτοῦ.
- ΠΑ. οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν ταυτί σε λέγειν δῆτ' ἔστ' ἐμὲ καὶ διαβάλλειν 810 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸν δῆμον, πεποικῆκῶτα πλείονα χρῆστὰ νῆ τὴν Δῆμητρα Θεμιστοκλέους πολλῶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη;

796. ραθαπυγίζων] Τύπτων κατὰ τῆς πνυγῆς πλατεία τῇ χειρὶ, ἢ πλατεί τῷ ποδί.—Scholiast. ραθαπυγίζειν τὸ πλατεί τῷ ποδί εἰς τὰ ἰσχία ραπίζειν.—Photius.

800. εὖ καὶ μιαρῶς] *By fair means or foul.* οὐ περιεργασόμενος, οὔτε εἰ ἀπὸ δικαίου οὔτε εἰ ἀπὸ ἀδίκου πορισθήσεται.—Scholiast. Cf. supra 256.

803. ἂ πανουργεῖς . . . σου] This, Kock observes, is equivalent to τὰ πανουργήματά σου, and Neil refers to Plato, *Gorgias*, chap. 73 (517 C) ἀγνοοῦντες ἀλλήλων ὃ τι λέγομεν, where see Stallbaum's note. The charge here brought is of course precisely that which Thucydides (v. 16) brings against Cleon. "Brasidas and Cleon," he says, "were the main obstacles to peace: the former because

of his success and the glory he gained by the war; the latter because he thought that in times of peace his malpractices would be more easily detected, and his calumnies less readily believed, γενομένης ἡσυχίας καταφανεστερος νομίζων ἂν εἶναι κακουργῶν καὶ ἀπιστότερος διαβάλλον." Mr. Grote, turning this passage into English in the fifty-fourth chapter of his *History*, euphemistically translates κακουργῶν by "Cleon's dishonest politics." It means of course "his dishonest practices" which is a very different thing. And notwithstanding the argument of the same learned historian, it is plain that times of war and disturbance would necessarily offer greater opportunities

And as for the embassies coming to treat, you spanked them and chived them out.

PAPH. That over all Hellas our Demus may rule; for do not the oracles say,  
He will surely his verdicts in Arcady give, receiving five obols a day,  
If he grow not weary of fighting? Meanwhile, it is I who will nourish and pet him,  
And always the daily triobol he earns, unjustly or justly I'll get him.

S.S. No not that o'er Arcady Demus may rule, but rather that *you* might essay  
To harry and plunder the cities at will, while Demus is looking away,  
And the war with the haze and the dust that you raise is obscuring your actions from view,  
And Demus, constrained by his wants and his pay, is a gaping dependant on you.  
But if once to the country in peace he returns, away from all fighting and fusses,  
And strengthens his system with furmety there, and a confect of olive discusses,  
He will know to your cost what a deal he has lost, while the pay you allowed him he drew,  
And then, like a hunter, irate he will come on the trail of a vote against you.  
You know it; and Demus you swindle with dreams, crammed full of yourself and your  
praises.

PAPH. It is really distressing to hear you presume to arraign with such scurrilous phrases  
Before the Athenians and Demus a man who more for the city has done  
Than e'er by Demeter Themistocles did who glory undying has won.

to corrupt and dishonest politicians. Cf. *infra* 864, and Philip of Macedon's Letter to the Athenians, published among the works of Demosthenes.

808. *δριμὺς ἄγροικος*] Though *ἄγροικος* is a very fit description of Demus in

the case here put, it does not altogether chime in with the metaphor contained in the line. It seems to me that the whole turn of the passage requires us to read *δριμὺς ἀγρευτής*. Compare the thirty-second Epigram of Callimachus.

ὈΠΙΡΕΥΤΗΣ, Ἐπίκουρος, ἐν οὔρεσι πάντα λαγῶν  
διφῶ, καὶ πάσης ἼΧΝΙΑ δορκαλίδος.

But though I have used the word "hunter" in my translation, I of course have retained in the Greek text the reading of all the MSS. and editions.

812. *Θεμιστοκλέους*] Themistocles, notwithstanding his restless intriguing disposition, was always regarded as the foremost of Hellenic statesmen. "Themistoclem facile Graecorum principem

ponimus," Cicero, *Lucullus* 1. He was universally recognized as the soul of the resistance to the Persian invasion, and the genius to whom, above all others, the victory of Salamis was especially due. These were services to Hellas at large; but his services to Athens in particular were no less brilliant. To him was due the founding of Peiraeus

- ΑΛ. ὦ πόλις Ἄργους, κλύεθ' οἶα λέγει. σὺ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζεις ;  
 ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστήν, εὐρὸν ἐπιχειλῆ,  
 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀριστώσῃ τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν, 815  
 ἀφελῶν τ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰχθὺς καινοὺς παρέθηκε.  
 σὺ δ' Ἀθηναίους ἐξήτησας μικροπολίτας ἀποφῆναι  
 διατειχίζων καὶ χρησμοδῶν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζων.  
 κἀκείνος μὲν φεύγει τὴν γῆν, σὺ δ' Ἀχιλλείων ἀπομάττει.
- ΠΑ. οὐκ οὖν ταυτὶ δεινὸν ἀκούειν, ὦ Δῆμ', ἐστὶν μ' ὑπὸ τούτου, 820  
 ὅτι σε φιλωῶ ; ΔΗΜΟΣ. παῦ παῦ', οὗτος, καὶ μὴ σκέρβολλε  
 πονηρά.

and the building both of its walls and of the walls of Athens; and doubtless the Long Walls which connected the two, though not erected until after his death, were part of his original design. For his object was to make Athens a maritime, as well as an inland, City: he was the Founder of their naval supremacy, and therefore of the Athenian Empire. His maxim *ὡς ἀνθεκτέα τῆς θαλάσσης* (Thuc. i. 93) was the guiding principle of all her greatest statesmen. "Pompey," writes Cicero to Atticus (x. 8), "is of one mind with Themistocles; existimat enim qui mare teneat, eum necesse esse rerum potiri." And this is what Aristophanes is perpetually urging; Ach. 648, Peace 507.

813. ὦ πόλις Ἄργους] Τὸ "ὦ πόλις Ἄργους" ἀπὸ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου· τὸ δὲ "κλύεθ' οἶα λέγει" ἀπὸ Μηδείας.—Scholiast. See Medea 168. From the first extant Comedy to the last, the Telephus was an inexhaustible source of amusement to Aristophanes. He cites the exclamation here merely in fun, as he does again in Plutus 601. Here he tacks to

it another exclamation from the Medea, which some early copyist tacked to it also in the Plutus, not observing that in the latter place it is destructive of the metre. See the Commentary there.

814. ἐπιχειλῆ] The *χεῖλος* of a Greek drinking vessel was a rim of some depth; so that a cup merely filled *up to* the *χεῖλος* was by no means full to its utmost capacity. Hence τὸ ἐπιχειλές means τὸ ἐνδεές, Pollux (ii. 89). τὸ ἐλλιπές, Hesychius. οὕτω λέγεται μέτρον τὸ μὴ πλήρες ἀλλ' ἀπολειπόμενον.—Scholiast, Suidas.

815. προσέμαξεν] *Kneaded in*, that is, kneaded it and the City into one. Plutarch (Themist. 19) objects to this use of *προσμάττειν*. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ, he says, οὐχ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ Κωμικὸς λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης. But this is a merely pedantic objection; they both mean the same thing; and I think that they both consider the Long Walls as part of the general scheme which sprang from the mind of Themistocles, though he did not live to carry it out in its



S.S. O city of Argos! yourself would you match with mighty Themistocles, him  
 Who made of our city a bumper indeed, though he found her scarce filled to the brim,  
 Who, while she was lurching, Peiraeus threw in, as a dainty additional dish,  
 Who secured her the old, while providing untold and novel assortments of fish;  
 Whilst you, with your walls of partition forsooth, and the oracle-chants which you hatch,  
 Would dwarf and belittle the city again, who yourself with Themistocles match!  
 And *he* was an exile, but *you* upon crumbs Achilléan your fingers are cleaning.

PAPH. Now is it not monstrous that I must endure accusations so coarse and unmeaning,  
 And all for the love that I bear you? DEMUS. Forbear! no more of your wrangle  
 and row!

entirety. And the Scholiast here says *αἰνίττεται διὰ τούτων τὰ μακρὰ τείχη*. And on 886 he says in so many words that Themistocles built the Long Walls from the City to Peiraeus. Mr. Grote indeed thinks that the Athenians derived the idea of their own Long Walls from those which they built from Megara to Nisaea about 460 B.C.: but no doubt the reverse is the fact; and the idea of building Long Walls for Megara arose from the circumstance that their minds were full of the far more important and arduous project of building Long Walls for themselves.

816. *ἰχθῦς καινούς*] He means new acquisitions; but as he is employing the metaphor of a banquet, he describes these new acquisitions as *fish*, just as he had described Peiraeus as a *μάζα*.

818. *διατεχίζων*] This refers to some unknown project of Cleon, probably for separating by walls the various demes within the City. See the note on Wasps 41.

819. *Ἀχίλλειων ἀπομάττει*] *You are*

*wiping your fingers on pellets of the finest barley-bread*, as a guest at the Prytaneium. As to these finger-pellets, *ἀπομαγαδαλιὰς*, see the Commentary on 414 supra. The Achilléan barley was the finest and best, whence indeed it derived its name. It was the "peerless Achilles" of barley, as the Chian was of wines. See the notes on Eccl. 1119 and 1139. And therefore it was used for the high table at the Prytaneium, where those guests dined whom the State delighted to honour. The Scholiast says *σὺ δὲ τῆς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως μετέχεις. ἐκαλοῦντο γὰρ Ἀχιλλεῖαι τινες κριθαὶ καθαραὶ, ὡς εὐγενεῖς οὔσαι*.

821. *μὴ σκέρβολλε*] *Μὴ λοιδορεῖ* δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ κερτομεῖν.—Scholiast. Bergler refers to Eustathius on Iliad i. 197 and ii. 643, who says that it is equivalent to *ἐς κέαρ βάλλειν*, just as *σκορακίζειν* is equivalent to *ἐς κόρακας πέμπειν*. This omission of the initial vowel is very common in modern Greek names, as *Stamboul* from *ἐς τὰν πόλιν*, *Sto Iero* from *ἐς τὸ ἱερόν*, and the like.

- πολλοῦ δὲ πολὺν με χρόνον καὶ νῦν ἐλελήθεις ἐγκρυφιάζων.
- ΑΔ. μιαρῶτατος, ὃ Δημακίδιον, καὶ πλείστα πανοῦργα δεδρακῶς,  
 ὁπότεν χασμᾶ, καὶ τοὺς καυλοὺς  
 τῶν εὐθυνῶν ἐκκαυλίζων 825  
 καταβροχθίζει, κάμφοῖν χειροῖν  
 μυστιλάται τῶν δημοσίων.
- ΠΑ. οὐ χαιρήσεις, ἀλλὰ σε κλέπτουθ'  
 αἰρήσω γὰρ τρεῖς μυριάδας.
- ΑΔ. τί θαλαττοκοπεῖς καὶ πλατυγίζεις, 830  
 μιαρῶτατος ὦν περὶ τὸν δῆμον  
 τὸν Ἀθηναίων; καὶ σ' ἐπιδείξω  
 νῆ τὴν Δήμητρ', ἥ μὴ ζῶην,  
 δωροδοκήσαντ' ἐκ Μιτυλήνης  
 πλείν ἢ μῶς τετταράκοντα. 835

822. ἐγκρυφιάζων] *Carrying on your underground intrigues*; literally, burrowing in the ashes like an ἄρτος ἐγκρυφίας. The Scholiast gives, amongst other explanations, ἐμφωλεύων, and proceeds, ὁ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἐλάνθανές με ῥαδιουργῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐγκρυφίου ἄρτου μετήγεγεν. The ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος was a *girde-cake* made of the finest wheat flour, and baked in the embers. In Lucian's Twentieth Dialogue of the Dead, Menippus inquires of Aeacus, who is acting as his cicerone in the world below, *Who is that fellow, covered with ashes like a girde-cake?* σποδοῦ πλέως ὡσπερ ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος; And Aeacus replies *That is Empedocles, who perished in the crater of Mount Etna.* Archestratus the laureate of the dinner-table gives the palm to the ἐγκρυφίας of Tegea (Athenaeus iii, chap. 77, p. 112 B), but the Attic ἐγκρυφίας

was also of note (Id. chap. 74, p. 110 B).

825. τῶν εὐθυνῶν] The Commentators do not seem to understand the particular process to which the Sausage-seller is alluding. Every official at the expiration of his term of office had to pass his accounts. If he was found to have embezzled (say) £1,000, he would be liable to repay that sum to the public Treasury, besides incurring additional punishment by way of fine or otherwise. Then the demagogue would intervene with an offer: "Pay me (say) £500, and I will see you safely through." Thus the State would lose the £1,000, whilst the £500 would go into the demagogue's own purse. This process Aristophanes calls "pulling the stalks out of the εὐθυναί, and eating them himself."

827. μυστιλάται] *Scoops out the public*

Too long have your light-fingered tricks with my bread my notice escaped until now.

S.S. He's the vilest of miscreants, Demus, and works more mischief than any, I vow.

While you're gaping about, he is picking from out  
Of the juiciest audit the juiciest sprout,  
And devours it with zest; while deep in the chest  
Of the public exchequer both hands are addressed  
To lading out cash for himself, I protest.

PAPH. All this you'll deplore when it comes to the fore  
That of drachmas you stole thirty-thousand or more.

S.S. Why make such a dash with your oar-blades, and thrash  
The waves into foam with your impotent splash?  
'Tis but fury and sound; and you'll shortly be found  
The worst of the toadies who Demus surround.  
And proof I will give, or I ask not to live,  
That a bribe by the Mitylenaeans was sent,  
Forty minas and more; to your pockets it went.

money, as if with *μυστίαις* scoops of hollowed bread. *μυστίλη ὁ κοῖλος ἄρτος, εἰ δύναται τις καὶ ζωμὸν ἀρύσασθαι.*—Scholiast. See Plutus 627 and the note there. In the absence of regular spoons this was, and is, the ordinary way of eating thick soup or porridge. In "The Land and the Book," chap. ix, Dr. Thomson relates how in the outskirts of Hebron he lit upon a company of Ishmaelites sitting round a large saucepan, regaling themselves with their dinner. At their invitation, he says, "I sat down amongst them, and doubling some of their bread spoon-fashion plunged into the saucepan as they did, and found their food very savoury indeed." It was a sort of red pottage.

829. *τρεῖς μυριάδας*] Scilicet *δραχμῶν*, the word always to be supplied when

the particular coin is not mentioned. See the note on Wasps 769. *αἰρήσω, I will convict you*, that is, get you convicted, possibly as the Scholiast suggests with a play on *χαιρήσεις* in the preceding line.

834. *Μιτυλήνης*] If this is not a mere jest, it must I think refer to some event subsequent to Cleon's resolution, happily rescinded, for the extermination of the entire adult male population of the City; and subsequent also to his other resolution, unhappily carried into execution, for the massacre of the prisoners more than 1,000 in number. This proof of the formidable influence which he wielded in the Athenian assembly may have induced the survivors to offer him a bribe for the purpose of mitigating the rigour of the decree which confis-

- ΧΟ. ὦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανεὶς μέγιστον ὠφέλημα, [ἀντ.  
 ζηλῶ σε τῆς εὐγλωττίας. εἰ γὰρ ὦδ' ἐποίσεις,  
 μέγιστος Ἑλλήνων ἔσει, καὶ μόνος καθέξεις  
 τὰν τῇ πόλει, τῶν ξυμμάχων τ' ἄρξεις ἔχων τρίαίναν,  
 ἧ πολλὰ χρήματ' ἐργάσει σείων τε καὶ ταράττων. 840  
 καὶ μὴ μεθῆς τὸν ἄνδρ', ἐπειδὴ σοὶ λαβὴν δέδωκεν·  
 κατεργάσει γὰρ ῥαδίως, πλευρὰς ἔχων τοιαύτας.
- ΠΑ. οὐκ, ὦγαθοί, ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πω ταύτη μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ.  
 ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστ' εἰργασμένοι τοιοῦτον ἔργον ὥστε  
 ἀπαξάπαντας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιστομίζειν, 845  
 ἕως ἂν ἧ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τι λοιπόν.
- ΑΛ. ἐπίσχεσ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· λαβὴν γὰρ ἐνδέδωκας.  
 οὐ γάρ σ' ἔχρην, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας  
 ταύτας ἔαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατεθῆναι.  
 ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τοῦτ', ὦ Δῆμε, μηχάνημ', ἴν', ἣν σὺ βούλη 850  
 τὸν ἄνδρα κολάσαι τουτονί, σοὶ τοῦτο μὴ γγένηται.  
 ὄρᾳς γὰρ αὐτῷ στίφος οἴδων ἐστι βυρσοπωλῶν  
 νεανιδῶν· τούτους δὲ περιοικοῦσι μέλιτοπῶλαι

cated their lands and divided them (after setting aside a tithe for the Gods) amongst 2,700 Athenian cleruchs; and if they really did so, it would account for the permission ultimately granted to the Lesbians to remain in possession of these lands, paying a yearly rent to the Athenian owners. Wieland and Kock (the latter referring to the Scholiast on Lucian's Timon 30) suppose that the bribe was offered at an earlier period; but that would be hardly consistent with the narrative of Thucydides.

836. ὦ πᾶσιν κ.τ.λ.] The first bout in the controversy before Demus is over; and the Chorus, who at its commence-

ment had devoted five lines to advise and encourage their champion, wind it up with another five lines (antistrophical to the former) expressive of their admiration and delight at his unexpected eloquence. The first line, as Porson pointed out, appears to reflect the address of Io to Prometheus, ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα θνητοῖσιν φανεῖς, P. V. 631.

845. ἐπιστομίζειν] *To silence, render speechless.* ἰχθῶν (*pisces mutum*) σε ἀποφανεῖ ἐπιστομίζων.—Lucian, Jupiter Tragoedus 35.

846. τῶν ἐκ Πύλου] Πάλιν ὁ Κλέων τὰ περὶ Πύλου θρυλεῖ, καὶ Σφακτηρίαν καὶ τὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἔθος δὲ ἦν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὄπλα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνατιθέναι.

- CHOR. O sent to all the nation a blessing and a boon !  
 O wondrous flow of language ! Fight thus, and you'll be soon  
 The greatest man in Hellas, and all the State command,  
 And rule our faithful true allies, a trident in your hand,  
 Wherewith you'll gather stores of wealth, by shaking all the land.  
 And if he lend you once a hold, then never let him go ;  
 With ribs like these you ought with ease to subjugate the foe.
- PAPH. O matters have not come to that, my very worthy friends !  
 I've done a deed, a noble deed, a deed which so transcends  
 All other deeds, that all my foes of speech are quite bereft,  
 While any shred of any shield, from Pylus brought, is left.
- S.S. Halt at those Pylian shields of yours ! a lovely hold you're lending.  
 For if you really Demus love, what meant you by suspending  
 Those shields with all their handles on, for action ready strapped ?  
 O Demus, there's a dark design within those handles wrapped,  
 And if to punish him you seek, those shields will bar the way.  
 You see the throng of tanner-lads he always keeps in pay,  
 And round them dwell the folk who sell their honey and their  
 cheeses ;

*ἕως οὖν, φησὶν, ἀνάκειται τὰ ἀπὸ Πύλου καὶ Σφακτηρίας ὄπλα, ἅπερ ἀνέθηκα τοῖς θεοῖς νικήσας, οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν τολμήσει κατ' ἐμοῦ λέγειν.*—Scholiast. The Spartan shields captured at Sphacteria were suspended at the Poecile, where they were long afterwards pointed out to Pausanias, covered with pitch to keep them from decay, i. 15. 5.

847. λαβὴν γὰρ ἐνδέδωκας] He is referring to the language of the Chorus, six lines above.

849. τοῖς πόρπαξι] The handles of the Spartan shields were removable; and the Spartans, except when on military duty, were accustomed to detach them

lest the Helots, in any rising, should possess themselves of the shields, ready strapped for use; ἀπιστίας εἶνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἐξαιρεῖ μὲν Σπαρτιάτης οἶκοι τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸν πόρπακα. Critias, cited by Libanius, De Serv. ii. 85, 86, ed. Reiske. Hence in the Lysistrata Lampito, the Spartan wife, deploring the continual absence of her husband at the war, declares that he no sooner comes home than, fastening the handle to his shield, πορπακισάμενος, he is off to the war again, Lys. 106.

853. περιουκοῦσι] Nothing is now known of the locality in which these three trades were carried on, but of course

καὶ τυροπῶλαι· τοῦτο δ' εἰς ἓν ἔστι συγκεκυφός.  
 ὅστ' εἰ σὺ βριμήσαιο καὶ βλέψειας ὄστρακίνδα,  
 νύκτωρ κατασπάσαντες ἂν τὰς ἀσπίδας θέοντες  
 τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῶν ἀλφίτων ἂν καταλάβοιεν ἡμῶν.

855

ΔΗΜΟΣ. οἴμοι τάλας· ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας; ὦ πόνηρε,  
 ὅσον με παρεκόπτου χρόνον τοιαῦτα κρουσιδημῶν.

ΠΑ. ὦ δαιμόνιε, μὴ τοῦ λέγοντος ἴσθι, μηδ' οἰθήῃς  
 ἐμοῦ ποθ' εὐρήσειν φίλον βελτίον'. ὅστις εἰς ἂν  
 ἔπαυσα τοὺς ξυνωμότας, καί μ' οὐ λέληθεν οὐδὲν  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ξυνιστάμενον, ἀλλ' εὐθέως κέκραγα.

860

ΑΛ. ὅπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἐγχέλεις θηρώμενοι πέπονθας.

the facts would be quite familiar to the audience.

854. *συγκεκυφός*] The idea is precisely that expressed in the Prayer Book version of Psalm lxxxiii, verse 5: "They have cast their heads together with one consent, and are confederate against thee." Lucian in his "Bis accusatus" 4 speaks of malcontents who *ἐς τὸ φανερόν μὲν οὐ τολμῶσι λέγειν, ὑποτονθορίζουσι δὲ συγκεκυφότες*.

855. *βριμήσαιο*] *Should begin to fume. βριμᾶσθαι*, literally perhaps "to snort," means "to exhibit symptoms of strong indignation"; *βριμήσαιο ὀργισθείης*, says the Scholiast. The words which follow refer to the practice of ostracizing a too powerful citizen. The process was set in force against Cleon's successor Hyperbolus (an admittedly inadequate victim); and might well have been required against Cleon himself had he returned from Amphipolis in the same triumphant manner as he did from Sphacteria. Aristophanes however, by way of jest, calls it *ὄστρακίνδα*, the

game of *ὄστρακον*, a game very fully described by Plato Comicus, in a fragment of his "Alliance" (*Συμμαχία*), by the Scholiast on Plato's *Phaedrus*, chap. xviii, p. 241 B, and by Eustathius on *Iliad* xviii. 543. A line (from North to South) was chalked on the ground. Half the boys taking part in the game stood to the east of the line, and half to the west. The two sides faced each other with an interval of a few yards between them, and each must have had a "home" at some distance in the rear. A starter stood at the line, holding an *ὄστρακον*, which was blackened with tar on the one side and painted white on the other. When they were ready he threw the *ὄστρακον* up in the air, calling out *Νύξ ἢ Ἡμέρα*. If it fell with the white side uppermost the boys to the west (representing Night) fled, and those to the east (representing Day) pursued; and vice versa. And if a pursuer caught a fugitive before he reached his "home" he rode him to the "home." The grammarians indeed

And these are all combined in one, to do whate'er he pleases.  
 And if the oyster-shelling game you seem inclined to play,  
 They'll come by night with all their might and snatch those shields  
 away,

And then with ease will run and seize the passes of—your wheat.

DEMUS. Oh, are the handles really there? You rascal, what deceit  
 Have you so long been practising that Demus you may cheat?

PAPH. Pray don't be every speaker's gull, nor dream you'll ever get  
 A better friend than I, who all conspiracies upset.

Alone I crushed them all, and now, if any plots are brewing  
 Within the town, I scent them down, and raise a grand hallooing.

S.S. O ay, you're like the fisher-folk, the men who hunt for eels,

say nothing about the "homes," and the Platonic Scholiast supposes that the boy who was caught carried his captor back to the place from which the flight commenced; which is absurd, for in that case the better fight a boy made the greater would be his penalty. The *ᾠστρακον* might be either a tile, a potsherd, or an oyster-shell; but from the expression of Eustathius that τὸ ἐντὸς was *πεπισσωμένον*, τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἀπίσσωτον, we may infer that he considered an oyster-shell to be the ordinary form.

857. τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῶν ἀλφίτων] *The passes of the barley.* Last year, in the Acharnians (line 1075), Lamachus was dispatched at a moment's notice to guard the *εἰσβολὰς*, the passes between Boeotia and Attica. This year Paphlagon's partisans will seize, it is apprehended, another set of *εἰσβολαὶ*, to wit, the passes of the barley. Probably no very definite locality is indicated; but the general meaning would point to the gates through which the imported

barley would enter Athens from the Peiraeus.

859. κρουσιδημῶν] *Demus-chousing.* Apparently a word coined by Aristophanes. The Sausage-seller has just been talking of Paphlagon's designs upon the *ἄλφιστα* by which the Demus was supported. And in pronouncing the present word the speaker would probably make a pause after *κρουσι-*, so leading the audience to expect that he would conclude with *-μετρῶν*, *κρουσιμετρῶν*, giving him false measures in his barley.

860. τοῦ λέγοντος ἴσθι.] Bergler refers to Oed. Tyr. 917, where Iocasta says of Oedipus, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἦν φόβους λέγη. Cf. infra 1118. In much the same sense it is said of Provost Crosbie in Redgauntlet (vol. ii, chap. 12), "The last word has him speak it who will."

864. τὰς ἐγγέλεις] This is the famous "Simile of the Eels," which in Clouds 559 Aristophanes accuses his rivals of purloining for the purpose of their own

- ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῆ, λαμβάνουσιν οὐδέν 865  
 ἐὰν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν,  
 αἰρούσι· καὶ σὺ λαμβάνεις, ἦν τὴν πόλιν ταράττης.  
 ἐν δ' εἰπέ μοι τοσουτονί· σκύτη τοσαῦτα πωλῶν,  
 ἔδωκας ἤδη τουτφὶ κάττυμα παρὰ σεαυτοῦ  
 ταῖς ἐμβάσιν, φάσκων φιλεῖν; ΔΗΜΟΣ. οὐ δῆτα μὰ τὸν  
 Ἄπόλλω. 870
- ΑΛ. ἔγνωκας οὖν δῆτ' αὐτὸν οἶός ἐστιν; ἀλλ' ἐγώ σοι  
 ζεῦγος πριάμενος ἐμβάδων τουτὶ φορεῖν δίδωμι.  
 ΔΗΜΟΣ. κρίνω σ' ὅσων ἐγῶδα περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνδρ' ἄριστον  
 εὐνοούστατόν τε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖσι δακτύλοισιν.
- ΠΑ. οὐ δεινὸν οὖν δῆτ' ἐμβάδας τοσουτονὶ δύνασθαι, 875  
 ἐμοῦ δὲ μὴ μνεῖαν ἔχειν ὅσων πέπονθας; ὅστις  
 ἔπαυσα τοὺς βινουμένους, τὸν Γρύττον ἐξαλείψας.
- ΑΛ. οὐκ οὖν σε δῆτα ταῦτα δεινόν ἐστι πρωκτοτηρεῖν,  
 παῦσαι τε τοὺς βινουμένους; κοῦκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἐκείνους  
 οὐχὶ φθονῶν ἔπαυσας, ἵνα μὴ ῥήτορες γένοιτο. 880  
 τονδὶ δ' ὀρῶν ἀνευ χιτῶνος ὄντα τηλικούτον,

attacks upon Hyperbolus. Nor were such depredations confined to ancient times. Dr. Badham in his *Fish-tattle* (chap. 17 ad fin.) gives a very similar epigram from the "Emblems" of Alcibiades. Athenaeus (vii, chap. 52) quotes Aristotle as saying that eels love the purest water; wherefore they who keep eels pour in fresh water for their use; for they cannot breathe in muddy water. And this is why those who would catch eels make the water turbid, to choke them; for their gills are small, and the mud stops up the passages. See Aristotle, *H. A.* viii. 4. 5. But the real reason seems to be that in cold weather eels

bury themselves in the mud, and cannot be reached until the mud is thoroughly stirred up. See Yarrell's *British Fishes*, ii. 386. As to the political bearing of the simile see the note on 803 supra.

872. *πριάμενος*] Paphlagon was a seller of leather; he had stores of his own; and yet he never out of his abundant supply gave so much as one clout, *κάττυμα*, to Demus. The Sausage-seller had no leather; he could only procure some in the market; and yet he goes and buys for Demus not a mere clout, but an excellent pair of shoes. *πλείονα εὐνοῖαν ἔδειξεν*, says the Scholiast, *ὅτι καὶ πριάμενος ἔδωκεν*.



Who when the mere is still and clear catch nothing for their creels,  
 But when they rout the mud about and stir it up and down,  
 'Tis then they do ; and so do you, when you perturb the town.  
 But answer me this single thing : you sell a lot of leather,  
 You say you're passionately fond of Demus,—tell me whether  
 You've given a clout to patch his shoes. DEMUS. No never, I  
 declare.

S.S. You see the sort of man he is ! but I, I've bought a pair  
 Of good stout shoes, and here they are, I give them you to wear.

DEMUS. O worthy, patriotic gift ! I really don't suppose  
 There ever lived a man so kind to Demus and his toes.

PAPH. 'Tis shameful that a pair of shoes should have the power and might  
 To put the favours I've conferred entirely out of sight,  
 I who struck Gryttus from the lists, and stopped the boy-loves quite.

S.S. 'Tis shameful, I with truth retort, that you should love to pry  
 Into such vile degrading crimes as that you name. And why ?  
 Because you fear 'twill make the boys for public speaking fit.  
 But Demus, at his age, you see without a tunic sit,

873. *περὶ τὸν δῆμον κ.τ.λ.*] This line seems to look back to the self-satisfied claim of Paphlagon, supra 764.

877. *Γρύττον*] *Τῶν ἐπὶ μαλακίᾳ διαβαλλομένων ὁ Γρύττος.*—Scholiast. Apparently he was such a notorious offender in this respect, that with his disappearance the crime itself seemed to have ceased out of the land. *ἐξαλείψας* probably means *struck him off the register of Athenian citizens*, but we know nothing of the facts. In the following line the *οὔκουν δεινόν* of the Sausage-seller takes up the *οὐ δεινόν* of Paphlagon three lines before.

880. *ρήτορες*] On this charge against

the character of the *ρήτορες* see *Ecl.* 112 and the note there.

881. *ἄνευ χιτῶνος*] We might have expected Demus to be attired in the ordinary garb—*ιμάτιον* and *χιτῶν*—of an Athenian citizen. But here we are informed that he was not wearing a *χιτῶν*, and the entire scene seems to imply that he was clothed in a mean and poverty-stricken manner ; intended, no doubt, as a contrast to the splendid apparel in which he will appear after the Transformation Scene. See 1331 infra. Now, however, that attention is called to his tunicless condition, the rivals endeavour to supply what is

- οὐπόποτ' ἀμφιμασχάλου τὸν Δῆμον ἠξίωσας,  
χειμῶνος ὄντος· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοι τουτονὶ δίδαμι.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. τοιουτονὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς οὐπόποτ' ἐπενόησεν.  
καίτοι σοφὸν ἀκείν' ὁ Πειραιεύς· ἔμοιγε μέντοι 885  
οὐ μείζον εἶναι φαίνεται' ἐξεύρημα τοῦ χιτῶνος.
- ΠΑ. οἶμοι τάλας, οἷσις πιθηκισμοῖς με περιελαύνεις.
- ΑΛ. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πίνων ἀνήρ πέπονθ', ὅταν χεσεῖη,  
τοῖσιν τρόποις τοῖς σοῖσιν ὥσπερ βλαυτίοισι χρῶμαι.
- ΠΑ. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπερβαλεῖ με θωπέαις· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν 890  
προσαμφιῶ τοδί· σὺ δ' οἴμωξ', ὦ πόνηρ'. ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἰαίβοι.  
οὐκ ἐς κόρακας ἀποφθερεῖ, βύρσης κάκιστον ὄζων;
- ΑΛ. καὶ τοῦτό γ' ἐπίτηδες σε περιήμπισχ', ἵνα σ' ἀποπνίξῃ.  
καὶ πρότερον ἐπεβούλευσέ σοι. τὸν καυλὸν οἶσθ' ἐκείνων  
τοῦ σιλφίου τὸν ἄξιον γενόμενον; ΔΗΜΟΣ. οἶδα μέντοι.
- ΑΛ. ἐπίτηδες οὗτος αὐτὸν ἔσπευδ' ἄξιον γενέσθαι, 896  
ἵν' ἐσθίοιτ' ὠνούμενοι, κᾶπειτ' ἐν Ἡλιαίᾳ

lacking, each bringing a χιτῶν for his acceptance. First, the Sausage-seller offers him a warm tunic with sleeves coming down, at least to the armpits, and probably a good deal further. This Demus receives with pleasure and gratitude. He does not indeed actually commence to wear it; and Paphlagon, accustomed to outwit his antagonists, and furious at finding himself at every point outwitted by the Sausage-seller, is eager to retrieve the situation by personally arraying Demus in a χιτῶν of his own. This is a leathern jerkin, very possibly an ἐξωμίς, which Paphlagon will himself presently throw around the shoulders of Demus.

882. ἀμφιμασχάλου] "The χιτῶν had two varieties of form. Pollux vii. 47:

χιτῶν δὲ, ὁ μὲν ἀμφιμάσχαλος, ἐλευθέρων σχῆμα. ὁ δὲ ἑτερομάσχαλος, οἰκετῶν. The ἑτερομάσχαλος had an armhole only for the left arm, leaving the right with a part of the breast quite bare, and hence it was also called ἐξωμίς. But the ἐξωμίς was not only a χιτῶν, it could also serve as an ἱμάτιον or περίβλημα. Hesychius, s.v. ἐξωμίς; Eustathius at Il. xviii. 595; Pollux ubi supra." Becker's Charicles, xi, Exc. 1. As to the words χειμῶνος ὄντος it must be remembered that the Comedy was exhibited in or about the month of February.

889. βλαυτίοισι] Οἱ ἀνιστάμενοι ἐκ τῶν συμποσίων πρὸς τὸ ἀποπατήσαι πολλάκις τοῖς ἄλλοτριῖσι ὑποδήμασι χρώνται, ἢ τοὶ σπεύδοντες, ἢ ἀγνοοῦντες ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης.—

In winter too; and nought from you his poverty relieves,  
But here's a tunic I have brought, well-lined, with double sleeves.

DEMUS. O, why Themistocles himself ne'er thought of such a vest!

Peiraeus was a clever thing, but yet, I do protest,

That on the whole, between the two, I like the tunic best.

PAPH. (To S.S.) Pah! would you circumvent me thus, with such an apish jest?

S.S. Nay as one guest, at supper-time, will take another's shoes,  
When dire occasion calls him out, so I your methods use.

PAPH. Fawn on: you won't outdo me there. I'll wrap him round about  
With this of mine. Now go and whine, you rascal. DEMUS.

Phough! get out!

(To P.'s wrapper.) Go to the crows, you brute, with that disgusting smell  
of leather.

S.S. He did it for the purpose, Sir; to choke you altogether.

He tried to do it once before: don't you remember when

A stalk of silphium sold so cheap? DEMUS. Remember? yes:  
what then?

S.S. Why that was his contrivance too: he managed there should be a  
Supply for all to buy and eat; and in the Heliaea

Scholiast. Bergler refers to Athenaeus viii, chap. 19, where a story is told of the club-footed musician Dorion who at some wine-party lost, through a mishap of this kind, the slipper he wore on that foot. *I wish the thief, said he, no greater misfortune than that my slipper may fit his foot.*

891. προσαμφῶ τοδι] Πρὸς οἷς ἔχει, ἐνδύσω. παρεπιγραφὴ δὲ, δίδωσι γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ Κλέων χιτῶνα.—Scholiast. Some of the Commentators have got it into their heads that Paphlagon is offering Demus an ἱμάτιον; but the Scholiast is clearly right. It was a χιτῶν, and not an ἱμάτιον, that Demus lacked, supra 881;

it is a χιτῶν, and not an ἱμάτιον, with which his flatterers are seeking to supply him. If any particular substantive is to be understood with τόδε, it would be χιτῶνιον or ἐνδυμα. No doubt, however, Paphlagon's χιτῶν is merely wrapped round Demus.

892. ἴζει] Many recent editors change this participle, the reading of every MS., into ἴζει, a change which seems to weaken the line, and destroy the force of Demus's ejaculation. The entire line is addressed, not to Paphlagon, but to Paphlagon's discarded χιτῶν. Compare Wasps 1154 and the note there.

βδέοντες ἀλλήλους ἀποκτείνειαν οἱ δικασταί.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ τοῦτ' εἶπ' ἀνὴρ Κόπρειος.

ΑΛ. οὐ γὰρ τόθ' ὑμεῖς βδεόμενοι δήπου 'γένεσθε πυρροί; 900

ΔΗΜΟΣ. καὶ νῆ Δί' ἦν γε τοῦτο Πυρράνδρου τὸ μηχανήμα.

ΠΑ. οἴοισί μ', ὦ πανούργε, βωμολοχεύμασιν ταράττεις.

ΑΛ. ἡ γὰρ θεός μ' ἐκέλευσε νικῆσαί σ' ἀλαζονείαις.

ΠΑ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νικήσεις. ἐγὼ γάρ φημί σοι παρέξειν,  
ὦ Δῆμε, μηδὲν δρῶντι μισθοῦ τρύβλιον βροφῆσαι. 905

ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ κυλίχνιον γέ σοι καὶ φάρμακον δίδωμι  
τὰν τοῖσιν ἀντικνημίοις ἐλκύδρια περιαιείφειν.

ΠΑ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς πολιὰς γέ σουκλέγων νέον ποιήσω.

ΑΛ. ἰδοῦ, δέχου κέρκον λαγὼ τῷφθαλμιδίῳ περιψῆν.

ΠΑ. ἀπομυξάμενος ὦ Δῆμέ μου πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποψῶ. 910

ΑΛ. ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖν, ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖν.

898. βδέοντες] *By breaking wind.* Theophrastus, H. P. vi. 3. 1, says of the *σιλφίου καυλὸς* that *καθαίρειν τοῦτόν φασι τὰ σώματα τετταράκοντα ἡμέραις*. And Pliny (N. H. xii. 48) says that the root "inflationes facit et ructus." *ἄξιον*, of course, means *cheap*, *εὔωνον*, καὶ *ὀλίγης τιμῆς πιπρασκόμενον*, as the Scholiast says. As to silphium, the *giant fennel*, see the note on Plutus 925.

899. Κόπρειος] *Κόπρειοι* was the actual name of an Attic deme, a name on which Aristophanes puns, both here and in *Eccl.* 317. The unsavoury allusion is carried on by the *πυρροί* of the following line. See the Commentary on *Frogs* 307.

901. Πυρράνδρου] It seems to me that the real meaning of this line has escaped the Scholiasts and Commentators. In my judgement it is required by the sequence of the dialogue

that, under the name *Pyrrhander*, Demus should be speaking of *Paphlagon*. The Sausage-seller has stated that this silphium-trick was the contrivance of *Paphlagon*; that the latter had twice endeavoured to destroy Demus by means of evil smells; now, by means of his filthy leathern jerkin: and on some previous occasion by means of the cheap silphium. Demus is *acquiescing* in that statement. Had he meant by *Pyrrhander* anybody but *Paphlagon*, he would have been *dissenting* from it; this little bit of buffoonery, *βωμολόχευμα*, on the part of the Sausage-seller would have missed its mark, and *Paphlagon* could not, as he does in the very next line, have protested against its success. In what sense, then, was the name *Πύρρανδρος* applied to *Paphlagon*? We know that *Πυρρίας* was a common name for a yellow-haired

The dicasts one and all were seized with violent diarrhoea.

DEMUS. O ay, a Coprolitish man described the sad affair.

S.S. And worse and worse and worse you grew, till yellow-tailed you were.

DEMUS. It must have been Pyrrhander's trick, the fool with yellow hair.

PAPH. (*To S.S.*) With what tomfooleries, you rogue, you harass and torment me.

S.S. Yes, 'tis with humbug I'm to win; for that the Goddess sent me.

PAPH. You shall not win! O Demus dear, be idle all the day,  
And I'll provide you free, to swill, a foaming bowl of—pay.

S.S. And I'll this gallipot provide, and healing cream within it;  
Whereby the sores upon your shins you'll doctor in a minute.

PAPH. I'll pick these grey hairs neatly out, and make you young and fair.

S.S. See here; this hare-scut take to wipe your darling eyes with care.

PAPH. Vouchsafe to blow your nose, and clean your fingers on my hair.

S.S. No, no; on mine, on mine, on mine!

slave (Lucian, Timon 22; Frogs 730 and the note there), as Xanthias for one with auburn hair; and Paphlagon, who appears as an ordinary slave, and not in the likeness of Cleon, was in all probability represented as a *πυρρίας*, a slave with yellow hair. Demus lays hold of this peculiarity to keep up the jest upon *πυρρός*, enforcing the application of the word by a gesture directed towards Paphlagon. Hence the latter's indignant expostulation in the following line.

905. *μισθοῦ*] *Pay-sour*. He is alluding to the dicastic triobol, *μισθοῦ εἶπε διὰ τὸν δικαστικὸν μισθόν*, as the Scholiast says. The word is used *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, just as in Wasps 525 *μισθόν* is unexpectedly substituted for *κύλικα*. Paphlagon has already been courting the dicasts—or in other words the Demus—

by getting them a full day's pay for less than a full day's work: see supra 50, Wasps 595. In his present strait he is willing to promise them a full day's pay for "doing just nothing at all"; the very service for which the Demus had recently given *him* a seat at the Prytaneian dinner-table, supra 766.

906. *κυλίχριον*] \**Ο νῦν λέγουσι πυξίδιον ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰ πυξίδια, ἐν οἷς προσβάλλουσι τὰ πάσματα*.—Scholiast. The Sausage-seller is still seeking to win Demus by ministering to his immediate personal wants; as in the case of the cushion, the shoes, and the tunic above, and of the hare-scut just below.

911. *ἐμοῦ μὲν οὖν*] Paphlagon has descended to such a depth of grovelling that the Sausage-seller, unable to sink lower, can only repeat the same request

- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ σε ποιήσω τριη-  
 ραρχεῖν, ἀναλίσκοντα τῶν  
 σαυτοῦ, παλαιὰν ναῦν ἔχοντ',  
 εἰς ἣν ἀναλῶν οὐκ ἐφέ- 915  
 ξεις οὐδὲ ναυπηγούμενος·  
 διαμηχανήσομαι θ' ὅπως  
 ἂν ἰστίον σαπρὸν λάβῃς.
- ΧΟ. ἀνὴρ παφλάζει, παῦε παῦ',  
 ὑπερζέων ὑφελκτέον 920  
 τῶν δαδίων, ἀπαρυστέον  
 τε τῶν ἀπειλῶν ταυτηί.
- ΠΑ. δώσεις ἐμοὶ καλὴν δίκην,  
 ἰπούμενος ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς.

with eager and emphatic iteration. These words do not belong to the system of iambic dimeters which immediately follows, and which is of an entirely different character and rhythm. They belong to the previous system, and are really half a tetrameter which has been left unfinished, partly to mark more strongly the emphasis of the Sausage-seller, and partly to furnish a convenient transition from the longer to the shorter system. Compare *Birds* 611.

912. *τριηραρχεῖν*] Ἀπειλεῖ αὐτῷ λειτουργίαν. λειτουργία γὰρ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, δαπανηρὸν δὲ τὸ τριηραρχεῖν· ἔδει γὰρ τὴν τριήρη πάντα ἔχειν πρὸς πόλεμον εὐτρεπῆ, ἅπερ παρεσκεύαζεν ὁ τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην προβληθεῖς. — Scholiast. It is obvious that the Sausage-seller was to have as burdensome a task as the rules of the trierarchy would permit; and it follows that, as indeed we are elsewhere told,

the duty of a trierarch did not extend to the building of an entirely new trireme, but was confined to the repair and equipment of an already existing ship. See Boeckh's *P. E.* Book IV, chaps. xi and xii.

919. *ἀνὴρ παφλάζει*] Here we see one reason why Aristophanes chose for Cleon, as a slave, the name of Paphlagon. His fierce and boisterous oratory might be likened to the κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης. Here, overflowing with rage, he is compared by the Chorus to a caldron, hissing and simmering over a fire of wood. The caldron is beginning to boil over, and they propose to lessen the fire by drawing out some of the sticks, and to ease the caldron by ladling out some of its contents. *τῇ μεταφορᾷ ἐχρήσατο*, says the Scholiast, ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκείου ἐν τῷ πυρὶ κειμένου. ἔπειδ' ἂν γὰρ ἴδωμεν τοῦτο ὑπερζέον, τῶν ἰποκειμένων ξύλων ὑφαίρουμέν

- PAPH. A trierarch's office you shall fill,  
 And by my influence I'll prevail  
 That you shall get, to test your skill,  
 A battered hull with tattered sail.  
 Your outlay and your building too  
 On such a ship will never end ;  
 No end of work you'll have to do,  
 No end of cash you'll have to spend.
- CHOR. O see how foamy-full he gets.  
 Good Heavens, he's boiling over ; stay !  
 Some sticks beneath him draw away,  
 Bale out a ladleful of threats.
- PAPH. Rare punishment for this you'll taste ;  
 I'll make the taxes weigh you down ;

καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἵνα μὴ ὑπερχυθέντος τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ πῦρ σβησθῆ. χαριέντως δὲ ὡς μαγεῖραφ.

922. ταυτή] ἴσως κρεάγραν ἔδειξεν ὡς μαγεῖραφ. — Scholiast. The flesh-hook which the Sausage-seller was carrying (supra 772) was to be struck into the caldron to bring out some of the stew. See Wasps 1155 and the note there. τῶν ἀπειλῶν δὲ εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τοῦ ζέματος.—Scholiast.

924. ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς] Mitchell, observing that Photius explains ἰπούμενος by πιεζόμενος, cites Lysias (Against Ergocles 3), who speaks of the Athenians as πιεζομένους ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς. The εἰσφοραὶ were contributions, on the basis of a graduated property-tax, made by Athenian citizens to the public revenue. The taxable capital of the πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι was reckoned at twelve times the amount of their

annual income ; that of the ἱππεῖς at ten times ; and that of the ζευγῖται at less than seven times : so that for every £100 of their income the πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι would be taxed as if their property was £1,200, and the ζευγῖται as if their property was less than £700. See Boeckh, iv. 5. Paphlagon's threat therefore, that he will have the Sausage-seller's name placed in the property-register amongst the πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, was a very serious one. We may well believe that these εἰσφοραὶ were shirked as much as possible, οὐκ εἰσφέρετε τὰς εἰσφορὰς say the Chorus of Women to the Chorus of Men in Lysist. 654 ; and that a litigant would endeavour to commend himself to his judges as one πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρων, Antiphon, First Tetralogy, Second Speech, section 12. Boeckh (iv. 1) thinks that the εἰσφορὰ at Athens was invariably

- ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πλουσίους 925  
 σπεύσω σ' ὅπως ἂν ἐγγραφῆς.  
 ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπειλήσω μὲν οὐ-  
 δὲν, εὐχομαι δέ σοι ταδί-  
 τὸ μὲν τάγηνον τευθίδων  
 ἐφροσάμενος σίζον, σὲ δὲ 930  
 γνώμην ἐρεῖν μέλλοντα περὶ  
 Μιλησίων καὶ κερδανεῖν  
 τάλαντον, ἣν κατεργάσῃ,  
 σπεύδειν ὅπως τῶν τευθίδων  
 ἐμπλήμενος φθαίης ἔτ' εἰς 935  
 ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθῶν· ἔπει-  
 τα πρὶν φαγεῖν, ἀνὴρ μεθή-  
 κοι, καὶ σὺ τὸ τάλαντον λαβεῖν  
 βουλόμενος ἐσθ-  
 ῖων ἐπαποπνιγείης. 940  
 ΧΟ. εὖ γε νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα.

an exceptional war-tax; but there are no sufficient grounds for so limiting it. It is far more reasonable to suppose with Perizonius at Aelian, V. H. ii. 10, and Duker at Thuc. iii. 19, that *εἰσφοραὶ* is the general name for the contributions of the citizens, as *φόροι* for those of the subject allies. *εἰσφοραὶ* were levied at Athens long before either the *φόροι* or the Athenian empire came into existence. Polity of Athens, chap. 8.

929. *τάγηνον τευθίδων*] We have already, in Acharnians 1156-60, had a comic imprecation connected, as here, with that particular kind of cuttle which

was called a *τευθίς*. There it was hoped that just as the offender was about to eat his cuttle a dog might run off with it; here that he may be choked in his eagerness to eat it. Both passages bear witness to the high estimation in which the *τευθίς* was held. One would suppose that Alexis, a great cookery poet, must have had this description in his mind when he talked of bringing in τὸ σῶμα τῆς σηπίας, ἐπὶ τὸ τίγανον, σίζον. Athenaeus vii, chap. 124.

932. *Μιλησίων*] See the note on 361 supra. Neil observes that in the tribute lists Miletus is assessed at ten talents,



Amongst the wealthiest of the town  
 I'll manage that your name is placed.  
 S.S. I will not use a single threat;  
 I only most devoutly wish  
 That on your brazier may be set  
 A hissing pan of cuttle-fish;  
 And you the Assembly must address  
 About Miletus,—'tis a job  
 Which, if it meets entire success,  
 Will put a talent in your fob,—  
 And O that ere your feast begin,  
*The Assembly waits* your friend may cry,  
 And you, afire the fee to win  
 And very loth to lose the fry,  
 May strive in greedy haste to swallow  
 The cuttles and be CHOKED thereby.

CHOR. Good! Good! by Zeus, Demeter, and Apollo.

449-446 B.C.; at five talents, 445-439 B.C.; and again at ten 424 B.C., the year of the exhibition of the Knights; a variation which tends to support the suggestion made at the end of that note.

933. ἦν κατεργάση] Ἐὰν διαπράξῃ ἄπερ αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλω. μεθήκοι δὲ, μετέλθοι, καλῶν σε δηλονότι.—Scholiast. Compare Eccl. 247 ἦν ταυθ' ἀπειροεῖς κατεργάση. And as to μεθήκοι see Eccl. 534 and the note on 529.

941. νῆ τὸν Δία κ.τ.λ.] An appeal to this triplet of deities is not uncommon. They are conjoined, as Neil observes, in the dicastic oath; ὤμνουσιν ἐν Ἀρδίττῳ Ἀπόλλω πατρῶον, καὶ Δῆμητρα, καὶ Δία Βασιλεία, Pollux viii, segm. 122. And

Mitchell refers to Demosthenes (Against Callippus 11, p. 1238) καὶ μὴ τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καὶ τὴν Δῆμητρα οὐ φεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί. The oath here, like the prayers in the Birds and the Thesmophoriazusae, is in prose. Bergk observed that if the γε were omitted, and a bacchic foot (υ—) added, the line would form an anapaestic tetrameter, and Herwerden accordingly added σύ γ' ἠῦξω, so as to make the line εὖ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καὶ τὴν Δῆμητρα σύ γ' ἠῦξω. But this, of course, is merely a play of fancy; nobody doubts the integrity of the text.

- ΔΗΜΟΣ. κάμοι δοκεῖ καὶ τάλλα γ' εἶναι καταφανῶς  
 ἀγαθὸς πολίτης, οἷος οὐδεὶς παυ χροῖνου  
 ἀνὴρ γεγένηται τοῖσι πολλοῖς τοῦβολοῦ. 945  
 σὺ δ', ὦ Παφλαγῶν, φάσκων φιλεῖν μ' ἔσκοροδίσας.  
 καὶ νῦν ἀπόδος τὸν δακτύλιον, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι  
 ἐμοὶ ταμιεύσεις. ΠΑ. ἔχε' τοσοῦτον δ' ἴσθ' ὅτι,  
 εἰ μὴ μ' ἔασεις ἐπιτροπεύειν, ἕτερος αὖ  
 ἐμοῦ πανουργότερός τις ἀναφανήσεται. 950
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὁ δακτύλιός ἐσθ' οὐτοσί  
 οὐμός· τὸ γοῦν σημεῖον ἕτερον φαίνεται,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ οὐ καθορῶ; ΑΛ. φέρ' ἴδω, τί σοι σημεῖον ἦν;
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. δημοῦ βοεῖου θρίον ἐξωπτημένον.  
 ΑΛ. οὐ τοῦτ' ἔνεστιν. ΔΗΜΟΣ. οὐ τὸ θρίον; ἀλλὰ τί; 955
- ΑΛ. λάρος κεχρηνὸς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημηγορῶν.  
 ΔΗΜΟΣ. αἰβοῖ τάλας. ΑΛ. τί ἔστιν; ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἀπόφερ' ἐκποδῶν.  
 οὐ τὸν ἐμὸν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Κλεωνύμου.

943. κάμοι δοκεῖ] In the second bout of the controversy, as in the first (see the note on 836supra), the Sausage-seller has got the better of his adversary; and Demus seems quite satisfied of his superior merit, and willing to take him on in Paphlagon's place. Yet we shall find that two more trials take place, the competition with the oracles and the competition with the food-supplies, before the final decision is given. I think that, if we consider the very recent date of Cleon's Sphacterian triumph, we must feel that Aristophanes was somewhat pressed for time in preparing this Comedy for production; and I suspect that he originally thought that he should be unable to protract the discussion before Demus, beyond the debates in anapaestic and iambic

tetrameters; then found himself able to add the oracle-competition; and finally to continue it to its present dimensions. For thrice does Demus announce that he is ready to decide in favour of the Sausage-seller, here and at 1098 and 1227 infra; but on the first two occasions Paphlagon begs, and obtains, a further trial. From the third decision there is no appeal.

945. τοῖσι πολλοῖς] *To the Many*, the οἱ πολλοί, the Athenian populace. But the word πολλοί reminds the speaker of the placard frequently to be seen over the cheap market-stalls, πολλοὶ (or πολλοὶ) τοῦβολοῦ, scilicet *ιχθύες* or *ἀφύαι*, supra 649; and, perhaps somewhat heedlessly seeing that he himself is Demus, he adds τοῦβολοῦ here to πολλοῖς so as to make the phrase run "to the

- DEMUS. Aye, and in all respects he seems to me  
 A worthy citizen. When lived a man  
 So good to the Many (the Many for a penny)?  
 You, Paphlagon, pretending that you loved me,  
 Primed me with garlic. Give me back my ring;  
 You shall no more be steward. PAPH. Take the ring;  
 And be you sure, if I'm no more your guardian,  
 You'll get, instead, a greater rogue than I.
- DEMUS. Bless me, this can't be mine, this signet-ring.  
 It's not the same device, it seems to me;  
 Or can't I see? S.S. What's the device on yours?
- DEMUS. A leaf of beef-fat stuffing, roasted well.
- S.S. No, that's not here. DEMUS. What then? S.S. A cormorant  
 With open mouth haranguing on a rock.
- DEMUS. Phough! S.S. What's the matter? DEMUS. Throw the  
 thing away.  
 He's got Cleonymus's ring, not mine.

Many for an obol." The reader must first annex πολλοῖς to τοῖσι (making τοῖσι πολλοῖς equivalent to τῷ πλήθει), and then to τοῖβολουῦ. Cf. supra 361, Birds 874.

946. ἐσκορόδισας] *Primed me with garlic*, as though I were a game cock, supra 494. You were for ever urging me to fight; and that, although you pretended to love me.

947. τὸν δακτύλιον] The signet-ring with which a householder entrusts his steward. There seems to be no allusion to any public office. This is a matter which concerns Paphlagon, not Cleon.

953. ἀλλ' ἤ] *Can it be that?* See the note on Wasps 8.

954. δημοῦ βοείου] Here, as in Wasps

40, there is a play on the words δῆμος, *the Athenian People*, and δημὸς βοείος, *the fat of bulls*.

956. λάρος] The term λάρος embraces every variety of gull, but whether it extends to the cormorant is extremely uncertain. It is, however, necessary so to translate it, because the cormorant represents to us the precise qualities which the λάρος represented to the Greeks. See the Introduction to the Birds, p. lxxxiii. The πέτρα from which the λάρος is holding forth is the bema, the block of living stone, from which the orators addressed the assembly in the Pnyx.

958. κλεωνόμου] The λάρος has already played its part in denoting the bound-

παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ τουτονὶ λαβὼν ταμίενέ μοι.

ΠΑ. μὴ δῆτά πώ γ', ὃ δέσποτ', ἀντιβολῶ σ' ἐγώ, · 960

πρὶν ἂν γε τῶν χρησμῶν ἀκούσης τῶν ἐμῶν.

ΑΛ. καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν νυν. ΠΑ. ἀλλ' ἐὰν τούτῳ πίθη,  
μολγὸν γενέσθαι δεῖ σε. ΑΛ. κἂν γε τουτῶν,  
ψωλὸν γενέσθαι δεῖ σε μέχρι τοῦ μυρρίνου.

ΠΑ. ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ἐμοὶ λέγουσιν ὡς ἄρξαι σε δεῖ 965  
χώρας ἀπάσης ἐστεφανωμένον βόδοις.

ΑΛ. οὐμοὶ δέ γ' αὖ λέγουσιν ὡς ἀλουργίδα  
ἔχων κατάπαστον καὶ στεφάνην ἐφ' ἄρματος  
χρυσοῦ διώξεις Σμικύθην καὶ κύριον.

less rapacity of Cleon, as it does again in *Clouds* 591. It is now diverted to signify the enormous voracity of Cleonymus, which is again satirized infra 1294-9. Cf. Aelian, V. H. i. 27. For Cleon it represented the greed of gain; for Cleonymus the greed of eating. It seems to have escaped the observation of Commentators that up to this time Cleonymus is known only as a prodigious eater. The taunts on his cowardice as a *ρίψασπις*, an *ἀσπιδαποβλής*, are all *subsequent* to the Knights, and are probably, as I have already suggested in the Commentary on the *Birds* 288, due to his having cast away his shield in the flight from Delium. That battle occurred in the same year as, but considerably later than, the exhibition of this Comedy. In the note to the *Birds* it is, by an unaccountable oversight, stated to have occurred about the time of such exhibition.

959. παρ' ἐμοῦ] Δακτύλιον ἄλλον δίδωσι, καὶ ἔστι παρεπιγραφή.—Scholiast. Apparently he takes the ring from his own

finger.

963. μολγόν] A *black-jack*, the slang equivalent of *ἄσκος*, a *wine-skin*. Pollux, x. 187, says that it is a Tarentine word, signifying *βόειος ἄσκος*. The meaning of the present passage is well explained by Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* ii, *Epimetrum* 1). It refers to a very famous oracle which declared that Athens should ride the sea like an *ἄσκος*, tossed and troubled it may be, but never submerged. The oracle was originally delivered from the Pythian shrine to Theseus, when he had carried out his great scheme of uniting all the various Attic communities into one Athenian commonwealth. It is given in full by Plutarch (*Theseus*, chap. 24), its last words being *ἄσκος γὰρ ἐν οἴδηματι ποντοπορεύσει*. And Plutarch quotes a similar vaticination which he ascribes to the Sibyl, though Pausanias (i. 20. 4) attributes that also to the Pythian priestess, *ἄσκος βαπτίζη, δῦναι δέ τοι οὐ θέμις ἐστίν*. So widespread was the knowledge of this oracle, that according to Libanius (on

Take this from me, and you be steward now.

PAPH. O not yet, master, I beseech, not yet;

Wait till you've heard my oracles, I pray.

S.S. And mine as well. PAPH. And if to *his* you listen,

You'll be a liquor-skin. S.S. And if to *his*,

You'll find yourself severely circumcised.

PAPH. Nay mine foretell that over all the land

Thyself shalt rule, with roses garlanded.

S.S. And mine that crowned, in spangled purple robe,

Thou in thy golden chariot shalt pursue

And sue the lady Smicythe and her lord.

Demosth. iv, p. 250), *μάλιστα Φίλιππος δέδοικε τὰς τῶν θεῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μαντείας*. . . ἀκούει γὰρ τῶν χρησμῶν ἀσκὸν ἀβάπτιστον καλοῦντων τὴν πόλιν. An oracle of this kind would naturally be much in men's mouths at Athens in times of trouble; and for the more decorous ἀσκὸς the people seem to have substituted the more vulgar *μολγός*. This change must have already been well known, otherwise the language of Aristophanes would have been unintelligible to the audience. Pollux quotes another line, apparently a mock oracle, from another play of Aristophanes (doubtless much later than the Knights), *μή μοι Ἀθηναίους αἶνει, μολγοὶ γὰρ ἔσονται*, *Praise me not the Athenians, for they are going to be μολγοί*. All these passages are collected by Lobeck. Paphlagon therefore is suggesting that this well-known oracle about Athens being a *μολγός* will be found in the Sausage-seller's collection. The latter's retort seems to have no reference to any oracle, but to be the unassisted product

of his own coarse mind. *μέχρι τοῦ μυρρίνου* is explained by the Scholiast to mean *εἰς τέλος*; and I may observe that, although *ψωλός* is uniformly translated "circumcised," it never in these Comedies has any reference to the rite of circumcision, but is invariably equivalent to *ἔστνκός*.

969. *διώξεις*] The promise of empire held out to Demus by Paphlagon was no doubt a tempting bait, but the promise of litigation held out by the Sausage-seller is one still greater and more tempting. For the purple robe, the crown, the golden car, in which we might have supposed that Demus was intended to pursue the sport of kings, are converted into mere adjuncts of litigation, and the signification of *διώξεις* is changed from "chasing" to "prosecuting," by the addition, *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, of the words *Σμικίθην καὶ κύριον*. Smicythes (doubtless an Athenian citizen, though one Scholiast calls him a Thracian king) was noted for his effeminate vices; and as his name, in

- ΠΑ. καὶ μὴν ἔνεγκ' αὐτοὺς ἰὼν, ἵν' οὐτοσὶ 970  
αὐτῶν ἀκούσῃ. ΑΛ. πάνν γε. καὶ σύ νυν φέρε.
- ΠΑ. ἰδοῦ. ΑΛ. ἰδοῦ νῆ τὸν Δί'. οὐδὲν κωλύει.
- ΧΟ. ἡδιστον φάος ἡμέρας  
ἔσται τοῖσι παροῦσι πᾶ-  
σιν καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, 975  
ἦν Κλέων ἀπλόηται.  
καίτοι πρεσβυτέρων τινῶν  
οἶων ἀργαλεωτάτων  
ἐν τῷ Δείγματι τῶν δικῶν

the accusative case, was equally adapted for a man or a woman, the speaker affects to consider him a married woman, and says that the prosecution is to be directed against him and his *κύριον* "husband" or "next friend" without whom a married woman could not be sued. The Scholiast says τὸν Σμυκίθην κωμῳδεῖ ὡς κιναιδον. κύριον δὲ λέγει τὸν ἄνδρα' οὕτω γὰρ ἐπεγράφοντο ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, Ἀσπασία καὶ κύριος, τουτέστιν ὁ Περικλῆς. The phrase Ἀσπασία καὶ κύριος is probably taken from some Comic poet, twitting Pericles with the relation in which he stood to Aspasia.

970. ἰὼν] Whither are they to go for their oracles? It seems to me that for this purpose, and for the purpose of fetching their provisions infra 1110, the two houses, one on each side of Demus's abode, are to be utilized. Paphlagon goes into one of them, and the Sausage-seller into the other.

973-96. ἡδιστον κ.τ.λ.] Paphlagon has failed before the Council, and, so far, he has fared no better before the People; and the Chorus now indulge in a song

of triumph, consisting of a strophe and antistrophe, in anticipation of his approaching overthrow. I ought rather to say, of *Cleon's* approaching overthrow; for here, and here only throughout the play, is the name of Cleon introduced. And why is it mentioned here? I think, for the following reason. We know that little choral odes like this, if they happened to catch the fancy of the town, were likely to come into vogue as popular melodies, cf. supra 529; and a song would obviously be made more telling by the introduction of Cleon's actual name. For the same reason the little lyric dialogue infra 1111-50 altogether drops the fiction of Demus the householder and Paphlagon the slave, and deals only with the real Athenian People and the real Athenian demagogues. The metre of the present ode is pure Glyconic; each strophe consisting of twelve Glyconic lines, nine of which are acatalectic, and three catalectic or (as the grammarians call them) Pherecrateian; and so arranged that three acatalectics are fol-

PAPH. Well, go and fetch them hither, so that *he*

May hear them. S.S. Certainly; and you fetch yours.

PAPH. Here goes. S.S. Here goes, by Zeus. There's nought to stop us.

CHOR. O bright and joyous day,  
O day most sweet to all  
Both near and far away,  
The day of Cleon's fall.  
Yet in our Action-mart  
I overheard by chance  
Some ancient sires and tart

lowed by one catalectic. The full

Glyconic is  $\begin{array}{c} \cup - \\ - - \\ - \cup \end{array} \left| - \cup \cup - \right| \cup - \mid$ . The

Pherecrateian drops the final syllable; and its own last syllable, closing the stanza, may be either long or short.

973. ἤδιστον φάος] The Scholiast tells us that the opening lines are borrowed or parodied from Euripides; and doubtless, if we had before us the passage from which they are taken, we should be able to define more precisely the exact meaning of the participles τοῖς παροῦσι and τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις. Here it seems that they can only mean *the residents*, and *the visitors*, "to all who are here, and to all who come here." The Scholiast indeed offers two interpretations, ἢ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσομένοις (that is, to the present and all future generations), ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ξένων, ἢ ἐπιδεικνύη τὸν Κλέωνα κἀν τούτῳ πονηρὸν, ὅτι μηδὲ τούτων φεΐδεται, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης ἅπαντας συκοφαντεῖ. The first explanation would make excellent sense, but ἀφικνουμένοις can hardly bear that

meaning, and the second alternative is very generally accepted.

978. οἶων ἀργαλειωτάτων] *As cross-grained as cross-grained can be.* He is speaking of the old dicasts, who are sure to have a good word for their patron, Cleon.

979. Δείγματι] Δείγματα are *samples* of merchandise, and in several Hellenic cities the Mart or Exchange in which merchants met to buy and sell by sample was itself called the Δείγμα. The Athenian Δείγμα was, as we might expect, in Peiraeus, the merchants leaving their cargoes in the ships, and bringing samples only to the Δείγμα. The Scholiast says τὸ Δείγμα τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ, where οἱ ἔμποροι τὰ δείγματα τῶν πωλουμένων ἐτίθεσαν. And Harpocration more fully Δείγμα, κυρίως μὲν τὸ δευκνύμενον ἀφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πωλουμένων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόπος τις ἐν τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπορίῳ, εἰς ἃν τὰ δείγματα ἐκομίζετο, οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. Harpocration further refers to Demosthenes Against Polycles 33 προσέρχεται αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ Δείγματι; and to Lysias Against Tisis (Fragm. 45, cited by Dionys. Hal. vi, p. 983, Reiske) οὐ

ἤκουσ' ἀντιλεγόντων, 980  
 ὡς εἰ μὴ 'γένεθ' οὗτος ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει μέγας, οὐκ ἂν ἤ-  
 στην σκεύη δύο χρησίμω,  
 δοῖδουξ οὐδὲ τορύνη.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸδ' ἔγωγε θαυ- 985  
 μάζω τῆς ὁμοουσίας  
 αὐτοῦ· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ  
 παῖδες οἱ ξυνεφοίτων

τὴν Δωριστὶ μόνην ἂν ἀρ- 990  
 μύττεσθαι θαμὰ τὴν λύραν,  
 ἄλλην δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν μαθεῖν·  
 κᾶτα τὸν κιθαριστὴν  
 ὀργισθέντ' ἀπάγειν κελεύ-

δυναμένου δὲ βαδίζειν, ἐκόμισαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Δεῖγμα. Bergler adds Demosthenes Against Lacritus 35 οὗτοι περιεπάτουσιν ἐν τῷ Δεῖγματι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ; and Mitchell, Xen. Hell. v. 1. 21, where, speaking of the daring raid of Teleutias on the Peiraeus, the historian says, ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες ἐς τὸ Δεῖγμα ἐμπόρους τέ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους ξυναρπάσαντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς εἰσήνεγκαν: and Schneider, in his note on the passage, observes "Δεῖγμα" ubi in simili facinore Alexander Pheraeus capiebat τὰ χρήματα ἀπὸ τῶν τραπεζῶν, narrante Polyaeo vi. 2. 2." Aristophanes calls the Law Courts Δεῖγμα τῶν δικῶν, as places where Justice is bought and sold: he is not referring to any particular Court. In the translation "Action-mart" is intended to be a play on our well-known "Auction-mart."

983. σκεύη δύο χρησίμω] *Two useful*

household utensils, viz. a Pestle and a Ladle for stirring; "quorum instrumentorum vicem," says Bergler, "Cleo praestat in turbanda Republica." He might have said "in turbanda Graecia tota," for that is the sense in which he is called a Pestle in the "Peace." There the War-demon is seeking to pound and pulverize the Hellenic cities in an enormous mortar, and tells his servant Κυδοιμὸς to fetch a pestle from Athens. Κυδοιμὸς runs to Athens and returns with the news that the Athenians have lost their pestle who was, he explains, ὁ βυρσοπώλης, ὃς ἐκέκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα (Cleon having died in the preceding year). The Scholiast on the present passage defines τορύνη as τὸ κινήριον τῆς χύτρας. And so Suidas, and the Scholiast on Birds 78.

985. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸδ' κ.τ.λ.] The entire antistrophe leads up to the joke that



This counter-plea advance,  
That but for him the State  
Two things had ne'er possessed :—  
A STIRRER-up of hate,  
A PESTLE of unrest.

His swine-bred music we  
With wondering hearts admire ;  
At school, his mates agree,  
He always tuned his lyre  
In Dorian style to play.  
His master wrathful grew ;  
He sent the boy away,  
And this conclusion drew,  
*This boy from all his friends*

Cleon tuned his lyre to the Reception-of-bribes pitch, *δωροδοκιστί*, with a play on *Δωριστί*. It does not seem that the pun can be reproduced in English, and I have been obliged to resort to the naturalized Latin formula, D.D. *dono dedit*, and also to give a more than usually free translation of the original.

986. *ἰσομουσίας*] *Ἰσομουσία*, a talent for swine music, is, I imagine, a word coined by Aristophanes as a play upon *εἰσομουσία*, a talent for fine music; and since the whole antistrophe is concerned with music, in the modern and narrower sense of the word, the Scholiast's interpretation of *ἰσομουσίας* as *τῆς χοιρωδίας*, *τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας*, can hardly be correct. Nor do I think that there can be any allusion, as in *Wasps* 36, to the high-pitched truculent voice of Cleon. We are dealing here with quite a different matter.

988. *οἱ ξυνεφοίτων*] *Οἱ συμμαθόντες*.—Scholiast. *His fellow pupils, his school-mates*. In the first chapter of the *Euthydemus* Socrates, after observing that old as he was he attended the class of Connos, the famous *κιθαριστής*, adds *οἱ παῖδες οἱ συμφοιτηταί μου ἐμοῦ τε καταγλώσι καὶ τὸν Κόννον καλοῦσι γεροντοδιδάσκαλον*. The verb *φοιτᾶν* is of course regularly used for attending the lectures of a teacher; cf. *infra* 1235, *Clouds* 916, and frequently in Plato.

989. *τὴν Δωριστί*] *Sc. ἁρμονίαν*. "Some Dorian movement bold or grave."—Keble. The Dorian was of all the harmonies the manliest and most austere. It is brought into connexion with Cleon only for the purpose of the coming *Δωροδοκιστί*.

993. *ἀπάγειν κελεύειν*] *Bade* his parents remove him. In other words, expelled him from the school.

ειν, ὡς ἀρμονίαν ὁ παῖς  
 οὗτος οὐ δύναται μαθεῖν  
 ἦν μὴ Δωροδοκιστί. 995

ΠΑ. ἰδοῦ, θέασαι, κούχ ἅπαντας ἐκφέρω.

ΑΛ. οἴμ' ὡς χεσεῖω, κούχ ἅπαντας ἐκφέρω.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ταυτὶ τί ἐστι; ΠΑ. λόγια. ΔΗΜΟΣ. πάντ'; ΠΑ.  
 ἐθαύμασας;

καὶ νῆ Δί' ἔτι γέ μουστι κιβωτὸς πλέα. 1000

ΑΛ. ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπερφῶν καὶ ξυνοικία δύο.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. φέρ' ἴδω, τίνος γάρ εἰσιν οἱ χρησιμοί ποτε;

ΠΑ. οὔμοι μὲν εἰσι Βάκιδος. ΔΗΜΟΣ. οἱ δὲ σοὶ τίνος;

ΑΛ. Γλάνιδος, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Βάκιδος γεραιτέρου.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. εἰσιν δὲ περὶ τοῦ; ΠΑ. περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, περὶ Πύλου, 1005  
 περὶ σοῦ, περὶ ἐμοῦ, περὶ ἀπάντων πραγμάτων.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. οἱ σοὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ; ΑΛ. περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, περὶ φακῆς,  
 περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, περὶ σκόμβρων νέων,  
 περὶ τῶν μετρούντων τᾶλφιτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ κακῶς,  
 περὶ σοῦ, περὶ ἐμοῦ. τὸ πέος οὔτοσι δάκοι. 1010

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἄγε νυν ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἀναγνώσεσθέ μοι,  
 καὶ τὸν περὶ ἐμοῦ κείνον ᾧ περ ἤδομαι,

996. Δωροδοκιστί] Οὐδεμίαν ἀρμονίαν ἄλλην θέλει μαθεῖν, μόνην δὲ τὴν τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἐπώνυμον.—Scholiast.

997. ἰδοῦ, θέασαι] The rivals re-enter from their respective houses, each "staggering," in Mitchell's phrase, "under a load of oracles," and vowing that he has ever so many more at home. The Sausage-seller is bound always to outdo Paphlagon, and accordingly he emphasizes his sense of the burden he is carrying by one of those unseemly jokes of which, in the opening scene

of the Frogs, Dionysus so forcibly expresses his contempt.

1000. κιβωτός] A κιβωτὸς was a wooden chest, box, or coffer. In Wasps 1056 it signifies a wardrobe; in Plutus 711 the diminutive κιβώτιον is used for a medicine chest. Paphlagon has a chest full of oracles still untouched; but the Sausage-seller has an upper chamber and two storerooms full. With ὑπερφῶν and ξυνοικία we must understand πλέα from the preceding line. ξυνοικία has two distinct significations: (1) a house

*Donations seeks to wile,  
His art begins and ends  
In Dono-do-rian style.*

PAPH. Look at them, see! and there are more behind.

S.S. O what a weight! and there are more behind.

DEMUS. What ARE they? PAPH. Oracles! DEMUS. All? PAPH. You seem surprised;

By Zeus, I've got a chestful more at home.

S.S. And I a garret and two cellars full.

DEMUS. Come, let me see. Whose oracles are these?

PAPH. Mine are by Bakis. DEMUS. (To S.S.) And by whom are yours?

S.S. Mine are by Glanis, Bakis's elder brother.

DEMUS. What do they treat of? PAPH. Mine? Of Athens, Pylus, Of you, of me, of every blessed thing.

DEMUS (To S.S.) And you; of what treat yours? S.S. Of Athens, pottage, Of Lacedaemon, mackerel freshly caught, Of swindling barley-measurers in the mart, Of you, of me. That nincompoop be hanged.

DEMUS. Well read them out; and prithee don't forget  
The one I love to hear about myself,

containing several different families. This is its commonest meaning, but is not its meaning here. And (2) a *store-room or cellar*. Here the Scholiast gives ἀπόστασις as one of its significations; and ἀπόστασις is defined as τοῦ οἴνου ἀποθήκας ἔχουσα, Antiatticista, p. 80. 32.

1004. Γλάνιδος] There is no such person as Glanis; the name is extemporized by the Sausage-seller on the spur of the moment. As to Bakis see 123 supra.

1007. περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, περὶ φακῆς] In this retort to Paphlagon's περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, περὶ

Πύλου, the humble φακῆ is obviously intended to deride the proud Πύλος; and possibly the speaker is recalling his own comparison in 745 supra, where Cleon's share in the Sphacterian achievement is likened to a theft by one servant of a mess of pottage cooked by another.

1008. σκόμβρων νέων] *Fresh mackerel.* εἶδος ἰχθύων οἱ σκόμβροι, παρόμοιοι τοῖς μικροῖς θύννοις. νέων δὲ, νεωστὶ τεταριχενμένων.—Scholiast. Both the tunny and the mackerel belong to the same family, the family of the *Scomberidae*.

ὡς ἐν νεφέλαισιν αἰετὸς γενήσομαι.

- ΠΑ. ἄκουε δὴ νυν καὶ πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν ἐμοί.  
 Φράζευ, Ἐρεχθεΐδη, λογίων ὄδον, ἣν σοι Ἀπόλλων  
 ἴαχεν ἐξ ἀδύτσιο δια τριπόδων ἐριτίμων. 1015  
 σώζεσθαί σ' ἐκέλευσ' ἱερὸν κύνα καρχαρόδοντα,  
 ὃς πρὸ σέθεν χάσκων καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεινὰ κεκραγῶς  
 σοὶ μισθὸν ποριεῖ, κἂν μὴ δρᾷ ταῦτ', ἀπολείται.  
 πολλοὶ γὰρ μίσει σφε κατακρῶζουσι κολοιοί. 1020
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ταυτὶ μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ' ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι λέγει.  
 τί γὰρ ἐστ' Ἐρεχθεῖ καὶ κολοιοῖς καὶ κυνί;
- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμ' ὁ κύων· πρὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀπύω·  
 σοὶ δ' εἶπε σώζεσθαί μ' ὁ Φοῖβος τὸν κύνα.
- ΑΛ. οὐ τοῦτό φησ' ὁ χρησμὸς, ἀλλ' ὁ κύων ὀδί, 1025  
 ὡσπερ θύρας σοῦ, τῶν λογίων παρεσθίει.

1013. ἐν νεφέλαισιν αἰετός] See Birds former line. The oracle is set out by 978, 987, and the Commentary on the the Scholiast here.

Εὐδαιμον προλιέθρον Ἀθηναίης ἀγγελίης  
 πολλὰ ἰδὼν, καὶ πολλὰ παθὼν, καὶ πολλὰ μογήσαν  
 αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέλῃσι γενήσεται ἤματα πάντα.

O thou fortunate town

Of Athene, the Bringer of spoil,

Much shalt thou see, and much

Shalt thou suffer, and much shalt thou toil,

Then in the clouds thou shalt soar, as an Eagle, for ever and ever.

It had already been mentioned, the Scholiast tells us, in the Banqueters, the first play exhibited by Aristophanes.

1015. Φράζευ] *Ponder*. Paphlagon has already been accused of dealing in dreams about himself, *δνειροπολῶν περὶ σαντοῦ* (supra 809); and the first three oracles he produces are all concerned with himself. In the first he is a watchdog, in the second a lion, and in the third a falcon; and in each character

he is specially commended to the care and protection of Demus. He keeps to the regular oracular forms; Bergler refers to the oracles recorded by Hdt. (viii. 20) and the Scholiast on Eur. *Phoenissae* 638; and Mitchell adds Hdt. v. 92. And doubtless, if we had before us all the oracles which were before Aristophanes, we should find even more adaptations of the ordinary oracular language. With *λογίων ὄδον*,

That I'm to soar, an Eagle, in the clouds.

PAPH. Now then give ear, and hearken to my words.

HEED THOU WELL, ERECTHEIDES, THE ORACLE'S DRIFT, WHICH APOLLO  
OUT OF HIS SECRET SHRINE THROUGH PRICELESS TRIPODS DELIVERED.

KEEP THOU SAFELY THE DOG, THY JAG-TOOTHED HOLY PROTECTOR.

YAPPING BEFORE THY FEET, AND TERRIBLY ROARING TO GUARD THEE,

HE THY PAY WILL PROVIDE : IF HE FAIL TO PROVIDE IT, HE'LL PERISH ;

YEA, FOR MANY THE DAWNS THAT ARE HATING AND CAWING AGAINST HIM.

DEMUS. This, by Demeter, beats me altogether.

What does Erectheus want with dawns and dog ?

PAPH. I am the dog : I bark aloud for you.

And Phoebus bids you guard the dog ; that's me.

S.S. It says not that ; but this confounded dog

Has gnawn the oracle, as he gnaws the door.

*the tenor of the oracles*, Kuster compares Eur. Phoen. 911 *ἀκουε δὴ νῦν θεσφάτων ἐμῶν ὀδόν*. And the use of the patronymics to describe the Athenians—*Ἐρεχθεΐδην* here, *Κεκροπίδην* infra 1055, and *Διγείδην* infra 1067 ; all three names, as Bergler observes, derived from ancient rulers of Attica—is in the true oracular vein.

1017. *κύων κερχάρῳδοντα*] It seems clear that Cleon was in the habit of styling himself the *κύων*, the watch-dog, of the Demus (see the note on Wasps 916) ; and the first two oracles brought forward here refer to him in that particular character. So in the Wasps, the accusation of Laches by Cleon is metamorphosed into a lawsuit of "*Κύων* against *Δάβης*." The term *κερχάρῳδοντα* is again applied to Cleon, Wasps 1031, Peace 754. It refers, as is observed in the note on the latter passage, "to the

sharp, irregular, serrated teeth with which carnivora tear their food, as contrasted with the even, regular, flat surfaces which render the teeth of other animals more adapted for grinding."

1019. *μισθόν*] He means the dicastic pay : cf. supra 256. "And you may be sure," he proceeds, in effect, "that he will always continue to provide it ; for should he fail to do so he will perish ; since you would withdraw your protection ; and his zeal for your welfare has raised him up many enemies."

1023. *ἀπύω*] *Ἄντι τοῦ, ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἴλακτῶ*.—Scholiast. The Epic form is *ἡπύω*, and Homer uses it of sounds so dissimilar as the roar of the gale, the bellow of the wounded Cyclops, the call of the shepherd, and the twang of the lyre. But in later times the form *ἀπύω* was almost universally employed.

1026. *ῶσπερ θύρας*] *Nibbles off a bit of*

ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐστ' ὀρθῶς περὶ τούτου τοῦ κυνός.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. λέγε νυν· ἐγὼ δὲ πρῶτα λήψομαι λίθον,  
ἵνα μή μ' ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ περὶ τοῦ κυνός δάκη.

ΑΛ. Φράξεν, Ἐρεχθεΐδη, κύνα Κέρβερον ἀνδραποδιστήν, 1030  
ὃς κέρκῳ σαίνων σ', ὅπταν δειπνήσῃ, ἐπιτηρῶν,  
ἐξέδεταί σου τοῦψον, ὅταν σύ που ἄλλοσε χάσκησ'  
ἐσφοιτῶν τ' ἐς τοῦπτάνιον λήσει σε κυνηδὸν  
νύκτωρ τὰς λοπάδας καὶ τὰς νήσους διαλείχων.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ πολὺ γ' ἄμεινον, ὦ Γλάνι. 1035

ΠΑ. ὦ τῶν, ἄκουσον, εἶτα διάκρινον τότε.

Ἔστι γυνή, τέξει δὲ λέονθ' ἱεραῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις,  
ὃς περὶ τοῦ δήμου πολλοῖς κῶνωψι μαχεῖται,  
ὥστε περὶ σκύμοισι βεβηκῶς· τὸν σὺ φυλάξαι,  
τεῖχος ποιήσας ξύλινον πύργους τε σιδηροῦς. 1040

ταῦτ' οἶσθ' ὁ τι λέγει; ΔΗΜΟΣ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω γὰρ μὲν οὐ.

ΠΑ. ἔφραξεν ὁ θεὸς σοι σαφῶς σῶξεν ἐμέ·  
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντός εἰμί σοι.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. καὶ πῶς μ' ἐλελήθεις Ἀντιλέων γεγενημένος;

ΑΛ. ἐν οὐκ ἀναδιδάσκει σε τῶν λογίων ἐκὼν, 1045  
ὁ μόνον σιδήρου τεῖχος ἐστι καὶ ξύλων,  
ἐν ᾧ σε σῶξεν τόνδ' ἐκέλευσ' ὁ Λοξίας.

*the oracles, just as a dog nibbles off a bit of your door.* "Ut canis arrodit ianuam," says Bergler, "si solus alicubi concludatur, exitum sibi patefacere volens, ita iste Cleo arrodit oracula, i.e. non integra profert."

1029. ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ περὶ τοῦ κυνός] Ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὁ ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ κύων.—Scholiast.

1033. τοῦπτάνιον] *The kitchen.* Blaydes refers to Lucian (Lucius or the Ass 17) ἑώραν γὰρ τοὺς κύνας εἰς ὀπανεῖον παρεσιόντας καὶ λαφύσσοντας πολλά. To which I may add, in connexion with both the

ὀπτάμιον and the λοπάδες, Alciphron, Ep. iii. 53, where a thief says χθές, Καρίωνος περὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἀσχολουμένου, εἰσέφρησα εἰς τοῦπτάνιον, ἔπειτα εἴρων λοπάδα εἶ μάλα κεκαρυκευμένην . . . ἐξήρπασα. The Scholiast's idea that by τὸ ὀπτάμιον we are to understand the Prytaneium seems an obvious mistake. By νήσους the poet is accustomed to describe the entire Athenian empire outside the shores of Attica. See on 170 supra.

1037. τέξει δὲ λέονθ'] Paphlagon is

I've the right reading here about the dog.

DEMUS. Let's hear ; but first I'll pick me up a stone  
Lest this dog-oracle take to gnawing *me*.

S.S. HEED THOU WELL, ERECTHEIDES, THE KIDNAPPING CERBERUS BAN-DOG ;  
WAGGING HIS TAIL HE STANDS, AND FAWNING UPON THEE AT DINNER,  
WAITING THY SLICE TO DEVOUR WHEN AUGHT DISTRACT THINE ATTENTION.  
SOON AS THE NIGHT COMES ROUND HE STEALS UNSEEN TO THE KITCHEN  
DOG-WISE ; THEN WILL HIS TONGUE CLEAN OUT THE PLATES AND THE—ISLANDS.

DEMUS. Aye, by Poseidon, Glanis, that's far better.

PAPH. Nay, listen first, my friend, and then decide.

WOMAN SHE IS, BUT A LION SHE'LL BEAR US IN ATHENS THE HOLY ;  
ONE WHO FOR DEMUS WILL FIGHT WITH AN ARMY OF STINGING MOSQUITOES,  
FIGHT, AS IF SHIELDING HIS WHELPS ; WHOM SEE THOU GUARD WITH DEVOTION  
BUILDING A WOODEN WALL AND AN IRON FORT TO SECURE HIM.

Do you understand ? DEMUS. By Apollo, no, not I.

PAPH. The God, 'tis plain, would have you keep me safely,  
For I'm a valiant lion, for your sake.

DEMUS. What, you Antileon and I never knew it !

S.S. One thing he purposely informs you not,  
What that oracular wall of wood and iron,  
Where Loxias bids you keep him safely, is.

utilizing for his own purposes two well-known oracular responses recorded by Herodotus. Bergler refers to the oracle about Cypselus, *αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει*,

*τέξει δὲ λέοντα | καρτερὸν ὤμωστήν*, Hdt. v. 92. And the Scholiast to the still more famous oracle about the wooden walls of Athens, that is, her fleet.

*τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλῖσκομένων, . . .*

*τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς*

*μῦθον ἀπόρρητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.* (Hdt. vii. 141.)

1044. 'Αντιλέων] Of Antileon we know nothing, for the Scholiast's remark *οὗτος πονηρὸς καὶ πολυπράγμων* is probably only a guess. But we may suspect that the comparison, which had been

carefully led up to by the *ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντος* of the preceding line, was intended to be the reverse of complimentary to Paphlagon.

- ΔΗΜΟΣ. πῶς δῆτα τοῦτ' ἔφραζεν ὁ θεός; ΑΛ. τουτονὶ  
 δῆσαι σ' ἐκέλευσ' ἐν πεντεσυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ταυτὶ τελείσθαι τὰ λόγι' ἤδη μοι δοκεῖ. 1050
- ΠΑ. μὴ πείθου· φθονεραὶ γὰρ ἐπικράζουσι κορῶναι.  
 ἀλλ' ἱέρακα φίλει, μεμνημένος ἐν φρεσίν, ὅς σοι  
 ἤγαγε συνδήσας Λακεδαιμονίων κορακίνουσ.
- ΑΛ. τοῦτό γέ τοι Παφλαγῶν παρεκινδύνευσε μεθυσθείς.  
 Κεκροπίδῃ κακόβουλε, τί τοῦθ' ἡγεί μέγα τούργον;  
 καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἀναθειῇ. 1055

1049. πεντεσυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ] The term ξύλον, standing alone, signified an instrument resembling our *stocks*; see on 367 supra. The κύψων was a sort of *pillory*; see on Plutus 476. The πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον combined the advantages of both these instruments. It had five apertures through which were inserted the head, hands, and feet of the culprit; πεντεσυρίγγῳ πέντε ὀπὰς ἔχοντι, δι' ὧν οἱ τε πόδες, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες, καὶ ὁ τράχηλος ἐνεβάλλετο.—Scholiast. Bergler refers to the saying of Polyuctus (mentioned by Aristotle, Rhetoric iii. 10) that a paralytic was ἐν πεντεσυρίγγῳ νόσφ δεδεμένος. Though described as ξύλον, it was doubtless clamped with iron.

1053. κορακίνουσ] See Lysistrata 560. κορακίνουσ· εἶδος ἰχθύος· ἐπαίξε δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ κούρουσ.—Scholiast. He employs the form κούροι rather than κόροι, because it is the form used by Homer in the Iliad to designate "soldiers." The κορακίνουσ, though a small, worthless fish (Aristotle, H. A. v. 9. 5, and so both Festus and Varro), is very frequently mentioned by ancient writers. It was

plentiful in the Euxine Sea and the Sea of Azov, but those from the Nile were considered the best, Athenaeus vii. 81. "The Coracinus in Egypt carrieth the name for the best fish."—Pliny, N. H. ix. 32 (Holland's translation). "Princeps Niliaci raperis, Coracine, macelli."—Martial xiii. 85. It was gregarious (Aristotle, H. A. vi. 16. 4, ix. 3. 1); and Aelian (N. H. xiii. 17) speaks of catching them in shoals as bait for larger fish. It is said to have derived its name from its dark colour, κορακίνουσ ἐπὶ ὄνυμοσ αἰθοπι χροίῃ (Oppian, Haliutics i. 133); whence they are called by Epicharmus κορακίνουσ κορακοειδέεσ (Ath. vii. 69); and we should no doubt restore the same epithet in the quotation from Epicharmus given by Athenaeus in the chapter which he devotes to the Κορακίνουσ (vii. 81), where the MSS. read κοροειδέεσ. Hence too Aristophanes in the "Telmissians" speaks of the μελανοπτερίγων κορακίνουσ, the *black-finned coracine*, no doubt with an allusion to κόρακεσ. But the notion of some recent writers that κορακίνουσ means "a young raven" seems abso-



- DEMUS. What means the God? S.S. He means that you're to clap Paphlagon in the five-holed pillory-stocks.
- DEMUS. I shouldn't be surprised if that came true.
- PAPH. HEED NOT THE WORDS; FOR JEALOUS THE CROWS THAT ARE CROAKING AGAINST ME,  
CHERISH THE LORDLY FALCON, NOR EVER FORGET THAT HE BROUGHT THEE,  
BROUGHT THEE IN FETTERS AND CHAINS THE YOUNG LACONIAN MINNOMS.
- S.S. THIS DID PAPHLAGON DARE IN A MOMENT OF DRUNKEN BRAVADO.  
WHY THINK MUCH OF THE DEED, CECROPIDES FOOLISH IN COUNSEL?  
WEIGHT A WOMAN WILL BEAR, IF A MAN IMPOSE IT UPON HER,

lutely without foundation. Many writers identify it with the *saperda*, Aristotle, *Probl. Ined.* iii. 36, Athenaeus vii. 81. But others distinguish the two, and Archestratus, the laureate of the epicures, who speaks slightly of the *κορακίνος*, quite loses his temper when he comes to the *saperda*. "Saperdae be hanged," he cries, "they and all who speak well of them!" Athenaeus iii. 85. And some think that the *saperda* was a *coracinus* pickled. In translating *κορακίνος* by *minnow* I have merely intended to give the familiar name of a diminutive gregarious fish, often used for bait, and do not suggest that our minnow is in any way connected with the *Coracinus* of the Greeks and Romans.

1056. *καί κε γυνή*] This is borrowed, the Scholiast tells us, from the Little Iliad of Lesches. It was said that when Achilles was slain Aias took up the body and bore it back to the Achæan lines, Odysseus following behind and keeping the Trojans at bay. On the contest between these two for the Arms of Achilles, Nestor advised that the

opinion of the Trojans should be ascertained as to their respective merits. The deputation sent for that purpose overheard two Trojan girls discussing this very subject. One declared that Aias had shown himself the better man—

*Αίας μὲν γὰρ ἄειρε καὶ ἔκφερε δημοτῆτος  
ἦρω Πηλείδην, οὐδ' ἤθελε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.*

but the other replied, by Athene's overruling care,

*πῶς ἐπεφωνήσω; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον εἶπες  
ψεύδος;*

And then followed the remark (the words of the original are not given) which Aristophanes is here partly borrowing and partly parodying. The application of the saying here appears to be that Demosthenes was the MAN, who took all the risk, and arranged and managed the whole affair, whilst Cleon merely carried off—the credit. In the next line the middle *χέσαιο* is used for *χέσαι* to form a sort of echo of *μαχίσαιο*. Compare 115 supra.

- ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν μαχέσαιοτο· χέσαιοτο γὰρ, εἰ μαχέσαιοτο.
- ΠΑ. ἀλλὰ τότε φράσσαι, πρὸ Πύλου Πύλον ἦν σοι ἔφραζεν,  
Ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο. ΔΗΜΟΣ. τί τοῦτο λέγει, πρὸ Πύλοιο;
- ΑΛ. τὰς πυέλους φησὶν καταλήψεσθ' ἐν βαλανείῳ. 1060
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἐγὼ δ' ἄλουτος τήμερον γενήσομαι;
- ΑΛ. οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν τὰς πυέλους ἀφήρπασεν.  
ἀλλ' οὔτοσὶ γὰρ ἔστι περὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ  
ὁ χρησιμὸς, ᾧ σε δεῖ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν πάνν.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. προσέχω· σὺ δ' ἀναγίνωσκε, τοῖς ναῦταισί μου 1065  
ὅπως ὁ μισθὸς πρῶτον ἀποδοθήσεται.
- ΑΛ. Αἰγείδη, φράσσαι κυναλώπεκα, μή σε δολώσῃ,  
λαίθαργον, ταχύπουν, δολίαν κερδῶ, πολυίδριν.  
οἶσθ' ὃ τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο; ΔΗΜΟΣ. Φιλόστρατος ἡ κυναλώπηξ.
- ΑΛ. οὐ τοῦτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ ναῦς ἐκάστοτε 1070  
αἰτεῖ ταχείας ἀργυρολόγους οὔτοσί·

1058. πρὸ Πύλου Πύλον κ.τ.λ.] There were three towns of this name, as Strabo observes (viii. 3, § 7), on the western coast of the Peloponnese: one in Elis a little to the south of the River Peneius; a second in Triphylia near Lepreum; and the third, with which we are now concerned, in Messenia by the Bay of Navarino. All three claimed the honour of being the Pylos of Nestor; and in connexion with this competition there arose an adage, Ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο, Πύλος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη. It is to this adage that Paphlagon is referring; the poet's object being to make fun of the perpetual iteration by Cleon of the name Pylos. That is also the object of the poor pun upon Πύλος and πύελος; since if, when Cleon appealed to his success at Pylus, his audience would remember πύελος, the

effect of his appeal would be considerably damaged. ἔπαιξε τῷ ὀνόματι, says the Scholiast, διὰ τὸ ξυνεχῶς τῆς Πύλου μεμνήσθαι τὸν Κλέωνα.

1066. ὁ μισθός] The pay of a seaman in the Athenian fleet, when on active service, was a drachma a day, Thuc. iii. 17; and it is plain that even now, notwithstanding the "tribute" paid yearly into the Athenian treasury for that very purpose, it was found extremely difficult to provide for the punctual discharge of that pay; cf. infra 1078. And accordingly the first promise of the regenerate Demus (infra 1366) is that all the Athenian sailors shall forthwith receive in full all arrears of pay.

1068. λαίθαργον] *Stealthily snapping*; of a cur that does not attack a stranger openly, but sneaks quietly up unseen,

FIGHT SHE WON'T AND SHE CAN'T: IN FIGHTING SHE'S ALWAYS A FRIGHT IN.

PAPH. NAY, BUT REMEMBER THE WORD, HOW PYLUS, HE SAID, BEFORE PYLUS;

PYLUS THERE IS BEFORE PYLUS. DEMUS. What mean you by that "before Pylus"?

S.S. Truly your pile of baths will he capture before you can take them.

DEMUS. O dear, then bathless must I go to-day?

S.S. Because he has carried off our pile of baths.

But here's an oracle about the fleet;

Your best attention is required to this.

DEMUS. I'll give it too; but prithee, first of all,

Read how my sailors are to get their pay.

S.S. O AEGEIDES, BEWARE OF THE HOUND-FOX, LEST HE DECEIVE THEE,

STEALTHILY SNAPPING, THE CRAFTY, THE SWIFT, THE TRICKY MARAUDER.

Know you the meaning of this? DEMUS. Philostratus, plainly, the hound-fox.

S.S. Not so; but Paphlagon is evermore

Asking swift triremes to collect the silver,

and then bites. *λαίθαργοι κύνες λέγονται*, says the Scholiast, *αἱ λάθρα προσιούσαι καὶ δάκνουσαι*. *παρὰ δὲ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔπειξε "σαίνεις δάκνουσα, καὶ κύων λαίθαργος εἶ"* (said by Eustathius, on *Odyssey iv. 221*, to be a line of Sophocles): *κερδῶ δὲ ἡ ἀλώπηξ*.

1069. *Φιλόστρατος*] The name *κυν-αλώπηξ* naturally reminds Demus of Philostratus, a notorious *πορνοβοσκός* of the time, who for some reason or other was nicknamed *κυναλώπηξ*. In his character of *πορνοβοσκός* he is addressed by his nickname only, *ὦ Κυναλώπηξ*, in *Lysistrata 957*. The Sausage-seller, however, seems to have learned from Demosthenes, *supra 203-10*, the true method of expounding an oracle.

1071. *ἀργυρολόγους*] For the command of a fleet of these revenue-collecting triremes was the most lucrative post that a demagogue could obtain. With these he was to sail round to the defaulting allies, to demand payment of the tribute, or arrears of tribute, due to the Athenian treasury. To the unfortunate islanders the demagogues were the embodiment of the overwhelming power of the "Tyrant" city, and their wrath was to be appeased, and their favour obtained, by bribes of enormous magnitude. Their *modus operandi* is vividly described by Bdelycleon in the *Wasps*. They contrive, says he, to obtain bribes at the rate of fifty talents at one time,

Extorting them out of the subject states by hostile menace and angry frown;  
Hand over, they say, the tribute-pay or else my thunders shall crush your town.

ταύτας ἀπαυδᾶ μὴ διδόναι σ' ὁ Λοξίας.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. πῶς δὴ τριήρης ἐστὶ κυναλώπηξ; ΑΛ. ὅπως;

ὅτι ἡ τριήρης ἐστὶ χῶ κύων ταχύ.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. πῶς οὖν ἀλώπηξ προσετέθη πρὸς τῷ κυνί; 1075

ΑΛ. ἀλωπεκίοισι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤκασεν,  
ὅτι ἡ βότρυς τρώγουσιν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. εἶεν·

τούτοις ὁ μισθὸς τοῖς ἀλωπεκίοισι ποῦ;

ΑΛ. ἐγὼ ποριῶ καὶ τοῦτον ἡμερῶν τριῶν.

ἀλλ' ἔτι τόνδ' ἐπάκουσον, ὃν εἶπέ σοι ἐξαλέασθαι, 1080

So then the cities, alarmed, make haste by bestowing on them  
to propitiate their formidable assailants

Wines, cheeses, necklaces, sesamè fruit, and jars of pickle, and pots of honey,  
Rugs, cushions, and mantles, and cups, and crowns; and health, and vigour, and  
lots of money.

These ἀργυρολόγοι τριήρεις are frequently mentioned by historians; and indeed, as Dindorf observes, Thucydides twice refers to their operations about this very time. And see the case of Lysicles mentioned in the note on 132 supra.

1077. βότρυς τρώγουσιν] "The fox is exceedingly voracious," says Buffon; "besides meat of all kinds, he eats with equal avidity eggs, milk, cheese, fruits, and particularly grapes." "In France and Italy," Bewick observes, "the fox does great damage among the vineyards, by feeding on the grapes of which he is particularly fond." "The common English fox," says Wood, "is remarkably fond of ripe fruits, such as grapes." In England, however, this propensity on the part of the fox is but little observed; since here the grapes are generally out of his reach, and are

therefore in his estimation, according to Aesop, *sour grapes*, ἄμφακες, *uae acerbae*, *nondum maturae*. But it is frequently noticed by ancient writers; and even with ourselves Aesop's fable has passed into a familiar proverb. Theocritus in his first Idyll describes a little rural scene, supposed to be represented on a richly-chased goblet: a little boy is minding the vines, but he is at this moment so busy plaiting a locust-trap that he does not observe two foxes which are sporting about him, one of which has a design on the boy's dinner, while the other runs up and down the vineyard rows, making havoc of the ripe grapes, *σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον*. In one of Alciphron's epistles (iii. 22) the writer says that the foxes, τὰς μιὰρὰς ἀλώπεκας, had made a determined attack on the vines, devouring

So Loxias bids you not to give him these.

DEMUS. Why is a trireme called a hound-fox? S.S. Why?  
A trireme's fleet; a hound is also fleet.

DEMUS. But for what reason adds he "fox" to "hound"?

S.S. The troops, he means, resemble little foxes,  
Because they scour the farms and eat the grapes.

DEMUS. Good.

But where's the cash to pay these little foxes?

S.S. That I'll provide: within three days I'll do it.

LIST THOU FURTHER THE REDE BY THE SON OF LETO DELIVERED ;

not merely single grapes but whole clusters at once; and he, fearing the anger of his master, a stern unsparing man, at the havoc wrought, had set a trap to catch them, and had caught not the foxes but his mistress's pet dog, which he found dead in the trap. Nicander (Alexipharmaca 185) speaks of the insects which invade the vines *πισιτέρην ὅτε βότρυν εἶσινατο κηκὰς ἀλώπηξ*. And, according to Galen (De alimentorum facultatibus iii. 2), the flesh of the fox was eaten in autumn, when it had been enriched and fattened on the grape; τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀλωπέκων ἐν φθινοπόρῳ καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν κνηγέται προσφέρονται πιαίνονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σταφυλῶν. And it is not until winter, when the grapes are gone, says Oppian (De Venatione iii. 458), that he is driven by hunger to catch such creatures as leverets and birds. Varro (de Re Rustica i. 8), speaking of the vine which trails its grapes upon the ground, says that it is the common food of men and foxes, *vulpibus et hominibus communis*. We are all familiar with the remarkable verse in the Song of Solomon ii. 15,

which Mr. Kingsbury, in the Speaker's Commentary, considers to be a fragment of a vinedresser's ballad, and translates

Catch us the foxes,  
Foxes the little ones,  
Wasting our vineyards,  
When vineyards are blossoming.

1079. *ἡμερῶν τριῶν*] *Within three days*. Cf. Wasps 260 and the note there. There can hardly be, as the Scholiast suggests, any direct allusion to the familiar "three days' rations," *σιντὶ ἡμερῶν τριῶν*.

1080. *ἀλλ' εἶτι τόνδ' κ.τ.λ.*] *But yet again hearken to this oracle which the son of Leto delivered, "Keep away from Cyllene lest she entrap you in her snares."* Cyllene is doubtless not the Arcadian mountain, but *Κυλλήνη τὸ Ἡλείων ἐπίγειον*, as both Thucydides (i. 30, ii. 84) and Pausanias (iv. 23. 1, vi. 26. 3), by way of distinction, call it. And we may be sure that we have here the fragment of a genuine oracle, since Aristophanes would hardly have concocted a line which lends itself so reluctantly to any play upon its words.

- χρησµὸν Λητοΐδης, Κυλλήνην, μὴ σε δολώσῃ.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ποίαν Κυλλήνην; ΑΛ. τὴν τούτου χεῖρ' ἐποίησεν  
Κυλλήνην ὀρθῶς, ὅτιή φησ', ἔμβαλε κυλλῆ.
- ΠΑ. οὐκ ὀρθῶς φράζει· τὴν Κυλλήνην γὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος  
εἰς τὴν χεῖρ' ὀρθῶς ἤνιξάτο τὴν Διοπέιθους. 1085  
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐμοὶ χρησµὸς περὶ σοῦ πτερυγῶτος,  
αἰετὸς ὡς γίγναι καὶ πάσης γῆς βασιλεύεις.
- ΑΛ. καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ, καὶ γῆς καὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς γε θαλάσσης,  
χῶτι γ' ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δικάσεις, λείχων ἐπίπαστα.
- ΠΑ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἶδον ὄναρ, καὶ μούδοκει ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ 1090  
τοῦ δήμου καταχεῖν ἀρυταίνῃ πλουθυγίαιαν.
- ΑΛ. νῆ Δία καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ· καὶ μούδοκει ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ  
ἐκ πόλεως ἐλθεῖν καὶ γλαυξ αὐτῇ ἵκαθησθαι·  
εἶτα κατασπένδειν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀρυβάλλῳ  
ἀμβροσίαν κατὰ σοῦ, κατὰ τούτου δὲ σκοροδάλμην. 1095
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἰὸν ἰού.

It may originally have been an allusion to the treacherous approaches to the harbour of Cyllene, and was probably much in vogue at Athens, when the Peloponnesian fleet took refuge there after the first of Phormio's memorable victories, and was not attacked in that port by the "mighty sailor." It is plain from 562 supra that those victories were at this time, for some reason or other, very present to the poet's mind.

1083. κυλλῆ] Scilicet χεῖρι. It means a hand *bunched up* as of one asking alms. Though the two words have nothing in common, κυλλῆ has in this connexion much the same meaning as κοίλῃ. See Thesm. 937 and the Commentary there. Diopieithes is the crazy χρησµολόγος ridiculed in Wasps 380

and Birds 988, where see the notes. Apparently he had a crippled hand, though the Scholiast's remark *σεσίνωτο τὰς χεῖρας ὁ Διοπέιθης καὶ ἦν κυλλός, τουτέστι πεπηρωμένος* is in all probability merely a deduction from the present passage.

1087. αἰετός] As a last resource Paphlagon produces an oracle which predicts that Demus will become an Eagle. It is not the precise Eagle-oracle which Demus had demanded, supra 1013, but Paphlagon may have thought the promise of universal dominion upon earth more alluring than the promise of dwelling for ever in the clouds above.

1088. ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης] But here again the Sausage-seller outbids him.

KEEP THOU ALOOF, SAID HE, FROM THE WILES OF HOLLOW CYLLENE.

- DEMUS. Hollow Cyllene! what's that? S.S. 'Tis Paphlagon's hand he's describing,  
Paphlagon's outstretched hand, with his *Drop me a coin in the hollow*.
- PAPH. There this fellow is wrong. When he spake of the hollow Cyllene,  
Phoebus was hinting, I ween, at the hand of the maimed Diopieithes.  
Nay, but I've got me, for you, a wingèd oracular message,  
THOU SHALT AN EAGLE BECOME, AND RULE ALL LANDS AS A MONARCH.
- S.S. Nay, but I've got me the same:—AND THE RED SEA TOO THOU SHALT GOVERN,  
YEA IN ECBATANA JUDGE, RICH CAKES AS THOU JUDGEST DEVOURING.
- PAPH. Nay, but I dreamed me a dream, and methought the Goddess Athene  
Health and wealth was lading in plentiful streams upon Demus.
- S.S. Nay, but I dreamed one myself; and methought the Goddess Athene  
Down from the Citadel stepped, and an owl sat perched on her shoulder;  
Then from a bucket she poured ambrosia down upon Demus,  
Sweetest of scents upon *you*, upon Paphlagon sourest of pickles.
- DEMUS. Good! Good!

Demus shall have dominion not only over all the earth, but over the Red Sea also, meaning by the "Red Sea" all the seas which wash the south-western coasts of Asia. See the note on Birds 145. And what is more, he shall carry on his dicastic duties, the joy of his life, in Ecbatana, the ancient capital of the Medes, *λείχων επίπαστα*, *licking up cakes covered with sugar-plums*. See supra 103.

1091. *πλουθυγίαν*] A word apparently coined by Aristophanes to express the combination of the chief elements of physical prosperity, *health of body and wealth of store*. See Wasps 677 and Birds 731. As regards *ἀρύταινα* and *ἀρύβαλλος*, three lines below, Brunck refers to Pollux vii. 166, who reckons

them both as articles used in the baths; τὰ τῶν βαλανείων ἀγγεία, he says, ἀρύβαλλος, ἀρύταινα· ἀμφὸ δ' Ἀριστοφάνης λέγει. The *ἀρύταινα* seems to have been a sort of ladle; the *ἀρύβαλλος* a cup, wide at the bottom and narrower at the brim. Kuster refers to Athenaeus xi. 26, who says, Ἀρύβαλλος ποτήριον κάτωθεν εὐρύτερον, ἄνω δὲ συνηγμένον. And he adds, οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀρστίχου (Wasps 855) ὁ ἀρύβαλλος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρύτειν καὶ βάλλειν.

1093. *ἐκ πόλεως*] That is, from the Acropolis, her special habitation. The *σκοροδάμη*, which she is about to pour down upon Paphlagon, was very appropriate to the tanner. See supra 199 and the note there.

οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδεὶς τοῦ Γλάνιδος σοφώτερος.

καὶ νῦν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπω σοι τουτονὶ

γερονταγωγεῖν κἀναπαιδεύειν πάλιν.

ΠΑ. μήπω γ', ἱκετεύω σ', ἀλλ' ἀνάμεινον, ὡς ἐγὼ 1100

κριθὰς ποριῶ σοι καὶ βίον καθ' ἡμέραν.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. οὐκ ἀνέχομαι κριθῶν ἀκούων· πολλάκις

ἐξηπατήθην ὑπὸ τε σοῦ καὶ Θουφάνους.

ΠΑ. ἀλλ' ἄλφιτ' ἤδη σοι ποριῶ 'σκευασμένα.

ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ μαζίσκας γε διαμεμαγμένας 1105

καὶ τοῦψον ὀπτόν· μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἰ μὴ 'σθιε.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἀνύσατέ νυν ὅ τι περ ποιήσεθ'· ὡς ἐγὼ,

ὀπότερος ἂν σφῶν εὔ με μᾶλλον ἂν ποιῆ,

τούτῳ παραδώσω τῆς πυκνὸς τὰς ἡνίας.

ΠΑ. τρέχοιμ' ἂν εἴσω πρότερος. ΑΛ. οὐ δῆτ', ἀλλ' ἐγώ. 1110

ΧΟ. ὦ Δῆμε, καλήν γ' ἔχεις

ἀρχὴν, ὅτε πάντες ἀν-

1098. ἐπιτρέπω] Here for the second time Demus appears to decide in favour of the Sausage-seller; and the language he employs bears so strong a resemblance to the language of his final decision, infra 1259, that the poet certainly seems when he wrote these lines to have intended to close the contest here, and only by an afterthought to have introduced the cookery-competition which follows. See the Commentary on 943 supra. With ἐμαυτὸν τουτονὶ compare Plutus 868 ἐμέ τουτονί.

1099. γερονταγωγεῖν] This line is borrowed, the Scholiast tells us, from a passage in the Peleus of Sophocles, a passage given more fully by Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. vi. 2. 19,

Πηλέα τὸν Αἰάκειον οἰκουρὸς μόνῃ  
γερονταγωγῶ κἀναπαιδεύω πάλιν·  
πάλιν γὰρ αὐθις παῖς ὁ γηράσκων ἀνὴρ.

In the present Comedy, at all events, a δημαγωγός is in very truth a γερονταγωγός. Plutarch, as Kock observes, twice quotes a line from some anonymous comedian who says that Cleon ingratiated himself with the people, γερονταγωγῶν κἀναμισθαρνεῖν διδοῦς, Nicias, chap. 2; Praecepta gerendae reipublicae, chap. 13.

1103. Θουφάνους] Thuphanes appears to have been one of Cleon's creatures, mixed up in some way with the distribution, or non-distribution, of the doles promised by the demagogues to the Demus. In Wasps 718 there is a complaint that, while the demagogues



There never *was* a cleverer chap than Glanis.  
 So now, my friend, I yield myself to you ;  
 Be you the tutor to my thoughtless—Age.

PAPH. Not yet ! pray wait awhile, and I'll provide  
 Your barley-grain, and daily sustenance.

DEMUS. I can't abide your barley-talk ; too often  
 Have I been duped by you and Thuphanes.

PAPH. I'll give you barley-meal, all ready-made.

S.S. I'll give you barley-cakes, all ready-baked.

And well-broiled fish. Do nothing else but eat.

DEMUS. Make haste and do it then, remembering this,  
 Whichever brings me most titbits to-day,  
 To him alone I'll give the Pnyx's reins.

PAPH. O then I'll run in first. S.S. Not you, but I.

CHOR. Proud, O Demus, thy sway.  
 Thee, as Tyrant and King,

were in the habit of *promising* large and liberal doles of wheat, they were in the habit of *giving* merely a tithe of the amount promised, and that not wheat but barley. The Scholiast says of Thuphanes, *ὡς κόλακα κωμῳδεῖ τοῦτον καὶ ἀπατεῶνα, καὶ τῷ Κλέωνι συνόντα διὰ κολακείαν. ἦν δὲ ὑπογραμματεὺς.*

1104. *ἄλφιστα*] Paphlagon raises his offer. He will give, as Blaydes says, "non modo hordea (grana) sed hordeaceam etiam farinam (*ἄλφιστα*) in usum domesticum paratam." But once again the Sausage-seller outbids him. He will give the barley made up into a capital cake ; and not only so, but something—fish, cheese, or the like, see the note on Wasps 302—to eat with it.

1109. *τῆς πυκνὸς τὰς ἡνίας*] *The reins of the Pnyx.* He shall be the *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου.* The words *τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἡνίας* are used in the same sense Eccl. 466, where see the Commentary. On this promise the rivals at once prepare to run *εἴσω*, that is, into their respective houses at the back of the stage. See the note on 970 supra. Accordingly they disappear from the stage, and the Chorus take the opportunity, in their absence, of having a little colloquy with Demus, who still remains sitting in the mimic Pnyx.

1111-50. These little Glyconic stanzas are very similar to those supra 973-96, but those have a disyllabic, and these a monosyllabic, base ; and inasmuch as a stanza of ten lines does

θρωποι δεδίασί σ' ὄσ-  
 περ ἄνδρα τύραννον.  
 ἀλλ' εὐπαράγωγος εἶ,  
 1115  
 θωπευόμενός τε χαί-  
 ρεις κἀξαπατώμενος,  
 πρὸς τὸν τε λέγοντ' ἀεὶ  
 κέχηνας· ὁ νοῦς δέ σου  
 παρὼν ἀποδημεῖ.  
 1120

ΔΗΜΟΣ. νοῦς οὐκ ἐν ταῖς κόμαις  
 ὑμῶν, ὅτε μ' οὐ φρονεῖν  
 νομίζετ'. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκὼν  
 ταῦτ' ἠλιθιάζω.  
 αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἡδομαι  
 1125  
 βρύλλων τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν,

not lend itself (as a stanza of twelve lines did) to a series of three catalectics followed by one Pherecrateian, we now have first three, and then five, acatalectics followed by a Pherecrateian. Throughout these stanzas the Demus of the dialogue is not the stage Demus at all, but the real Demus of Athens; and Paphlagon is no longer a slave, but a demagogue, a *προστάτης τοῦ Δήμου*. The reason for this will be found in the note on 973-96 supra. In the first stanza, 1111-20, the Chorus depict the real character of the Athenian Demus by a few slight but vivid touches. It has the power of a mighty king, they say, and is dreaded by all about it, yet it is easily led away, and loves to be flattered and cheated, and is at the mercy of every speaker, nor does it display in its actions the intelligence it really possessed. The

dialogue is happily described by Mitchell as "a gem even among the jewels of Aristophanes."

1114. *ἄνδρα τύραννον*] The word *τύραννος* of course did not imply those attributes of cruelty and injustice involved in our word "tyrant." It means one who in an Hellenic city had acquired supreme power, and was therefore able to employ for his purposes the whole force of the State. He might be a most benevolent despot, but he was none the less a *τύραννος*. Many passages comparing the Demus to a *τύραννος* are collected here by Mitchell and others. Thus in Thucydides both Pericles (ii. 63) and Cleon (iii. 37) are represented as saying to the Athenian people *τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν*, while Isocrates (*Areopagiticus* 29) says, *δεῖ τὸν δῆμον, ὥσπερ τύραννον, καθιστάναι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας κ.τ.λ.*, and Aristotle

All men fear and obey.  
 Yet, O yet, 'tis a thing  
 Easy, to lead thee astray.  
 Empty fawning and praise  
 Pleased thou art to receive ;  
 All each orator says  
 Sure at once to believe ;  
 Wit thou hast, but 'tis roaming ;  
 Ne'er we find it its home in.

DEMUS.

Wit there's none in your hair.  
 What, you think me a fool !  
 What, you know not I wear,  
 Wear my motley by rule !  
 Well all day do I fare,  
 Nursed and cockered by all ;  
 Pleased to fatten and train

observes that the demagogues had gradually changed the Athenian polity from a constitutional Republic to the absolute democracy of his day, ὡσπερ τυράννῳ, τῷ δήμῳ χαρίζόμενοι, Politics ii. 9. 3. These and similar passages are indeed not precisely analogous to the present; since they are speaking of the relation existing between the Demus and its own subjects and dependencies; of the Demus at home, so to say; whilst here the Chorus mean that all the world tremble before him as though he were a mighty King.

1120. παρὼν ἀποδημεί] I do not take this to be a mere comic paradox like the οὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον ἐστίν of Ach. 396 with which it is sometimes compared; it seems to be rather an excuse for the

foolish ways just attributed to Demus. It is not that you are wanting in intelligence, the Chorus mean. *You have plenty of wit, but it is never at home.*

1121. κόμαις] He is referring to the long hair of the Knights, which apparently was viewed with some disfavour by the people at large. Cf. supra 580. The Scholiast says οἷον ἐν τῷ ἔγκεφάλῳ ἱμῶν· ὅτι ἐκόμων οἱ ἱππεῖς.

1126. βρύλλων] *Sipping my sops like a baby*, that is, fed on titbits, pampered. Symmachus, the Scholiast tells us, explains it by ὑποπίνων, ἐκ μιμήσεως τῆς τῶν παιδῶν φωνῆς. He means that βρύλλειν is derived from βρῦν, a child's cry when thirsty. In Clouds 1382 Strep-siades says to his son εἰ μὲν γε βρῦν εἶποις, ἐγὼ γρὸς ἂν πιεῖν ἐπέσχον. The

κλέπτοντά τε βούλομαι  
 τρέφειν ἕνα προστάτην  
 τούτον δ', ὅταν ἦ πλέως,  
 ἄρας ἐπάταξα.

1130

ΧΟ.

χοῦτῳ μὲν ἂν εὖ ποιοῖς,  
 εἴ σοι πυκνότης ἔνεστ'  
 ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ, ὡς λέγεις,  
 τούτῳ πάνυ πολλή,  
 εἰ τούσδ' ἐπίτηδες ὡσ-  
 περ δημοσίους τρέφεις  
 ἐν τῇ πυκνῇ, καθ' ὅταν  
 μή σοι τύχη ὄψον ὄν,  
 τούτων δς ἂν ἦ παχὺς,  
 θύσας ἐπιδειπνεῖς.

1135

1140

ΔΗΜΟΣ. σκέψασθε δέ μ', εἰ σοφῶς  
 αὐτοὺς περιέρχομαι,  
 τοὺς οἰομένους φρονεῖν  
 κάμ' ἐξαπατύλλειν.

Chorus had said that Demus's wits were never at hand when they were wanted. Demus retorts, with a sort of *tu quoque*, that the Chorus can have no wits at all under their long hair, if they think that he is really a fool, and do not perceive that he is merely playing the fool for his own purposes. He suffers the demagogues for two reasons: first, because they are always ministering to his wants τῷ δήμῳ, ὡσπερ τυράννῳ, χαριζόμενοι (to use the words of Aristotle quoted in the note to 1114 supra); and secondly, because when by picking and stealing they have amassed great wealth, he quietly knocks them on the head,

and confiscates their illgotten possessions.

1130. ἄρας ἐπάταξα] *I take him up and knock him on the head*; just as, for instance, a gamekeeper kills a rabbit. πατάσσειν is frequently used in the sense of killing by a blow. And compare the use of κρούσαντα in Plato's *Apology*, chap. 18, of one crushing a gnat or a gadfly.

1135. ὡσπερ δημοσίους] *Λίπει βοῦς ἢ ταύρους ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον θῦμα*.—Scholiast. And I have no doubt that this interpretation is correct, and that his alternative suggestion that the reference is to human victims, though gener-

One prime thief in my stall.  
 When full gorged with his gain,  
 Up that instant I snatch him,  
 Strike one blow and dispatch him.

CHOR.

Art thou really so deep ?  
 Is such artfulness thine ?  
 Well for all if thou keep  
 Firm to this thy design.  
 Well for all if, as sheep  
 Marked for victims, thou feed  
 These thy knaves in the Pnyx,  
 Then, if dainties thou need,  
 Haste on a victim to fix ;  
 Slay the fattest and finest ;  
 There's thy meal when thou dinest.

DEMUS.

Ah ! they know not that I  
 Watch them plunder and thieve.  
 Ah ! 'tis easy, they cry,  
*Him to gull and deceive.*

ally adopted, is as absurd as it is (in this connexion) revolting. The State would have to purchase cattle and sheep for the public sacrifices, just as individuals had for their private offerings ; and these would be fattened up for the sacrifice, and when offered would (with the exception of the sacrificial bits) be consumed as food. That is the very point of the comparison here ; and it is one with which the human victims, the *φαρμακοί*, the *καθάρματα* (see the note on Frogs 733) have nothing whatever in common. And the term *δημόσιος* does not in the slightest degree

point to human victims ; I do not know if it is ever used of them ; while *τρέφειν* is constantly employed in the sense of keeping the lower animals. See the note on Plutus 1156.

1140. *ἐπιδειπνέεις*] *You sup on him*, as Blaydes rightly translates it. It is quite a delusion to suppose that *ἐπιδειπνεῖν*, *ἐπεσθίειν*, and the like mean "to eat as *ἄψον* with bread" or "as bread with *ἄψον*," or "as a second meal." In Aristophanes, at all events, these words *never* bear that signification. See Eccl. 1178, Plutus 1005, and the note on 707 *supra*.

τηρῶ γὰρ ἐκάστοτ' αὐ- 1145  
 τούς, οὐδὲ δοκῶν ὄραν,  
 κλέπτοντας· ἔπειτ' ἀναγ-  
 κάζω πάλιν ἔξεμεῖν  
 ἅττι' ἂν κεκλόφωσί μου,  
 κημὸν καταμηλῶν. 1150

ΠΑ. ἅπαγ' ἐς μακαρίαν ἐκποδῶν. ΑΛ. σύ γ', ὦ φθόρε.

ΠΑ. ὦ Δῆμ', ἐγὼ μέντοι παρεσκευασμένος  
 τρίπαλαι κάθημαι, βουλόμενός σ' εὐεργετεῖν.

ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ δεκάπαλαι γε καὶ δωδεκάπαλαι  
 καὶ χιλίπαλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι πάλαι πάλαι. 1155

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἐγὼ δὲ προσδοκῶν γε τρισμυριάπαλαι  
 βδελύττομαι σφῶ, καὶ πρόπαλαι πάλαι πάλαι.

ΑΛ. οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον; ΔΗΜΟΣ. εἰ δὲ μῆ, φράσεις γε σύ.

ΑΛ. ἄφες ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἐμέ τε καὶ τουτονί,

1148. ἐξεμεῖν] This word would carry, and was no doubt intended to carry, the thoughts of the audience back τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις οἷς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν, Ach. 6. The language of Demus may remind the reader of the manner in which Vespasian was said to replenish the impoverished Treasury. He was accused "of advancing the most rapacious prefects to the most opulent prefectures that they might have more to disgorge when it suited him to condemn them for extortion," Merivale's History of the Romans, chap. 60; quibus *pro spongiis dicebatur uti* is the observation of Suetonius, Vesp. 16. The analogy of Vespasian's method was, I find, long ago pointed out by Casaubon.

1150. κημὸν καταμηλῶν] *Tickling their throats with my verdict-box.* καταμηλοῦν is

to thrust a probe (μήλη, *specillum*) down a patient's throat for the purpose of making him vomit. Καταμηλῶν μηλῶσαι καλοῦσιν οἱ ἱατροὶ τὸ μήλην καθεῖναι πον.—Photius. καταμηλοῦν μὲν ἔλεγον τὸ τὴν μήλην καθιεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱατροῦ εἰς τὸν λαιμὸν, ὡς ποιῶσι καὶ οἱ ἐμοῦντες.—Scho-liast. καταμηλοῦν κημὸν is to thrust the κημὸς, as if it were a μήλη, down the throat for the same purpose. The κημὸς is the funnel through which the dicasts dropped their votes into the verdict-box. See the notes on Wasps 99 and Thesm. 1030. And the meaning of the words, apart from the metaphor, is that Demus compelled the demagogues to disgorge their spoils by the verdict of a dicastery. The passage cannot be explained more clearly than it was by Kuster. "κημὸν καταμηλῶν. Id est ca-

Comes MY turn by and by !  
 Down their gullet, full quick,  
 Lo, my verdict-tube coils,  
 Turns them giddy and sick,  
 Up they vomit their spoils :  
 Such, with rogues, is my dealing,  
 'Tis for MYSELF they are stealing.

PAPH. Go and be blest ! S.S. Be blest yourself, you filth.

PAPH. O Demus, I've been sitting here prepared  
 Three ages past, longing to do you good.

S.S. And I ten ages, aye twelve ages, aye  
 A thousand ages, ages, ages, ages.

DEMUS. And I've been waiting, till I loathe you both,  
 For thirty thousand ages, ages, ages.

S.S. Do—know you what ? DEMUS. And if I don't, you'll tell me.

S.S. Do start us from the signal-post, us two,

*mum iudicalem specilli loco in fauces immittens. Nam ut Medici specillo ori immisso vomitum ciere solent, sic ego (inquit hic Populus) fures aerarii, postquam divites facti sunt, vomitu quasi remetiri cogo ea, quae malis artibus acquisiverant; ad quam rem specilli loco adhibeo camum iudicalem."*

1151. ἀπαγ' ἐς μακαρίαν] The rivals return, quite ready for their final encounter. Each has brought out of his house, and placed in front of it, a huge hamper full of provisions. As they approach Demus they hustle against each other, and each consigns his opponent ἐς μακαρίαν, a euphemism for the land of the dead; ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ἕλεθρον κατ' εὐφημισμὸν, as the Scholiast says, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τεθνεώτες μακαρίζουσι λέγονται.

Such exclamations as ἀπαγ' ἐς μακαρίαν, βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν are common enough; but no doubt there is intentional humour here, in making these angry disputants consign each other to the Land of the Blest.

1158. οἶσθ' οὖν] A very similar line with a slightly different turn to the sentence occurs in Peace 1061 ἀλλ' οἶσθ' ὁ δρᾶσον; IE. ἢν φράσης.

1159. ἀπὸ βαλβίδων] From the starting-point. The same phrase is found in Wasps 548, where the Scholiast says βαλβίς, ἢ ἀφετηρία. ἢν δὲ αὕτη γραμμὴ ἐφ' ἧς εἰστήκεσαν ἕως ἂν ἀποσημανθῇ ὁ δρόμος αὐτοῖς. "βαλβίδες erant lineae, quibus cursores, antequam carceribus emitterentur, insisterant." Pierson, at Moeris s. v. Here of course the βαλβίδες

ἵνα σ' εὖ ποιῶμεν ἐξ ἴσου. ΔΗΜΟΣ. δρᾶν ταῦτα χρή. 1160  
 ἄπιτον. ΠΑ. καὶ ΑΛ. ἰδοῦ. ΔΗΜΟΣ. θέοιτ' ἄν. ΑΛ.  
 ὑποθεῖν οὐκ ἐῶ.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἀλλ' ἢ μεγάλως εὐδαιμονήσω τήμερον  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἔραστῶν νῆ Δί' ἢ 'γὼ θρύψομαι.

ΠΑ. ὀρᾶς; ἐγὼ σοι πρότερος ἐκφέρω δῖφρον.

ΑΛ. ἀλλ' οὐ τράπεζαν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ προτεραίτερος. 1165

ΠΑ. ἰδοῦ φέρω σοι τήνδε μαζίσκην ἐγὼ  
 ἐκ τῶν ὀλῶν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου μεμαγμένην.

ΑΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ μυστίλας μεμυστιλημένας  
 ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τῆ χειρὶ τῆλεφαντίνῃ.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ὡς μέγαν ἄρ' εἶχες, ὦ πότνια, τὸν δάκτυλον. 1170

are their respective stations beside Demus, from which they are to run to their respective houses and back again.

1161. ἰδοῦ] Some MSS. and editions give this to Paphlagon alone, and others to the Sausage-seller alone; but I had allotted it to both of them before I was aware that Kock and Van Leeuwen had done the same. Demus would assuredly have abstained from giving the signal to start until both competitors had signified their readiness. And cf. *Frogs* 1378 and 1390. By ὑποθεῖν οὐκ ἐῶ the Sausage-seller means *I bar your cutting-in tricks*: the race must be run fairly, without fouling or trickery.

1163. ἢ 'γὼ θρύψομαι] *Or I shall indeed be difficult to please*. θρύπτεισθαι (Latin *delicias facere*) means to assume an attitude of unnecessary coyness and delicacy; to give oneself airs. Thus (to take one instance out of many) in

Lucian's *Symposium* 4, where Lucinus, calling to mind the proverb *μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν*, affects to be unwilling to tell what passed at the banquet. "θρύπτει ταῦτα, ὦ Λυκῖνε," says his friend, "ἀλλ' οὔτι γε πρὸς ἐμὲ οὕτω ποιεῖν ἐχρήν, ἀκριβῶς γινώσκων πολὺ πλεόν ἐπιθυμοῦντά σε εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐμὲ ἀκοῦσαι. And did I propose to go away now," he adds, "you would not allow me to go without hearing your tale, but would hold me, and follow, and beg me to listen; *καγὰρ θρύψομαι πρὸς σέ ἐν τῷ μέρει*. And if you prefer it, don't *you* say anything, and I will go and learn what took place from somebody else." "Don't be angry" (*μηδὲν πρὸς ὄργην*, cf. *Frogs* 844), says Lucinus, "for I will tell you all about it." So Plato, *Phaedrus*, chap. 12 (p. 236 C) *ἐπεθύμει μὲν λέγειν, ἐθρύπτετο δέ*.

1164. δῖφρον] Before they begin on their hampers they bring out from their



All fair, no favour. DEMUS. Right you are; move off.

PAPH. and S.S. Ready! DEMUS. Away! S.S. No "cutting in" allowed.

DEMUS. Zeus! if I don't, with these two lovers, have  
A rare good time, 'tis dainty I must be.

PAPH. See, I'm the first to bring you out a chair.

S.S. But not a table; I'm the firstlier there.

PAPH. Look, here's a jolly little cake I bring,  
Cooked from the barley-grain I brought from Pylus.

S.S. And here I'm bringing splendid scoops of bread,  
Scooped by the Goddess with her ivory hand.

DEMUS. A mighty finger you must have, dread lady!

respective houses, the one a chair, and the other a table, that Demus may be able to address himself to his meal in all comfort.

1167. ὀλῶν] Ὀλαί, αἱ μεθ' ὀλῶν μεμυμέναι κριθαί, καὶ τοῖς θύμασιν ἐπιβαλλόμεναι.—Scholiast. ὀλή is the name given to the sacrificial barley strewn on the victim about to be offered; Peace 948, 960. According to Buttmann (Lexilogus 87), it was originally the name for grain in general; superseded as regards barley in common parlance by the introduction of the name κριθή, but still retained for sacrificial purposes. The words ἐκ Πύλου are intended to be another instance of Cleon's perpetual reference to Pylus; but the use of the sacrificial word ὀλαί may possibly suggest an allusion (whether originally made by Cleon himself or not) to the sacrifice offered by Nestor at Pylus, χέριβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατήρητο, Odyssey iii. 445, 447; οὐλοχύται being equivalent

to ὀλαί.

1169. τήλεφαντίνῃ] He is referring to the Athene of the Parthenon, whose person, so far as it was visible, was of ivory, and her vesture and adjuncts of gold. The late Bp. Wordsworth of Lincoln, in a delightful chapter of his "Athens and Attica," points out the influence which the triple presentment of Athene in the Acropolis exerted upon Athenian literature, with special reference to the present dialogue. See also the note on Thism. 1138. Here we have the chryselephantine Athene of the Parthenon; Paphlagon responds with an allusion to the great bronze statue of Athene Promachus; and, a little further on, the Sausage-seller brings in the wooden statue of Athene Polias, to whom the famous Peplus was dedicated at the Great Panathenaea. As to μυστίδας, bread-scoops, see the note on 827 supra.

- ΠΑ. ἐγὼ δ' ἔτνος γε πίσινον εὐχρων καὶ καλόν·  
 ἐτόρυνε δ' αὐθ' ἢ Παλλὰς ἢ Πυλαιμάχος.
- ΑΛ. ὦ Δῆμ', ἐναργῶς ἢ θεός σ' ἐπισκοπεῖ,  
 καὶ νῦν ὑπερέχει σου χύτραν ζωμοῦ πλέαν.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. οἶε γὰρ οἰκεῖσθ' ἂν ἔτι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, 1175  
 εἰ μὴ φανερώς ἡμῶν ὑπερεῖχε τὴν χύτραν ;
- ΠΑ. τουτὶ τέμαχος σουδωκεν ἢ Φοβεσιστράτη.
- ΑΛ. ἢ δ' Ὀβριμοπάτρα γ' ἐφθὸν ἐκ ζωμοῦ κρέας  
 καὶ χόλικος ἡνύστρου τε καὶ γαστροῦ τόμον.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. καλῶς γ' ἐποίησε τοῦ πέπλου μεμνημένη. 1180
- ΠΑ. ἢ Γοργολόφα σ' ἐκέλευε τουτουὶ φαγεῖν  
 ἐλατήρος, ἵνα τὰς ναῦς ἐλαύνωμεν καλῶς.
- ΑΛ. λαβὲ καὶ ταδί νυν. ΔΗΜΟΣ. καὶ τί τοῦτοις χρῆσομαι  
 τοῖς ἐντέροις ; ΑΛ. ἐπίτηδες αὐτ' ἐπεμφέ σοι  
 εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐντερόνειαν ἢ θεός· 1185  
 ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ περιφανῶς τὸ ναυτικόν.

1172. Πυλαιμάχος] Literally the *Gate-stormer*. But it is not a real epithet of Athene. It is merely Πρόμαχος, the colossal bronze statue of the goddess on the Acropolis, converted into a name which recalls Cleon's everlasting "Py-lus." The Πυλαι- simply represents Πύλος and has no connexion with the

Propylaea or any other gate.

1174. ὑπερέχει χύτραν] Ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν χεῖρα.—Scholiast. ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα is a phrase constantly employed to signify divine protection; *Iliad* ix. 419, xxiv. 374, &c. Dindorf refers to Solon's elegiacs quoted by Demosthenes, de F. L. 286:

Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐποτ' ὀλείται  
 αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων.  
 τοίῃ γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὄβριμοπάτρη  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίῃ χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει.

1177. Φοβεσιστράτη] This name appears to be an invention of Paphlagon, and is a far more abnormal compound than Πεισθέταιρος in the *Birds*; but Ὀβριμοπάτρα in the following line is an epithet of Athene both in Homer and Hesiod; and see the lines of Solon

quoted in the preceding note.

1180. τοῦ πέπλου μεμνημένη] The participle expresses the act which she is praised for doing; *she did well to remember the Peplus*. But how does the gift of the ἡνύστρου illustrate her recollection of the Peplus? In my opinion the word

- PAPH. And here's pease-porridge, beautiful and brown.  
Pallas Pylaemachus it was that stirred it.
- S.S. O Demus, plain it is the Goddess guards you,  
Holding above your head this—soup-tureen.
- DEMUS. Why, think you Athens had survived, unless  
She plainly o'er us held her soup-tureen?
- PAPH. This slice of fish the Army-frightener sends you.
- S.S. This boiled broth-meat the Nobly-fathered gives you,  
And this good cut of tripe and guts and paunch.
- DEMUS. And well done she, to recollect the peplus.
- PAPH. The Terror-crested bids you taste this cake  
With roe of fish, that we may row the better.
- S.S. And now take these. DEMUS. Whatever shall I do  
With these insides? S.S. The Goddess sends you these  
To serve as planks inside your ships of war.  
Plainly she looks with favour on our fleet.

πέπλος is here used in a double meaning; signifying of course, as regards the Goddess herself, the splendid robe of which we have already heard supra 566; but as regards the ἡνυστρον, the *caul* (the *omentum*), the membrane or integument in which it was enveloped. And Demus, seeing the ἡνυστρον served up in its caul, says *Well done, Athene, not to forget the Peplus*. The word πέπλος is thought to signify the "caul" in Orph. Arg. 310, where the poet, describing the preparations for a sacrifice, says:—

ἐν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερθε  
πέπλω παρατέθηκα θεῶν ἐπινήχυστα δῶρα.

But the meaning of that line is not altogether clear. Mitchell is, I think, the only editor who has any inkling of Demus's little joke.

1181. Γοργολόφω] *The Terrible-crested*. The epithet is applied to Lamachus in Ach. 567. And as to ἐλατήρος see Ach. 246. It seems impossible to preserve the pun between ἐλατήρ, a *flat cake*, and ἐλαύνειν, *to row*; and I have been obliged in the translation to introduce a new element.

1183. ταδί] The Sausage-seller gives him some ἔντερα, explaining that they will be useful for the ἐντερόνηιαν of the ships, that is, apparently for the planks in the lower part of a ship. The word ἐντερόνηια is defined by the Scholiast and Suidas as follows:—τὰ ἐγκοιλια, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τρόπιδος ἀνερχόμενα (ἀρχόμενα, Suidas) ξύλα ἐντερόνηια καλεῖται. Ἄλλως, οἱ μὲν τὸ τῶν νεῶν ἔδαφος, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐγκοιλια. βέλτιον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐγκοιλίων ὕλην λέγειν.

ἔχε καὶ πιεῖν κεκραμένον τρία καὶ δύο.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ὡς ἡδύς, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ τὰ τρία φέρων καλῶς.

ΑΛ. ἡ Τριτογενῆς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐνετριώτισεν.

ΠΑ. λαβέ νυν πλακοῦντος πίονος παρ' ἐμοῦ τόμον. 1190

ΑΛ. παρ' ἐμοῦ δ' ὄλον γε τὸν πλακοῦντα τουτοῖ.

ΠΑ. ἀλλ' οὐ λαγῶ' ἔξεις ὀπόθεν δῶς· ἀλλ' ἐγώ.

ΑΛ. οἴμοι· πόθεν λαγῶά μοι γενήσεται;

ὦ θυμὲ, νυνὶ βωμολόχον ἔξευρέ τι.

ΠΑ. ὀρᾶς τάδ', ὦ κακόδαιμον; ΑΛ. ὀλίγον μοι μέλει· 1195

ἐκείνοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμ' ἔρχονται. ΠΑ. τίνες;

ΑΛ. πρέσβεις ἔχοντες ἀργυρίου βαλλάντια.

ΠΑ. ποῦ ποῦ; ΑΛ. τί δέ σοι τοῦτ'; οὐκ ἑάσεις τοὺς ξένους;

ὦ Δημίδιον, ὀρᾶς τὰ λαγῶ' ἃ σοι φέρω;

ΠΑ. οἴμοι τάλας, ἀδίκως γε τᾶμ' ὑφήρπασας. 1200

ΑΛ. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, καὶ σὺ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ Πύλου.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. εἶπ', ἀντιβολῶ, πῶς ἐπενόησας ἀρπάσαι;

ΑΛ. τὸ μὲν νόημα τῆς θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ κλέμμ' ἐμὸν.

ΔΗ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκινδύνευσ'. ΠΑ. ἐγὼ δ' ὄπτησά γε.

1187. τρία καὶ δύο] Τρία μέρη ὕδατος ἐπι-  
δεχόμενον, καὶ δύο οἶνον.—Scholiast. In  
ordinary Athenian banquets water was  
always mingled with the wine, though  
the relative proportions of the two would  
vary according to the taste of the  
drinker. See Photius, s. v. τρία καὶ δύο,

χαίρει κιννάμενος τρισὶ Νύμφαις, τέτρατος αὐτὸς,

the Νύμφαι being, of course, the Naiads  
or *Water-nymphs*. And in this he is but

τρὶς δ' ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἴμεν οἶνον.

Note that in stating the relative pro-  
portions of water and wine, the water is  
regularly placed first. Thus τρία καὶ δύο  
signifies 3 parts water and 2 parts wine;  
δύο καὶ τρία would signify 2 parts water

Athenaeus x, chaps. 27-9 and 36, 37.  
Here we have 3 (water) to 2 (wine).  
Some preferred a larger infusion of  
wine; whilst more moderate drinkers  
considered the perfect proportion to be  
3 (water) to 1 (wine). "Bacchus," says  
Evenus in the Anthology (15),

following the ancient precept of Hesiod  
in his *Works and Days*, 596,

and 3 parts wine.

1189. Τριτογενῆς] Though the more  
common form of this name is *Τριτογένεια*,  
as in *Clouds* 989, *Lysistrata* 347, yet  
*Τριτογενῆς* is occasionally found. See

Here, drink this also, mingled three and two.

DEMUS. Zeus! but it's sweet and bears the three parts well.

S.S. Tritogeneia 'twas that three'd and two'd it.

PAPH. Accept from me this slice of luscious cake.

S.S. And this whole luscious cake accept from me.

PAPH. Ah, you've no hare to give him; that give I.

S.S. O me, wherever can I get some hare?

Now for some mountebank device, my soul.

PAPH. Yah, see you this, poor Witless? S.S. What care I?

For there they are! Yes, there they are coming! PAPH. Who?

S.S. Envoys with bags of silver, all for me.

PAPH. Where? Where? S.S. What's that to you? Let be the strangers.

My darling Demus, take the hare I bring.

PAPH. You thief, you've given what wasn't yours to give!

S.S. Poseidon, yes; you did the same at Pylus.

DEMUS. Ha! Ha! what made you think of filching that?

S.S. The thought's Athene's, but the theft was mine.

DE. 'Twas I that ran the risk! PAPH. 'Twas I that cooked it!

the longer Homeric Hymn to Athene, line 4, and the oracle cited in the Commentary on 1037 *supra*. Athene is called by this name here, and the word *ἐνεπίρωσεν* is coined by the poet, as a sort of pun upon the *τρία* (*τρίτου*) of the preceding line. As to *πλακοῦς*, the rich honey cake, see the note on Eccl. 223.

1192. *λαγῶα*] The flesh of no quadruped was more highly esteemed among the ancients than that of the hare; *inter quadrupedes mattya prima lepus*, Martial xiii. 92. And so here a dish of hare is made the turning-point of the present competition. Paphlagon has got one; the Sausage-seller has not; and he must needs therefore by some means or other

obtain possession of Paphlagon's. He affects to see envoys in the distance bringing him bags of money. Paphlagon, keen on the money-bags (*supra* 707), puts down the dish of hare, and runs to intercept the supposed envoys. The Sausage-seller snatches up the dish, and presents it, as his own gift, to Demus.

1203. *τὸ μὲν νόημα κ.τ.λ.*] This is clearly a parody of some line, well known doubtless to the audience, though unknown to ourselves. The question of Demus in the preceding line was put for the sole purpose of eliciting this answer.

1204. *ΔΗ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκιδύνευσ'*] Some give the first half of the line to Paphlagon

- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἄπιθ'· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ τοῦ παραθέντος ἢ χάρις. 1205
- ΠΑ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὑπεραναιδευθήσομαι.
- ΑΛ. τί οὐ διακρίνεις, Δῆμ', ὀπότερός ἐστι νῶν  
ἀνὴρ ἀμείνων περὶ σέ καὶ τὴν γαστέρα;
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. τῷ δῆτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς χρησάμενος τεκμηρίῳ  
δόξαιμι κρίνειν τοῖς θεαταῖσιν σοφῶς; 1210
- ΑΛ. ἐγὼ φράσω σοι. τὴν ἐμὴν κίστην ἰὼν  
ξύλλαβε σιωπῇ, καὶ βασάνισον ἄτ' ἔνι,  
καὶ τὴν Παφλαγόνος· κάμελει κρινεῖς καλῶς.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. φέρ' ἴδω, τί οὖν ἔνεστιν; ΑΛ. οὐχ ὄρας κενὴν  
ᾧ παππίδιον; ἅπαντα γάρ σοι παρεφόρουν. 1215
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. αὕτη μὲν ἢ κίστη τὰ τοῦ δήμου φρονεῖ.
- ΑΛ. βάδιζε γοῦν καὶ δεῦρο πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγόνος.  
ὄρας τάδ'; ΔΗΜΟΣ. οἴμοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσων πλέα.  
ὅσον τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἀπέθετο·  
ἐμοὶ δ' ἔδωκεν ἀποτεμῶν τυννουτονί. 1220
- ΑΛ. τοιαῦτα μέντοι καὶ πρότερόν σ' εἰργάζετο·  
σοὶ μὲν προσεδίδον μικρὸν ὧν ἐλάμβανεν,  
αὐτὸς δ' ἑαυτῷ παρετίθει τὰ μείζονα.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ᾧ μιὰρὲ, κλέπτων δὴ με ταῦτ' ἐξηπάτας;  
ἐγὼ δέ τυ ἐστεφάνιζα κάδωρησάμην. 1225

and the second to the Sausage-seller which seems clearly wrong: and some give the entire line to Paphlagon which is hardly an improvement. It seems certain that the line is to be divided between two speakers, both of whom are rejected by Demus in favour of the Sausage-seller, τοῦ παραθέντος, the man who served it up. And in my opinion the first half is spoken by Demosthenes who was certainly present (infra 1254), though being now represented by a Choregic actor (see the notes on 154 and 513 supra) he very rarely opens his

mouth. It was Demosthenes who took the entire risk of catching the hare: that is, of the Pylian enterprise; it was Paphlagon who cooked the hare which Demosthenes had caught; it was the Sausage-seller who served it up on the table at which Demus was enjoying the good things which the rivals had brought him.

1205. τοῦ παραθέντος] This is now the Sausage-seller; but it was Cleon who, as ὁ παραθεῖς (supra 57, 778), obtained the entire credit of the Sphacterian triumph. The Scholiast explains οὐ

DEMUS. Be off : the credit's his that served it up.

PAPH. Unhappy me ! I'm over-impudenced.

S.S. Why not give judgement, Demus, of us two  
Which is the better towards your paunch and you ?

DEMUS. Well, what's the test will make the audience think  
I give my judgement cleverly and well ?

S.S. I'll tell you what ; steal softly up, and search  
My hamper first, then Paphlagon's, and note  
What's in them ; then you'll surely judge aright.

DEMUS. Well, what does *yours* contain ? S.S. See here, it's empty.  
Dear Father mine, I served up all for you.

DEMUS. A Demus-loving hamper, sure enough.

S.S. Now come along, and look at Paphlagon's.  
Hey ! only see ! DEMUS. Why here's a store of dainties !  
Why, here's a splendid cheesecake he put by !  
And me he gave the tiniest slice, *so* big.

S.S. And, Demus, that is what he always does ;  
Gives you the pettiest morsel of his gains,  
And keeps by far the largest share himself.

DEMUS. O miscreant, did you steal and gull me so,  
The while I crowned thy pow and gied thee gifties.

γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ, a very inadequate explanation ; οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ introduces an emphatic statement, excluding every possible alternative. See the note on Frogs 58. For ἀπιθ' at the commencement of this line we should perhaps read ἀπιτ'.

1211. τὴν ἐμὴν κίστην] *My hamper*, the hamper from which I have been drawing my provisions. See the note on 1151 supra. τὴν κιβωτὸν, says the Scholiast, ταύτη δὲ διενήνοχεν, ὅτι ἢ μὲν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἐστὶν ἔδεσμάτων, ἢ δὲ ἱματίων καὶ χρυσοῦ, ἢ κιβωτός. See Acharnians 1086 and the

note there.

1220. τυννουτονί] Συλλαβὸν τοὺς δακτύλους, φησὶ Φαεινός. ἀντὶ τοῦ μικρόν.— Scholiast. He shows just the tip of one finger. The word is explained by the gesture. Compare such phrases as *huius non faciam*, "I don't care *that* for him," Terence, Adelphi ii. 1. 9.

1222. μικρόν ὡν ἐλάμβανεν] This is a repetition of the charge levelled against Paphlagon, supra 716.

1225. ἐγὼ δὲ τυ] Τὸ τὸ Δωρικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ σέ. τὸ δὲ ἐστεφάνιξα ἀντὶ τοῦ στεφάνοις ἐτίμησα· δημοσίᾳ γὰρ ἐτίμηθη ὁ Κλέων

ΠΑ. ἐγὼ δ' ἔκλεπτον ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γε τῇ πόλει.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. κατάθου ταχέως τὸν στέφανον, ἵν' ἐγὼ τουτῶι  
αὐτὸν περιθῶ. ΑΛ. κατάθου ταχέως, μαστιγία.

ΠΑ. οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ μοι χρησμός ἐστι Πυθικὸς  
φράζων ὑφ' οὗ μ' ἐδέησεν ἠττᾶσθαι μόνου.

1230

ΑΛ. τούμῳν γε φράζων ὄνομα καὶ λίαν σαφῶς.

ΠΑ. καὶ μὴν σ' ἐλέγξαι βούλομαι τεκμηρίῳ,  
εἴ τι ξυνοίσεις τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς θεσφάτοις.  
καὶ σου τοσοῦτο πρῶτον ἐκπειράσομαι  
παῖς ὧν ἐφοίτας ἐς τίνος διδασκάλου;

1235

ΑΛ. ἐν ταῖσιν εὐστραῖς κονδύλοισι ἤρμοττόμην.

ΠΑ. πῶς εἶπας; ὡς μοῦ χρησμός ἄπτεται φρενῶν.  
εἶεν.

ἐν παιδοτρίβου δὲ τίνα πάλιν ἐμάνθανες;

ΑΛ. κλέπτων ἐπιορκεῖν καὶ βλέπειν ἐναντίον.

στεφάνῳ. μμεῖται δὲ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ὅταν  
στεφανῶσι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα.—Scholiast. I  
suppose the Scholiast to mean that Cleon  
was honoured with a golden crown on  
account of his success at Sphacteria.  
The line is probably, as Brunck observes,  
taken from some Dorian poet. The  
conjecture of K. O. Müller (Rhen. Mus.  
iii. 488) and others, that it comes from  
either the Εἰλωτες of Eupolis, or the  
Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ Τανάρω, σατυρικὸς of So-  
phocles, though of course quite possible,  
seems to have no intrinsic probability.  
See Meineke on the former, and Wagner  
on the latter play.

1226. ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γε τῇ πόλει] This, we  
may well believe, was the defence of  
Cleon, when he was found to have  
pocketed, and was forced to disgorge,  
the five talents mentioned in Ach. 6.

1230. φράζων ὑφ' οὗ] Paphlagon,  
always trusting to his oracles, places  
his last hope on this one. Like the  
prophecy on which Macbeth relied, it  
promises him immunity from all save,  
as it turns out, the very antagonist who  
confronts him. The words μ' ἐδέησεν  
are merely a modification of those (δέησε μ')  
which Bentley substituted for the un-  
metrical δέησεν or δέησε μ' of the MSS.  
The whole of the ensuing scene is cast in  
the Tragic vein, being framed, as Bakh  
remarks, on the model of a Tragic ἀνα-  
γνώρισις.

1236. εὐστραῖς] *The singing pits*, in  
which the hide of the dead pig was  
deprived of its hair. εὐστραὶ δὲ οἱ βόθροι  
ἐκαλοῦντο, ἐν οἷς εὐεται τὰ χοιρίδια.—Pollux  
vi. 91. εὐεῖν, *to singe*, is more familiar  
in the compound ἀφείω, Peace 1144;



- PAPH. And if I stole 'twas for the public good.  
 DEMUS. Off with your crown this instant, and I'll place it  
     On *him* instead.   S.S. Off with it, filth, this instant.  
 PAPH. Not so; a Pythian oracle I've got  
     Describing him who only can defeat me.  
 S.S. Describing *ME*, without the slightest doubt.  
 PAPH. Well then I'll test and prove you, to discern  
     How far you tally with the God's predictions.  
     And first I ask this question,—when a boy  
     Tell me the teacher to whose school you went.  
 S.S. Hard knuckles drilled me in the singeing pits.  
 PAPH. How say you? Heavens, the oracle's word strikes home!  
     Well!  
     What at the trainer's did you learn to do?  
 S.S. Forswear my thefts, and stare the accuser down.

Thesm. 216, 236, 590; Eccl. 13. The singeing process was required both for the tannery and for the kitchen. Athenaeus, ix. 17, quotes from a satyric drama of

Aeschylus a passage where a master is inquiring of the cook the state of the sucking-pig he is preparing for the table.

A. λευκός; B. τί δ' οὐχί; καὶ καλῶς ἡφευμένος  
 ὁ χοῖρος. A. ἔψου, μηδὲ λυπηθῆς πυρί.

1237. ἀπτεται] The word is used in Homer of an arrow, javelin, or other missile which reaches its intended destination. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ πάντων βέλε' ἀπτεται, *all their shafts hit the mark*, says the great Telamonian Aias of the Trojans, Iliad xvii. 631. Aristophanes is perhaps alluding to Eur. Medea 55, where the words φρενῶν ἀνθάπτεται are employed in much the same sense as the *mentem mortalia tangunt* of the Roman poet. In Lucian's Dial. Meretr. 1, Glycerium, having lost her lover, says τὸ πρῶγμα οὐ

μετρίως μου ἤψατο. And in the Ocyprus of the same writer, line 17, Ποδάγρα says τοῦτ' οὖν δάκει με καὶ φρενῶν καθάπτεται.

1239. κλέπτων κ.τ.λ.] Thieving itself seems to have come naturally to the Sausage-seller. What he learnt from his trainer was the additional accomplishment of denying his thefts upon oath; and that not in a shame-faced manner, but looking his accusers straight in the face. With βλέπειν ἐναντίον cf. Eur. Hec. 968; Heracleidae 943.

- ΠΑ. ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλων Λύκιε, τί ποτέ μ' ἐργάσει ; 1240  
 τέχνην δὲ τίνα ποτ' εἶχες ἐξανδρούμενος ;
- ΑΛ. ἤλλαντοπώλουν— ΠΑ. καὶ τί ; ΑΛ. καὶ βινεσκόμην.
- ΠΑ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων· οὐκέτ' οὐδέν εἰμ' ἐγώ.  
 λεπτή τις ἐλπίς ἐστ' ἐφ' ἧς ὀχούμεθα.  
 καὶ μοι τοσοῦτον εἰπέ· πότερον ἐν ἀγορᾷ 1245  
 ἤλλαντοπώλεις ἐτεὸν ἢ πὶ ταῖς πύλαις ;
- ΑΛ. ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαισιν, οὔ τὸ τάριχος ὄνιον.
- ΠΑ. οἴμοι πέπρακται τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ θέσφατον.  
 κυλίνδεται εἴσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα.  
 ὦ στέφανε, χαίρων ἀπιθι, καὶ σ' ἄκων ἐγώ 1250  
 λείπω· σὲ δ' ἄλλος τις λαβὼν κεκτῆσεται,  
 κλέπτῃς μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχῆς δ' ἴσως.
- ΑΛ. Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον.

1240. ὦ Φοῖβ' κ.τ.λ.] Paphlagon, now thoroughly alarmed, borrows a line, the Scholiast tells us, from the Telephus of Euripides. It was probably, in the Tragedy, the exclamation of Telephus himself.

1242. ΠΑ. καὶ τί ;] Sausage-selling was not the only occupation attributed by the oracle to Paphlagon's destined conqueror. And so, when the other pauses for a moment after the word ἤλλαντοπώλουν, Paphlagon eagerly inquires if that was all, if he had no other occupation. On hearing that he had, and what it was, Paphlagon is well nigh in despair. There is still one chance left him, but a very slender one. If the fellow sold his sausages in the Agora, all may yet be well. The words οὐκέτ' οὐδέν εἰμ' ἐγώ are in part repeated from Ach. 1185.

1244. ὀχούμεθα] *We ride at anchor, we anchor on.* The phrase ἐπ' ἐλπίδος

ὀχεῖσθαι is, as Porson observes (at Orestes 68), so common as to be almost proverbial. Porson collects many instances of its use, to which may now be added Lysistrata 31 ἐπ' ὀλίγον γ' ὀχεῖρ' (or ὀχεῖτ') ἄρα according to Dobree's most felicitous and certain emendation.

1249. κυλίνδεται εἴσω κ.τ.λ.] Here we have another Euripidean line, borrowed this time from the Bellerophon; a Tragedy which Aristophanes parodies again in the Wasps and in the Peace. ταῦτα ἐκ Βελλεροφόντου Εὐριπίδου, says the Scholiast, τὸ δὲ κυλίνδεται ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίζετε. These latter words are taken by the Commentators to mean that in the Bellerophon the word was κομίζετε, for which Aristophanes substituted κυλίνδετε. But the words cannot bear that meaning; nor had Aristophanes any reason for introducing the word κυλίνδετε, since Paphlagon was not in the ἐκκύκλημα. The words ἀντὶ τοῦ are the Scholiast's

- PAPH. Phoebus Apollo! Lycius! what means this?  
Tell me what trade you practised when a man.
- S.S. I sold my sausages— PAPH. Well? S.S. And sold myself.
- PAPH. Unhappy me! I'm done for. There remains  
One slender hope whereon to anchor yet.  
Where did you sell your sausages? Did you stand  
Within the Agora, or beside the Gates?
- S.S. Beside the Gates, where the salt-fish is sold.
- PAPH. O me, the oracle has all come true!  
Roll in, roll in, this most unhappy man.  
O crown, farewell. Unwillingly I leave thee.  
Begone, but thee some other will obtain,  
A luckier man perchance, but not more—thievish.
- S.S. Hellanian Zeus, the victory-prize is thine!

usual words for ushering in an explanation: and I think that the word *κυλίετε* was used in the Bellerophon as well as in the Knights, and that in both places, according to the Scholiast, it is merely equivalent to *κομίζετε*.

1251. *σὲ δ' ἄλλος*] We have already

*θνήσκω· σὲ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνὴ κεκτήσεται,  
σώφραν μὲν οὐκ ἂν μάλλον, εὐτυχὴς δ' ἴσως.* (ALC. 181.)

With these words Paphlagon falls to the ground as if dead, and there apparently he lies motionless during the remainder of the play. As to the crown see 1225 supra.

1253. [Ἑλλάμει Ζεῦ] Ἑλλάμιος Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγίῳ αὐχμοῦ ποτὲ γενομένου, ὅτε Διὰ κὸς συναγαγὼν τοὺς Πανελλήνας ἐξίλειώσατο τὸν Δία. τοῦτο δὲ λέγει ὁ ἄλλαντοπώλης εἰληφῶς τὸν στέφανον.—Scholiast. The story is told more fully by Isocrates in his Evagoras, 17, 18, where he is glorifying the race of Teucer from

in this little scene had two quotations from lost Plays of Euripides, the Telephus and the Bellerophon. We have now a third from a well-known passage of an existing play, from the farewell speech of the dying Alcestis to her marriage bed.

whom Evagoras claimed to be descended. There was a terrible drought over all Hellas, and many lives were lost, he says, and at last the leading men from all the cities, *οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν πόλεων*, came to Aeacus and begged him to obtain from Zeus, whose son he was, a remission of this great calamity. Aeacus prayed for rain, and, when his prayer was granted, the Hellenic leaders *ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίῳ κατεστήσαντο κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐποιήσατο τὴν εὐχὴν*. The Doric form Ἑλλάμιος is no doubt

- ΔΗ. ὦ χαίρε καλλίνικε, καὶ μέμνησ' ὅτι  
 ἀνὴρ γεγένησαι δι' ἐμέ· καί σ' αἰτῶ βραχὺ,  
 ὅπως ἔσομαί σοι Φανὸς ὑπογραφεὺς δικῶν. 1255
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἐμοὶ δέ γ' ὅ τι σοι τοῦνομ' εἶπ'. ΑΛ. Ἀγοράκριτος  
 ἐν τὰγορᾷ γὰρ κρινόμενος ἐβοσκόμην.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. Ἀγορακρίτῳ τοίνυν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπω,  
 καὶ τὸν Παφλαγόνα παραδίδωμι τουτονί. 1260
- ΑΛ. καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ σ', ὦ Δῆμε, θεραπεύσω καλῶς,  
 ὥσθ' ὁμολογεῖν σε μηδέν' ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ  
 ἰδεῖν ἀμείνω τῇ Κεχηναίων πόλει.
- ΧΟ. τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν  
 ἢ καταπανομένοισιν 1265

due to its Aeginetan origin (Pind. Nem. v. 17), though the Athenian envoys in their striking protestation of their loyalty to Hellas (Hdt. ix. 7) spell it Ἑλλάμιος. The scene is so studded with Tragic quotation and parody, that this line also may very probably, as some have suggested, be drawn from the same source.

1254. ὦ χαίρε καλλίνικε] Demosthenes, who had first urged the reluctant Sausage-seller to be a ΜΑΝ (supra 178, 179), and to enter the lists against Paphlagon, now salutes him in the words of the famous Song of Victory composed by Archilochus, ὦ καλλίνικε χαίρ' ἀναξ Ἡράκλεες. Aristophanes makes use of this triumphal song at the close both of the Acharnians and of the Birds, where see the Commentary.

1256. ὑπογραφεὺς δικῶν] This is commonly taken to mean a ὑπογραμματεὺς or some other recognized official. But it probably signifies a man who signs

writs and indictments, either (like the Latin *subscriptor*) as second to his principal, or what is perhaps more likely on behalf, and at the instigation, of his principal. Phanus we know was one of Cleon's associates, Wasps 1220; and unless we have here a mere pun upon his name, he was probably supposed, whether rightly or wrongly, to bring actions against his patron's enemies, so currying favour with the demagogue and enriching himself. Demosthenes, the slave, humbly petitions that he may be allowed to perform the same duties for the Sausage-seller.

1258. ἐβοσκόμην] I subsisted, earned my livelihood, maintained myself (Thesm. 449) by wrangling in the agora. κρινεσθαι is to argue, wrangle. τίως μὲν οὖν ἐκρινόμεθ', we wrangled, Clouds 66. οὐ σοι κρινοῦμαι, I will not wrangle with you, Eur. Med. 609.

1263. τῇ Κεχηναίων πόλει] For τῇ Ἀθηναίων πόλει, to the city of the Athenians

DE. Hail, mighty Victor, nor forget 'twas I  
 Made you a Man ; and grant this small request,  
 Make *me* your Phanus, signer of your writs.

DEMUS. Your name, what is it? S.S. Agoracritus.  
 An Agora-life I lived, and thrived by wrangling.

DEMUS. To Agoracritus I commit myself,  
 And to *his* charge consign this Paphlagon.

S.S. And, Demus, I will always tend you well,  
 And you shall own there never lived a man  
 Kinder than I to the Evergaping City.

CHOR. O what is a nobler thing,  
 Beginning or ending a song,

for to the city of the Athenians. Cf. supra 755, 804, 824, 1119, &c. Paphlagon had boasted that with hardly an exception he was the βέλτιστος ἀνὴρ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, supra 764; and now the Sausage-seller protests that nobody was ever better to the city, τῇ πόλει, equivalent to τῷ δήμῳ, than he will be. With these words Demus, the Sausage-seller, and Demosthenes leave the stage, and here the proper plot of the Comedy terminates. But Aristophanes adds a Second Parabasis, and a presentment of a rejuvenated Demus, delivered from the baleful influences of flatterers and demagogues.

1264. We have here, as in the Birds, a Second Parabasis, consisting of a Strophe and Antistrophe, an Epirrhema and an Antepirrhema. We know that Eupolis, in the Baptae, claimed a share in the composition of the Knights.

κάκείνους τοὺς Ἰππέας  
 ξυνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ τούτῳ κάδωρησάμην.

And the ancient grammarians tell us that the whole or the latter part of this Second Parabasis was due to his co-operation. Εὐπολις ἐν τοῖς Βάπταις φησὶν ὅτι συνεποίησεν Ἀριστοφάνει τοὺς Ἰππέας. λέγει δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν Παράβασιν.—Scholiast on Clouds 554. ἐκ τοῦ "ὅστις οὖν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα" φασὶ τινες Εὐπόλιδος εἶναι τὴν Παράβασιν.—Scholiast on line 1291 of this Play. I have in the Introduction given my reasons for believing that the hand of Eupolis is visible throughout the whole of this Second Parabasis, no part of which is quite in the ordinary vein of Aristophanic humour. But whether it is altogether his composition, or the joint composition of Aristophanes and himself, is a matter on which I feel unable to express any definite opinion.

1264-73. THE STROPHE. The Knights declare that they will not stoop to assail paupers and miserable wretches. The opening lines, the Scholiast tells

ἢ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλατήρας αἰεΐειν  
 μηδὲν ἐς Λυσίστρατον,  
 μηδὲ Θούμαντιν τὸν ἀνέστιον αὐτὸν  
 πείν ἐκούσῃ καρδία ;  
 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος, ὃ φίλ' Ἄπολλον, αἰεΐ  
 πεινῇ, θαλεροῖς δακρύοισιν  
 σᾶς ἀπτόμενος φαρέτρας Πυθῶνι δία  
 μὴ κακῶς πένεσθαι.

1270

λοιδορῆσαι τοὺς πονηροὺς οὐδέν ἐστ' ἐπίφθονον,  
 ἀλλὰ τιμῇ τοῖσι χρηστοῖς, ὅστις εὖ λογίζεται.  
 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπος, δὴν δεῖ πῶλλον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ κακὰ,  
 αὐτὸς ἦν ἐνδηλος, οὐκ ἂν ἀνδρὸς ἐμνήσθην φίλου.

1275

us, are adapted from one of Pindar's commenced  
 processional (προσῳδία, Birds 853) which

Τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν ἢ καταπανομένοισιν  
 ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε λατῶ καὶ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλάτειραν αἰεΐσαι ;

lines interwoven by Athenaeus into the closing sentence of his *Deipnosophistae*. The *θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλάτειρα* is Artemis the driver of horses, "Ἄρτεμις Ἴπποσῶα ; and in Pindar *ἐλάτειραν* is the *object* of αἰεΐσαι ; but here, in my judgement (and I am glad to find that the two most recent editors take the same view), the *θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλατήρας* are the *subject* of αἰεΐειν, Aristophanes having turned the Pindaric sentence topsy-turvy. It seems to me plain that the *θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλατήρες* are the Knights themselves, and they are not now going to pronounce a panegyric on themselves, as they did in the former *Ἐπιρρημα* ; they are going to do a nobler thing than to satirize Lysistratus and Thumantis ; they are going to expose a

man who is a monster of profligacy and vice.

1267. *Λυσίστρατον*] As to Lysistratus, his poverty, his vice, and his buffoonery (*Λυσίστρατος ὁ σκωπτόλης*) see Ach. 855-9, Wasps 787 and 1300-17. For the scheme of this strophe (and its antistrophe) the reader is referred to the Appendix. The metrical arrangement is very simple and neat. Of the ten lines, three (the fourth, the sixth, and the last) are pure trochaics. The keynote of the remaining seven is the double dactyl, generally preceded by a trochaic, or monosyllabic, base, and invariably followed by a trochaic, or monosyllabic, final. This is substantially the arrangement of the MSS. and of all editions before Dindorf's, and of Van

For horsemen who joy in driving  
 Their fleet-foot coursers along,  
 Than—Never to launch a lampoon at Lysistratus, scurvy buffoon ;  
 Or at hearthless Thumantis to gird, poor starveling, in lightness of heart ;  
 Who is weeping hot tears at thy shrine, Apollo, in Pytho divine,  
 And, clutching thy quiver, implores to be healed of his poverty's smart !  
 For lampooning worthless wretches, none should bear the bard a grudge ;  
 'Tis a sound and wholesome practice, if the case you rightly judge.  
 Now if he whose evil-doings I must needs expose to blame  
 Were himself a noted person, never had I named the name

Leeuwen's afterwards ; but Dindorf, while doing good service for the *text* of the strophe, compressed its last eight lines into four, so completely destroying the simplicity and regularity of the metre, and assimilating the entire system rather to an involved and intricate strophe of Pindar than to an easy and popular ode of Aristophanes. But Dindorf's system has been adopted by all subsequent editors except Van Leeuwen, and my own translation is based on it.

1268. Θούμαντι] In Birds 1406 Leotrophides is mentioned as a person of such extreme tenuity that he would be an appropriate Choregus for the slim and slender Cinesias ; and the Scholiast there cites a passage (more fully given by Athenaeus xii. 75) from the *Κέρκωρες* of Hermippus, in which Leotrophides and Thumantis are bracketed together, and compared with the leanest of lean kine :

οἱ γὰρ πενόμενοι  
 ἀνάπηρά σοι θύουσιν ἤδη βοῖδα  
 Λεωτροφίδου λεπτότερα καὶ Θουμάντιδος.

K.

θαλερὰ δάκρυα, *abundant tears*, is an Homeric expression.

1271. ἀπτόμενος . . . μὴ κακῶς πένεσθαι] The attitude of prayer is substituted for the prayer itself ; a common figure of speech. Thus in Iph. Taur. 1270–2 we are told that the young Apollo *χέρα παιδῶν ἔλιξ' ἐκ Ζηνὸς θρόνον χθονίαν ἀφελεῖν μῆνιν*, *twined his little hand about Zeus's throne (that is besought him) to take away Earth's wrath*. And so Saint Paul says to the Ephesians (iii. 14), *I bow my knees to the Lord that he would grant you*. The words *Πυθῶνι δία* are borrowed, as Dindorf observes, from the Seventh Pythian, line 11.

1274–89. THE ΕΠΙΡΡΗΜΑ. Here we are introduced to the loathsome practices of Aripbrates who will reappear in the same character in the Wasps and in the Peace. This indignant denunciation of his vice has no lightness of touch, and no trace of humour, and seems far more akin to the "angry Eupolis," as Persius calls him, than to Aristophanes, whose own strikingly different treatment of the un-

N

νῦν δ' Ἀρίγνωτον γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἐπίσταται,  
 ὅστις ἢ τὸ λευκὸν οἶδεν ἢ τὸν ὄρθιον νόμον.  
 ἔστιν οὖν ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς τρόπους οὐ συγγενῆς, 1280  
 Ἀριφράδης πονηρὸς. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ βούλεται·  
 ἐστὶ δ' οὐ μόνον πονηρὸς, οὐ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἡσθόμην,  
 οὐδὲ παμπόνηρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξεύρηκέ τι.  
 τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλῶτταν αἰσχροαῖς ἡδοναῖς λυμαίνεται,  
 ἐν κασαυρείοισι λείχων τὴν ἀπόπτυστον δρόσον, 1285  
 καὶ μολύνων τὴν ὑπήνην, καὶ κυκῶν τὰς ἐσχάρας,  
 καὶ Πολυμνήστεια ποιῶν, καὶ ξυνὸν Οἰωνίχῳ.

pleasant subject will be found in Wasps 1275–88. Aripbrates was one of the three sons of Automenes; of the other two, one, Arignotus, was a well-known and popular harper; the other was a very clever actor. Aripbrates was the black sheep of the family, as infamous for his profligacy as they were famous in their respective callings. See the note on Wasps 1275.

1278. Ἀρίγνωτον] The adjective ἀρίγνωτος means *well-knowing*, and is often employed by Homer, both in the Iliad and in the Odyssey, in that signification. And the words οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἐπίσταται, which here immediately follow the name, are of course intended as a play upon that meaning.

1279. τὸ λευκὸν οἶδεν] There was a proverbial saying ὅστις οἶδε τὸ λευκὸν ἢ τὸ μέλαν, *a man who knows white or black*, that is *who knows anything*. The proverb, in the form of an heroic hexameter, is found, as Bergler observes, in Matron's witty description of an Attic supper, given at length by Athenaeus iv. 13 (135 C), where a cuttle is de-

scribed as a divine being, ἡ μὴ, ἰχθὺς ἐοῦσα, τὸ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν οἶδε; the λευκὸν referring to its white colour, and the μέλαν to the inky secretion which it discharges when in danger. Here the Chorus mean *Everybody knows Aripbrates who knows anything, ὅστις οἶδε τὸ λευκὸν ἢ τὸ μέλαν*, but for τὸ μέλαν they unexpectedly substitute, παρὰ προσδοκίαν, by way of compliment to the illustrious musician, the words τὸν ὄρθιον νόμον. Surprise-words of this character frequently disorganize the sentence, and they do so here. The "Orthian nome," a stirring martial strain, was one of Terpander's seven nomes, or tunes set to special words. Νόμος ὁ καθαυφιδικός τρόπος τῆς μελωδίας, ἀρμονίαν ἔχων ταύτην καὶ ῥυθμὸν ὠρισμένον ἦσαν δὲ ἑπτὰ οἱ ὑπὸ Τερπάνδρου ὃν εἰς ὄρθιον.—Photius, s. v. νόμος. And again, ὄρθιον νόμον καὶ τροχαῖον. τοὺς δύο νόμους ἀπὸ τῶν ῥυθμῶν ὠνόμασεν Τέρπανδρος.—Id., s. v. ὄρθιον. Another famous musician connected with the Orthian nome was Polymnestus of Colophon, Plutarch, de Musica, chap. 10. And see Col.



Of a man I love and honour. Is there one who knows not well  
 Arignotus, prince of harpers? None, believe me, who can tell  
 How the whitest colour differs from the stirring tune he plays.  
 Arignotus has a brother (not a brother in his ways)  
 Named Ariphrades, a rascal—nay, but that's the fellow's whim—  
 Not an ordinary rascal, or I had not noticed him.  
 Not a thorough rascal merely; he's invented something more,  
 Novel forms of self-pollution, bestial tricks unknown before.  
 Yea, to nameless filth and horrors does the loathsome wretch descend,  
 Works the work of Polymnestus, calls Oeonichus his friend.

Mure's Greek Lit., Book III, chap. 1.

1280. *τοὺς τρόπους οὐ συγγενῆς*] And therefore not entitled to boast of his relationship to so popular and honoured a man. "Rely not on your father's virtues," says St. Chrysostom, "*ἐὰν μὴ συγγενῆς αὐτῷ γένῃ κατὰ τοὺς τρόπους.*" Hom. 19 in Rom. 654 A.

1281. *καὶ βούλεται*] This is an aggravation of his guilt. *He is not only a rogue; he is a willing rogue.* Kock quotes from Andocides (In the matter of the Mysteries 95) *Ἐπιχάρης οὗτος, ὁ πάντων πονηρότατος, καὶ βουλόμενος εἶναι τοιοῦτος*: and many other instances, mostly from the Orators, are collected by Dr. Blaydes.

1285. *κασαυρείουσι*] The Scholiast explains this by *ἐν πορείῳ* (cf. Wasps 1283); the words which follow, *τὴν ἀπόπτυστον δρόσον* by *τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων, τουτέστι τὸ σπέρμα*: and *τὰς ἐσχάρας* by *τὰ χεῖλη τῶν γυναικείων αἰδοίων*.

1287. *Πολυμνήστεια*] We have seen in the note on 1279 supra that there was a famous old musician named Polymnestus, a native of Colophon. And a

melody of his composition was called *Πολυμνήστιον* or *Πολυμνήστειον*. *Πολυμνήστιον ᾄδειν' εἶδός τι μελοποιίας τὸ Πολυμνήστιον. ἦν δὲ Κολοφώνιος μελοποιὸς ὁ Πολύμνηστος, εὐμελῆς πάνν.*—Hesychius. *Πολυμνήσται' ἀείδειν' γένος τι μελοποιίας' Κολοφώνιος δὲ ὁ Πολύμνηστος.*—Photius. See Plutarch, de Musica, chaps. 3, 5, 8, 9, 10; Strabo xiv. 1. 28. The Scholiast cites a line of Cratinus, *καὶ Πολυμνήσται' ἀείδει, μουσικὴν τε μανθάνει*. But though Cratinus is unquestionably referring to the Colophonian, and Aristophanes (as we must call the author of this Parabasis, though he may have been Eupolis) is unquestionably referring to Cratinus, yet I am persuaded that the Polymnestus of Aristophanes is not the antique musician, but that he and Oeonichus were two disreputable Athenians of the day; *Πολύμνηστος καὶ Οἰώνυχος ὄμοιοι ἀρρητοποιοί*, as the Scholiast says. The *Πολυμνήσται' ἀείδειν* of Cratinus means "to sing the melodies of the ancient Polymnestus"; the *Πολυμνήστεια ποιεῖν* of Aristophanes means "to do the deeds of the modern Polymnestus." The

ὅστις οὖν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα μὴ σφόδρα βδελύττεται,  
οὐ ποτ' ἐκ ταύτου μεθ' ἡμῶν πίεται ποτηρίον.

ἢ πολλάκις ἐννουχίαισι 1290  
φροντίσι συγγεγένημαι,  
καὶ διεξήτηχ' ὀπόθεν ποτὲ φαύλως  
ἔσθιει Κλεώνυμος.

φασὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐρεπτόμενον τὰ  
τῶν ἐχόντων ἀνέρων 1295  
οὐκ ἂν ἐξελεθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σιπύης,  
τοὺς δ' ἀντιβολεῖν ἂν ὁμοίως·  
ἴθ', ὦ ἄνα, πρὸς γονάτων, ἔξελθε καὶ σύγ-  
γνωθι τῇ τραπέζῃ.

φασὶν ἀλλήλαις ξυνελεθεῖν τὰς τριήρεις εἰς λόγον, 1300  
καὶ μίαν λέξαι τιν' αὐτῶν, ἥτις ἦν γεραιτέρα·  
οὐδὲ πυνθάνεσθε ταῦτ', ὦ παρθένοι, τὰν τῇ πόλει;

notion that the old Colophonian was the composer of gross and licentious melodies seems to have arisen solely from a misapprehension of the present passage.

1289. πίεται] Οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον, says Lucian, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔστιαν τοὺς ταῦτα διατιθέντας καλεῖν, καὶ φιλοτησίας προπίνειν, καὶ ὄψων τῶν αὐτῶν ἄπτεσθαι, Pseudologista 31.

1290-9. THE ANTI-STROPHE. This is a little skit on the gluttony of Cleonymus who, the flight from Delium not having yet taken place, is still merely the *κατωφαγῆς* and not the *ρίψασπις*. See on 958 supra, and infra 1372. And cf. Aelian, V. H. i. 27. The Scholiast thinks that the opening words contain a reference to Eur. Hipp. 377, a passage to which Aristophanes more clearly alludes in Frogs 931 where see the note.

1292. φαύλως] *Lightly*: without troubling himself. φαύλως ἔσθιει here has much, but not quite, the same meaning as φαύλως ἐρείδει in Peace 25. There it means *offhand*, not *troubling about cookery or the like*; here *without trouble to himself*; so that he never need stop.

1294. ἐρεπτόμενον] Strictly, *browsing*, ὡς ἐπὶ κτήνους, as the Scholiast says. σιπύη is the *store-cupboard*, the *garner*, the place where the food is kept, ἡ ἀροθήκη. See Plutus 806. ὁμοίως means *all alike*, without a dissentient voice.

1298. σύγνωθι τῇ τραπέζῃ] *Spare the table*. The Greek, like the English, may mean either "spare what remains of the food" or "don't eat table and all."

1300-15. THE ANTEPIRBHEMA. A debate of the Athenian triremes concerning a proposal of Hyperbolus to

Whoso loathes not such a monster never shall be friend of mine,  
Never from the selfsame goblet quaff, with us, the rosy wine.

And oft in the watches of night  
My spirit within me is thrilled,  
To think of Cleonymus eating  
As though he would never be filled.

O whence could the fellow acquire that appetite deadly and dire?  
They say when he grazes with those whose table with plenty is stored  
That they never can get him away from the trencher, though humbly  
they pray

*Have mercy, O King, and depart! O spare, we beseech thee, the board!*

Recently, 'tis said, our galleys met their prospects to discuss,  
And an old experienced trireme introduced the subject thus;  
"Have ye heard the news, my sisters? 'tis the talk in every street,

lead a fleet to Carthage. It is impossible to say whether this alleged proposal is a mere comic jest, or whether that demagogue, fired by Cleon's success at Sphacteria, had really proposed to lead an expedition against that great maritime city. We do however know that Athenian ambition, even earlier than this, had stretched out in that direction. See the Introduction to the *Birds*, pp. xiii, xiv. And it is in no way improbable that the Athenians, their navy being now, more than ever before, the undisputed mistress in Hellenic waters, may have been seriously looking forward to a contest with Carthage for the empire of the seas. Anyhow the idea that, in such a contest as this, they should be under the command of Hyperbolus, awakes the deepest resentment in the hearts of all the

Athenian triremes. Three of them take part in the debate: (1) an old respected trireme, who introduces the subject in a speech of three lines; (2) a young maiden galley, not yet in commission, whose speech occupies only two lines; and (3) Nauphante, whose speech continues to the conclusion of the *Antepirrhema*. It must be remembered that all the Athenian triremes had feminine names. See Schömann, *De navium nominibus*, Opuscula i. 301.

1302. οἰδὲ πυνθάρισθε κ.τ.λ.] The Scholiast tells us that this entire line is taken from the Alcmaeon of Euripides. Euripides wrote two plays of that name; but this line must have occurred, as Dindorf and others have pointed out, in the Alcmaeon which was called ὁ διὰ Ψωφίδος (Psophia, the Arcadian town): since the Alcmaeon ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου was

φασὶν αἰτεῖσθαι τιν' ἡμῶν ἑκατὸν ἐς Καρχηδόνα  
 ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν, πολίτην ὀξίνην, Ὑπέρβολον  
 ταῖς δὲ δόξαι δεινὸν εἶναι τοῦτο κοῦκ ἀνασχετὸν, 1305  
 καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν, ἦτις ἀνδρῶν ἄσσον οὐκ ἐλλήθει·  
 ἀποτρόπαι', οὐ δῆτ' ἐμοῦ γ' ἄρξει ποτ', ἀλλ' ἑάν με χρῆ,  
 ὑπὸ τερηδόνων σαπεῖσ' ἐνταῦθα καταγῆράσομαι.  
 οὐδὲ Ναυφάντης γε τῆς Ναύσωνος, οὐ δῆτ', ὦ θεοί,  
 εἴπερ ἐκ πεύκης γε κάγῳ καὶ ξύλων ἐπηγνύμην. 1310  
 ἦν δ' ἀρέσκη ταῦτ' Ἀθηναίοις, καθῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ  
 εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον πλεύσας ἢ πὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν.

later in date than the Knights. The former was a member of a Tetralogy, of which the other three plays were the Cretan Women, the Telephus, and the still extant Alcestis. The two plays which completed the Trilogy to which the Alcmaeon ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου belonged are both still extant, viz. the Iphigenia in Aulis and the Bacchae. See Wagner's *Fragm. Trag. Graec.* ii. 4.

1304. Ὑπέρβολον] Though Hyperbolus occupies a very subordinate position in the plays of Aristophanes, yet he was constantly attacked by Eupolis and others (*Clouds* 551-9), and must have been a far more formidable person than he appears to the reader of these Comedies. And after his death, he and Cleon are frequently coupled together, as violent and dangerous ruffians, a terror to the well to do. They are the two bullies with whose names, in the *Frogs*, the angry Hostesses threaten the alarmed Dionysus. And in Lucian's *Timon, Wealth*, on setting his foot on Attic ground, is thankful to Hermes for holding his hand, ἐπεὶ ἦν γε ἀπολίτης με, he says, Ὑπερβόλω τάχα ἢ Κλέωνι ἐμ-

πεσοῦμαι περιουστῶν. By trade he was a maker and seller of lanterns (Ὑπέρβολος οὐκ τῶν λύχνων, *Clouds* 1065; ὁ λυχνιοποιὸς, *Peace* 690), which he exposed for sale on πίνακες, *trays*, as Philocrates did his birds: *Birds* 14 and the note there. These πίνακες are called σκάφαι infra 1315, for the purpose of a play upon σκάφη, *ships*.

1306. ἀνδρῶν ἄσσον] Nothing is commoner than to speak of the man who equips and provisions a vessel as the ship's husband; and of an ordinary husband as the commander of a vessel. "There is a little frigate in this harbour," says Captain Cheerly (in *Prince Hoare's Lock and Key*), "of which I would fain take the command honourably; but her old uncle thinks me too poor to hold the commission."

1309. Ναυφάντης] Scilicet, ἄρξει. Nauphante adds her father's name to her own, just as the *Baking-girl* in *Wasps* 1397 (where see the note) adds the names of her father and mother for the purpose of giving greater dignity and emphasis to her protest. Both names are to be taken as derived from ναῦς,

*That Hyperbolus the worthless, vapid townsman, would a fleet  
Of a hundred lovely galleys lead to Carthage far away."*

Over every prow there mantled deep resentment and dismay.

Up and spoke a little galley, yet from man's pollution free,

"Save us! such a scurvy fellow never shall be lord of me.

Here I'd liefer rot and moulder, and be eaten up of worms."

"Nor Nauphante, Nauson's daughter, shall he board on any terms ;

I, like you, can feel the insult ; I'm of pine and timber knit.

Wherefore, if the measure passes, I propose we sail and sit

Suppliant at the shrine of Theseus, or the Dread Avenging Powers.

though in the list of names collected by Schömann there is but one, *Ναυκρατοῦσα*, so derived. In the next line the words *πέυκης καὶ ξύλων* merely mean *pine-wood*. It is a case of *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν*.

1312. *Θησεῖον*] The ships are, somehow or other, to sail to an asylum situate not by the seaside, but in the very heart of the town; and there, somehow or other, to sit as suppliants at the inviolable altars. The Theseium, which enshrined the bones brought by Cimon from Scyrus as those of the national hero, was, as is well known, an asylum for the poor and distressed; *φύξιον*, as Plutarch calls it, *οικέταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ταπεινότεροις καὶ δεδιόσι κρείττονας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Θησεῖως προστατικοῦ τινοῦ καὶ βοηθητικοῦ γενομένου, καὶ προσδεχομένου φιλανθρώπως τὰς τῶν ταπεινότερων δεήσεις*.—Theseus, chap. 36. So Diodorus Siculus, after narrating the death

of Theseus in exile, proceeds *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μεταμεληθέντες τὰ τε ὄσῳ μετήνεγκαν καὶ τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν, καὶ τέμενος ἄσυλον ἐποίησαν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἀπ' ἐκείνου Θησεῖον*, iv. 62. But still more venerable was the sanctuary of the *Σεμεναί* (or in other words the *Erinyes*) on the side of the Hill of Areopagus. In the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus we see these awful beings, under the direction of Athene herself, proceeding from the Court of Areopagus to take possession of their subterranean dwelling-place in the immediate vicinity.

*πέμψω τε φέγγει λαμπάδων σελασφύρων  
eis τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους,*

says the Goddess; and the Attendants, escorting them out, sing (I quote Dr. Verrall's version which in both language and spirit will convey to an English reader the full flavour of the original) :

Pass to your home, thus augustly estated ;  
Come, O mysterious Maidens, come, Offspring of Night ;  
(And silence all for our sacred song).  
Ages your cavernous portal has waited,  
Come ye with sacrifice offered, with worship and rite :  
(And silence all as we wend along).

οὐ γὰρ ἡμῶν γε στρατηγῶν ἐγχανεῖται τῇ πόλει·  
ἀλλὰ πλείτω χωρὶς αὐτὸς ἐς κόρακας, εἰ βούλεται,  
τὰς σκάφας, ἐν αἷς ἐπώλει τοὺς λύχνους, καθελκύσας. 1315

- ΑΛ. εὐφημεῖν χρὴ καὶ στόμα κλείειν, καὶ μαρτυριῶν ἀπέχεσθαι,  
καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια συγκλείειν, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἤδε γέγηθεν,  
ἐπὶ καιναῖσιν δ' εὐτυχίασιν παιωνίζειν τὸ θέατρον.
- ΧΟ. ὦ ταῖς ἱεραῖς φέγγος Ἀθήναις καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπίκουρε,  
τίν' ἔχων φήμην ἀγαθὴν ἤκεις, ἐφ' ὅτφ κνισῶμεν ἀγνιάς; 1320
- ΑΛ. τὸν Δῆμον ἀφεψήσας ὑμῖν καλὸν ἐξ αἰσχροῦ πεποίηκα.
- ΧΟ. καὶ ποῦ 'στιν νῦν, ὦ θαυμαστὰς ἐξευρίσκων ἐπινοίας;
- ΑΛ. ἐν ταῖσιν ἰοστεφάνοις οἰκεῖ ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις.
- ΧΟ. πῶς ἂν ἴδοιμεν; ποῖαν τιν' ἔχει σκευήν; χοῖος γεγένηται;
- ΑΛ. οἶός περ Ἀριστείδη πρότερον καὶ Μιλτιάδη ξυνεσίτει. 1325

The cavernous portal is the fissure or chasm still visible in the rock of the Areopagus. See Eur. *El.* 1270; *Iph. in Taur.* 968, 969. And the Temple of the Semnae erected over the spot was the most inviolable asylum for all who sought it. And so in *Thesm.* 224 Mnesilochus, driven to desperation by the cuts inflicted on his cheeks through the awkward shaving of Euripides, protests that he will flee for refuge *eis τὸ τῶν σεμνῶν Θεῶν.*

1313. *ἐγχανεῖται*] The same word is used of the same Hyperbolus in *Wasps* 1007 *κοῦκ ἐγχανεῖται σ' ἐξαπατῶν Ὑπερβολος.* The repetition makes it probable that there is an allusion to something special in the demagogue's manner or oratory.

1314. *χωρὶς*] *By himself, without us.*

1316. *εὐφημεῖν χρὴ*] The Parabasis being over, the Sausage-seller re-enters alone. Paphlagon is still lying on the

ground as one dead, whilst his victorious rival announces to the Chorus the happy transformation of Demus. Delivered from the malign influence of the demagogues, he has again become what he was in the heroic times of the Persian invasions, the golden age of Hellas and of Athens.

1319. *ταῖς νήσοις*] By the term *νήσοι*, as we have already had occasion to observe (on 170 supra), we are to understand the entire Athenian empire outside the coasts of Attica; all parts of it, that is to say, to which Athens had access only by means of her fleet. The extortions practised by the demagogues on these unfortunate allies were a blot on the fair fame of Athens, and were always keenly felt and resented by Aristophanes; see for example *Wasps* 669-71, *Peace* 639-47, &c. And now the Sausage-seller will put an end to these nefarious proceedings, and so will

*He shall ne'er, as our commander, fool it o'er this land of ours.  
If he wants a little voyage, let him launch his sale-trays, those  
Whereupon he sold his lanterns, steering to the kites and crows."*

- S.S. O let not a word of ill omen be heard; away with all proof and citation,  
And close for to-day the Law Courts, though they are the joy and delight of our nation.  
At the news which I bring let the theatre ring with Paeans of loud acclamation.
- CHOR. O Light of the City, O Helper and friend of the islands we guard with our fleets,  
What news have you got? O tell me for what shall the sacrifice blaze in our streets?
- S.S. Old Demus I've stewed till his youth is renewed, and his aspect most charming and nice is.
- CHOR. O where have you left him, and where is he now, you inventor of wondrous devices?
- S.S. He dwells in the City of ancient renown, which the violet chaplet is wearing.
- CHOR. O would I could see him! O what is his garb, and what his demeanour and bearing?
- S.S. As when, for his mess-mates, Miltiades bold and just Aristeides he chose.

be, in the truest sense, ταῖς νήσοις ἐπί-  
κουρος. And by healing all these sores  
and corruptions of the State, he will  
also be a "Light to holy Athens" just  
as Asclepius the divine Healer was a  
"Light to all mankind" μέγα βροτοῖσι  
φέγγος, Plutus 640.

1320. κισῶμεν ἀγιάς;] *Are we to fill  
the streets with the savour and steam of  
burnt-offerings?* The phrase, which has  
a sort of Epic flavour, occurs again in  
Birds 1233, Demosthenes against Mei-  
dias 65 (p. 580), &c.

1321. ἀφεψήσας] This is no doubt sug-  
gested by the story of Medea; though  
the reference can hardly be, as the  
Scholiast supposes, to her treatment of  
Aeson, Jason's father; for in *his* case,  
it was not the patient she boiled, but  
the drugs wherewith she restored him.  
This is shown even by the lines which  
the Scholiast himself quotes from the  
Νόστροι. *She restored him to health and*

*youth, says the poet, φάρμακα πόλλ'  
ἔψουσ' ἐνὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησι.* And cf.  
Ovid, Met. vii. 279. The reference is  
rather to her boiling an old ram till  
he became a lamb again in furtherance  
of her designs upon Pelias, Jason's  
"Wicked Uncle." πείθει τὰς θυγατέρας  
αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα κρεουργῆσαι καὶ καθε-  
ψῆσαι, διὰ φαρμάκων αὐτὸν ἐπαγγελλομένη  
ποιήσειν νέον· καὶ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι χάριν κριδὸν  
μελίσασα καὶ καθεψήσασα ἐποίησεν ἄρνα·  
αἱ δὲ πιστεύσασαι τὸν πατέρα κρεουργοῦσι  
καὶ καθέψουσιν.—Apollodorus i. 9. 27.

1325. Ἀριστείδη . . . Μελτιάδῃ] They,  
and Themistocles, were the great figures  
of the most splendid period of Athenian  
history. Isocrates (de Pace 91, p. 174),  
drawing the same distinction as is here  
drawn by Aristophanes between the  
Athenians of the Persian War and their  
successors of the Peloponnesian War,  
says ἡ μὲν τοίνυν πολιτεία τοσοῦτοφ βελτίων  
ἦν καὶ κρείττων ἢ τότε τῆς ὑστερον κατα-

ὄψεσθε δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοιγνυμένων ψόφος ἤδη τῶν προπυλαίων.  
ἀλλ' ὀλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις  
καὶ θαυμασταῖς καὶ πολυύμοις, ἔν' ὃ κλεινὸς Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.

ΧΟ. ὦ ται λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰσοτέφανοι καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι Ἀθηναί, 1329  
δείξατε τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε μόναρχον.

ΑΛ. ὄδ' ἐκείνος ὄραν τεττιγοφορῶν, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρὸς,  
οὐ χοιρινῶν ὄζων, ἀλλὰ σπονδῶν, σμύρνη κατάλειπτος.

ΧΟ. χαίρ', ὦ βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καί σοι ξυγχαίρομεν ἡμεῖς.  
τῆς γὰρ πόλεως ἄξια πράττεις καὶ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἐλθὲ δεῦρ', Ἀγοράκριτε. 1335

στάσης ὅσῳ περ' Ἀριστείδης καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
καὶ Μιλτιάδης ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν Ὑπερ-  
βόλου καὶ Κλεοφῶντος καὶ τῶν νῦν δημηγο-  
ρούντων.

1326. ἀνοιγνυμένων ψόφος] We are not to suppose that any portals were really thrown open. The change of scene would be effected by unrolling from the revolving pillar, *περίακτος*, on the one side of the stage to the revolving pillar on the other, a representation of the Athenian Acropolis; and the ψόφος was really the creaking of the *περίακτοι* while this operation was in progress. But the *effect*, the sudden presentment of the Acropolis as the background of the scene, was as if the Propylaea had been actually thrown open, and disclosed the Acropolis in the rear. I cannot understand the objection which some have raised that the Propylaea here mentioned cannot have been the splendid structure of Mnesicles, one of the chief architectural glories of Athens, on the ground that this structure was not erected until long after the days of Miltiades and Aristides. Demos is made *such as he was* in the glorious

times of Marathon and Salamis, but he is not transported back to those times. He is in no sense the Demos of the past, he is emphatically the Demos of the present and of the future. The Propylaea here mentioned are those existing at the date of the exhibition of the Knights. They are mentioned again in *Lysistrata* 265.

1329. ὦ ται λιπαραὶ κ.τ.λ.] He is adopting the words of Pindar's famous eulogy, which seems to have commenced as follows: ὦ ται λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰσοτέφανοι καὶ ἀοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι. In the *Acharnians* (636-40) he had to some extent ridiculed these epithets, but they were very dear to Athenian hearts; and it may be that some objection had been taken to the manner in which he had treated them. Here then he sets himself right with his critics, and in the full glory of his Choral triumph deliberately makes these epithets his own. And see *Clouds* 299.

1330. μόναρχον] Here the Athenian Demos is described as ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μόναρχος, and three lines below as ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Of course the



But now ye shall see him, for, listen, the bars of the great Propylaea unclose.  
Shout, shout to behold, as the portals unfold, fair Athens in splendour excelling,  
The wondrous, the ancient, the famous in song, where the noble Demus is dwelling !

CHOR. O shining old town of the violet crown, O Athens the envied, display  
The Sovereign of Hellas himself to our gaze, the monarch of all we survey.

S.S. See, see where he stands, no vote in his hands, but the golden cicala his hair in,  
All splendid and fragrant with peace and with myrrh, and the grand old apparel he's  
wearing !

CHOR. Hail, Sovereign of Hellas ! with thee we rejoice, right glad to behold thee again  
Enjoying a fate that is worthy the State and the trophy on Marathon's plain.

DEMUS. O Agoracritus, my dearest friend,

Athenian empire did not really extend over a moiety of the Hellenic peoples ; but it is often spoken of in these general terms as if it extended over them all. Thus, to give only one instance, Demosthenes (Third Olynthiac 23) says of his countrymen that *πέντε καὶ τετραράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἐκόωντα*.

1331. *τεττιγοφορῶν*] Demus is seen in the background in the old national garb with the old national coiffure. "It is not long," says Thucydides (i. 6), "since elderly Athenians of the well-to-do classes left off wearing linen tunics, and having their hair tied up in a knot, and fastened with golden cicalas, *χρυσῶν τεττιγῶν ἐνέρσει.*" And the statement is repeated by many authors, and by the Scholiast here. See Perizonius and Scheffer on Aelian, V. H. iv. 22. And as to the *τέττιξ* see the First Additional Note to the Birds, pp. 234-7 of that play.

1332. *χοιρινῶν*] These were little shells picked up on the sea-beach, which in early times were used for voting in the dicasteries ; *χοιρίνας ἐχρῶντο πρότερον*

*πρὸ τῶν ψήφων. εἰσὶ δέ τινες κόγχαι θαλάσσιαι.*—Scholiast. See Wasps 333 and the note there.

1334. *τοῦ Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου*] This line is repeated, with a slight variation, in Wasps 711 ; and it may be permissible to transcribe here a portion of my note there. "The plains of Marathon were covered with memorials of the great battle, Pausanias, Attica 32. The TROPHY itself was an edifice *λίθου λευκοῦ*, and its remains are still believed to exist in a ruin called Pyrgo about 500 yards north of the great barrow, consisting of the foundation of a square monument constructed of large blocks of marble (Leake's *Demi*. ii. 101). That trophy was the proudest heirloom of Athenian glory. Themistocles (Plutarch, chap. 3) declared that the thought of it would not let him sleep. Aristophanes refers to it again, and always as striking the deepest chord of Athenian patriotism, Knights 1334, *Lysistrata* 285."

1335. *ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν*] Demus now comes forward, and the remaining scene

ὄσα με δέδρακας ἀγάθ' ἀφεψήσας. ΑΛ. ἐγώ;  
 ἀλλ', ὦ μέλ', οὐκ οἶσθ' οἶος ἦσθ' αὐτὸς πάρος,  
 οὐδ' οἶ' ἔδρας· ἐμὲ γὰρ νομίζοις ἂν θεόν.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. τί δ' ἔδρων πρὸ τοῦ, κάτειπε, καὶ ποῖός τις ἦ;

ΑΛ. πρῶτον μὲν, ὅπότε εἶποι τις ἐν τῆκκλησίᾳ, 1340  
 ὦ Δῆμ', ἐραστής τ' εἰμὶ σὸς φιλῶ τέ σε  
 καὶ κήδομαί σου καὶ προβουλεύω μόνος,  
 τούτοις ὅποτε χρήσαιο τις προοιμίαις,  
 ἀνωρτάλιζες κάκερουτίας. ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἐγώ;

ΑΛ. εἶτ' ἐξαπατήσας σ' ἀντὶ τούτων ᾤχετο. 1345

ΔΗΜΟΣ. τί φῆς;

ταντί μ' ἔδρων, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἠσθόμην;

ΑΛ. τὰ δ' ὧτά γ' ἄμ· σου νῆ Δί' ἐξεπετάνυτο  
 ὡσπερ σκιάδειον καὶ πάλιν ξυνῆγετο.

ΔΗΜΟΣ. οὕτως ἀνόητος ἐγεγενήμην καὶ γέρων;

ΑΛ. καὶ νῆ Δί' εἶ γε δύο λεγοίτην ῥήτορε, 1350  
 ὁ μὲν ποιεῖσθαι ναῦς λέγων, ὁ δ' ἕτερος αὖ  
 καταμισθοφορῆσαι τοῦθ', ὁ τὸν μισθὸν λέγων  
 τὸν τὰς τριῆρεις παραδραμῶν ἂν ᾤχετο.  
 οὗτος, τί κύπτεις; οὐχὶ κατὰ χώραν μενεῖς;

consists of a dialogue between him and the Sausage-seller, which however interesting in itself seems somewhat lacking in dramatic force and poetical elevation. The Chorus take no further part in the play.

1341. ἐραστής . . . φιλῶ] These are the blandishments addressed by Paphlagon to Demus, supra 732, 773, &c.; and are doubtless flowers culled from the oratory of Cleon.

1344. ἀνωρτάλιζες κάκερουτίας] This is probably a quotation. Literally, the words mean *you fluttered your wings*

*like a bird, and tossed up your horns like a bull.* The Scholiast says of the first word ἐμετεωρίζου καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνεις, and of the second δηλοῖ τὸ γανυρῶν.

1352. καταμισθοφορῆσαι τοῦτο] To spend in salaries and doles the money, ἀργύριον, proposed to be expended in building ships of war. A motion to distribute the money in salaries and the like would be sure of a hearty welcome in an Assembly, a majority of whose members would in all probability be sharers in such a distribution. The 6,000 dicasts alone would in time of

What good your stewing did me! S.S. Say you so?

Why if you knew the sort of man you were,  
And what you did, you'd reckon me a god.

DEMUS. What was I like? What did I do? Inform me.

S.S. First, if a speaker in the Assembly said  
*O Demus, I'm your lover, I alone*  
*Care for you, scheme for you, tend and love you well,*  
I say if any one began like that

You clapped your wings and tossed your horns. DEMUS. What, I?

S.S. Then in return he cheated you and left.

DEMUS. O did they treat me so, and I not know it!

S.S. Because, by Zeus, your ears would open wide  
And close again, like any parasol.

DEMUS. Had I so old and witless grown as that?

S.S. And if, by Zeus, two orators proposed,  
One to build ships of war, one to increase  
Official salaries, the salary man  
Would beat the ships-of-war man in a canter.  
Hallo! why hang your head and shift your ground?

war, when so many of the younger citizens were absent on duty, invariably outnumber all the other Athenians assembled in the Pnyx. And from such passages as 256, 800 supra, and 1359 infra we may infer that there was sometimes considerable difficulty in providing their daily *μισθός*. And of course there were innumerable other persons in Athens receiving money from the State, the *ξυγγόροι*, the *ἐπιμεληταί* and the like; Boeckh's Public Economy ii. 11-16. The Scholiast explains *καταμισθοφορήσαι* by *εἰς μισθὸν ἀναλῶσαι*, *μισθὸν δίδόναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, τὸν δικαστικὸν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν*, but

there was no *μισθός ἐκκλησιαστικὸς* during the Peloponnesian War.

1354. *οἶτος, τί κόπτεις;*] The same question is, in Thesm. 930, addressed to another culprit hanging down his head for shame. The expression *κάτω κόπτειν* is frequently employed by St. Chrysostom to denote shame and confusion. The foolish virgins, he says (Hom. 78 in Matth. 752 E) *καταισχυρθεῖσαι ἀνεχώρουν κάτω κόπτουσαι*. Again, *οὐκ ἀνάγκη κάτω κόπτειν καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι*; he asks (Hom. 26 in Rom. 717 E). And again (Hom. 2 in Tim. ii. 670 B) *οὐ στενάζεις, οὐδὲ κόπτεις τὸ στήθος, οὐδὲ κάτω κόπτεις*.

- ΔΗΜΟΣ. αἰσχύνομαί τοι ταῖς πρότερον ἀμαρτίαις. 1355
- ΑΛ. ἀλλ' οὐ σὺ τούτων αἴτιος, μὴ φροντίσης,  
ἀλλ' οἷ σε ταῦτ' ἐξηπάτων. νῦν δ' αὖ φράσον·  
εἴαν τις εἶπη βωμολόχος ξυνήγορος,  
οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἄλφιστα,  
εἰ μὴ καταγνώσεσθε ταύτην τὴν δίκην, 1360  
τούτον τί δράσεις, εἰπέ, τὸν ξυνήγορον;
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἄρας μετέωρον ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλῶ,  
ἐκ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἐκκρεμάσας Ὑπέρβολον.
- ΑΛ. τουτὶ μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ φρονίμως ἤδη λέγεις·  
τὰ δ' ἄλλα, φέρ' ἴδω, πῶς πολιτεύσει φράσον. 1365
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. πρῶτον μὲν ὀπόσοι ναῦς ἐλαύνουσιν μακράς,  
καταγομένοις τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσω ἔντελῃ.
- ΑΛ. πολλοῖς γ' ὑπολίσποις πυγιδίοισιν ἐχαρίσω.

1359. οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν] Mitchell cites the commencement of [the extant portion of] Lysias against Epicrates: *πολλάκις ἠκούσατε τούτων λεγόντων, ὅποτε βούλουτό τινα ἀδίκως ἀπολέσαι, ὅτι εἰ μὴ καταψηφιεῖσθε ἄν αὐτοὶ κελεύουσιν ἵπολείψει ὑμᾶς ἢ μισθοφορά.* So that the Sausage-seller is aiming at a very real, and not a merely imaginary, evil.

1362. *βάραθρον*] This pit or chasm at Athens into which the corpses of criminals were thrown is frequently mentioned in these Comedies. See *Clouds* 1450; *Frogs* 574; *Plutus* 431, 1109. It may be that a weight was attached to the body to ensure its reaching the bottom in spite of all intervening obstacles. And Demus proposes in the present case to make use, for that weight, of the demagogue Hyperbolus, probably merely with a view of

getting rid of two undesirable citizens at once.

1366. *ναῦς μακράς*] *Ships of war*, *πολεμίας*. *τὰς τριήρεις δὲ φησι*. *τὰ δὲ στρογγύλα πλοῖα φορηγὰ εἰσιν.*—Scholiast. Hitherto it has been the Sausage-seller who suggests the various topics to be considered; but now Demus is himself called upon to declare what in his judgement are the most necessary reforms. The first thought of Demus is for his sailors; the second for his soldiers.

1367. *τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσω ἔντελῃ*] *I will pay them their full wages*; meaning "I will make up their pay to its full amount by discharging all arrears." We may, I think, infer from the statements in *Thuc. viii. 45*, that although the pay of a sailor in an Athenian trireme on active service was a drachma

DEMUS. I am ashamed of all my former faults.

S.S. You're not to blame; pray don't imagine that.

'Twas they who tricked you so. But answer this;

If any scurvy advocate should say,

*Now please remember, justices, ye'll have*

*No barley, if the prisoner gets off free,*

How would you treat that scurvy advocate?

DEMUS. I'd tie Hyperbolus about his neck,

And hurl him down into the Deadman's Pit.

S.S. Why now you are speaking sensibly and well.

How else, in public business, will you act?

DEMUS. First, when the sailors from my ships of war

Come home, I'll pay them all arrears in full.

S.S. For that, full many a well-worn rump will bless you.

a day (Thuc. iii. 17), he did not receive the entire drachma at once. He was paid only half (three obols) at the time, the other half being retained by the State until the completion of the voyage. For this retention two reasons are given: (1) because, if the sailor received the whole drachma at once, he might be tempted to indulge in dissipation which would unfit him for his duties; and (2) because a sailor would be less likely to desert, if he knew that by so doing he would forfeit the retained moiety of his pay, *τὸν προσοφειλόμενον μισθόν*, as Thucydides calls it, meaning the pay still due to him *over and above* the moiety already received. It was by analogy to this Athenian custom that Alcibiades, having persuaded Tissaphernes to reduce the pay of the Peloponnesian sailors from a drachma to three obols a day, excused

the reduction to the sailors by declaring that Tissaphernes could not afford to pay more out of his private resources, but that when supplies came down from the *Great King* *ἔπειλῃ αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσει τὸν μισθόν*, meaning, I suppose, that they would then receive the other three obols. Thucydides is using the identical words of Aristophanes in exactly the same sense. Nothing is more probable than that sailors returning from an expedition would experience great difficulty and delay in obtaining the deferred moiety of their pay, see supra 1078, and Demus therefore promises that henceforth it shall be paid them immediately on their putting in to port, *καταγομένοις*. This is not the usual interpretation either of the present passage or of the chapter in Thucydides; but the usual interpretation is by universal consent unsatisfactory.

- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ἔπειθ' ὀπλίτης ἐντεθεὶς ἐν καταλόγῳ  
 οὐδεὶς κατὰ σπουδὰς μετεγγραφήσεται,  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐγγεγράφεται. 1370
- ΑΛ. τοῦτ' ἔδακε τὸν πόρπακα τὸν Κλεωνύμου.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. οὐδ' ἀγοράσει γ' ἀγένειος οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ.
- ΑΛ. ποῦ δῆτα Κλεισθένης ἀγοράσει καὶ Στράτων;
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. τὰ μειράκια ταυτὶ λέγω, τὰν τῷ μύρῳ,  
 ἃ στωμυλεῖται τοιαδὶ καθήμενα·  
 σοφός γ' ὁ Φαίλαξ, δεξιῶς τ' οὐκ ἀπέθανε. 1375

1369. ἐν καταλόγῳ] *In the muster-roll.* When troops were to be dispatched on an expedition, a muster-roll of those who were to take part in it was drawn up and affixed to the Statues of the Eponymi. See the Antepirrhema of the Peace, lines 1179-84. The names should have been taken in due rotation from the general list of persons qualified to serve as hoplites. But in making up the muster-rolls irregularities would frequently take place. Men who wished to get off the expedition would contrive by bribery or party interest (κατὰ σπουδὰς) to have their names omitted from the muster-roll; and it followed that other names were placed on the roll which ought not to have been there. This is the burden of the complaint made by the Farmers in the Peace ubi supra; and Demus promises to put a stop to this irregular tampering with the muster-rolls. The word κατάλογος is sometimes applied to the general list (Polity of Athens, chap. 25); but it more frequently, as here, means the muster-roll for a particular expedition. See Acharnians 1065. Thus in the year 455 B. C. Tolmides, being commissioned

to sail round the Peloponnese with 1,000 hoplites, and wishing to take a larger force, went round to the young and strong citizens, and said to each that he was about to enrol him, καταλέγειν αὐτόν, for the expedition, and that it would be a nobler thing for him to offer himself as a volunteer than to go under compulsion διὰ τὸν κατάλογον. Thus he obtained 3,000 volunteers and κατέλεξεν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων the authorized 1,000 (Diod. Sic. xi. 84) and started with 4,000 hoplites on the expedition briefly mentioned by Thucydides i. 108. So Meton, we are told, finding himself εἰς τοῦ κατάλογου for the Sicilian expedition, feigned himself mad, and so got off, Aelian, V. H. xiii. 12. The Scholiast here says ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, ἐν τοῖς πίναξιν, ἐφ' ὧν ἐνέγραφον τῶν ἐκστρατευομένων τὰ ὀνόματα. ἐκλιούντο γὰρ κατάλογοι. There was probably a separate list for each tribe. See too Lucian's Timon 51.

1372. Κλεωνύμου] This retort of the Sausage-seller shows that Cleonymus, though not yet known as a *ρίψασπις* (for the battle of Delium was not yet fought), must have been already recognized as a man who preferred to be first at a feast

DEMUS. Next, when a hoplite's placed in any list,  
There shall he stay, and not for love or money  
Shall he be shifted to some other list.

S.S. That bit the shield-strap of Cleonymus.

DEMUS. No beardless boy shall haunt the agora now.

S.S. That's rough on Straton and on Cleisthenes.

DEMUS. I mean those striplings in the perfume-mart,  
Who sit them down and chatter stuff like this,  
*Sharp fellow, Phaeax; wonderful defence;*

and last at a fray: who would have chosen, in the language of Acharnians 1144-6, rather to feast in the company of Dicaeopolis than to fight in the company of Lamachus. As to πόρπαξ see 849 supra.

1373. ἀγοράσει] Ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίψει.—Scholiast.

1374. Κλεισθένης . . . Στράτων] These two effeminate shavelings have already been bracketed together in the Acharnians, where they are supposed to be passing off as two Persian eunuchs, Ach. 118, 122. And in the Thesmophoriasæ, where Cleisthenes is one of the *dramatis personæ*, attention is more than once drawn to the smooth beardlessness of his face, Thesm. 235, 575, 583. However, Demus explains that he is referring not to effeminate like these, but to mere beardless boys.

1375. ἐν τῷ μύρῳ] *In the perfume-market.* οὕτως Ἀττικῶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν μύρο-  
πωλείῳ, ἀπὸ τῶν πωλουμένων τοῦς τόπους  
καλοῦντες.—Scholiast. The character  
of these empty-headed young fops is  
indicated by the special wares amongst  
which they are accustomed to lounge.  
Their affectations are displayed by their

language in the lines which follow.

1377. Φαίαξ] Phaeax, though little noticed in history (Thuc. v. 4, 5), was becoming at this time a person of considerable importance. When Alcibiades first entered the political arena, his chief rivals, we are told, were Nicias and Phaeax. And some say that it was with Phaeax—though more that it was with Nicias—that he combined for the purpose of diverting the proposed vote of ostracism from themselves to Hyperbolus (Plutarch, Alcibiades 13). It appears from the present passage that he was at one time arraigned upon some capital charge against which he successfully defended himself. But the judgement of these beardless critics upon his oratory is not confirmed by the verdict of antiquity. Plutarch, *ubi supra*, describes him as a brilliant and plausible conversationalist rather than an orator capable of swaying the assembled people; and quotes a line of Eupolis in which he is spoken of as a man

λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.

The young gentlemen whom Demus promises to send to employments more

συνερκτικὸς γὰρ ἔστι καὶ περαντικὸς,  
καὶ γνωμοτυπικὸς καὶ σαφῆς καὶ κρουστικὸς  
καταληπτικὸς τ' ἄριστα τοῦ θορυβητικοῦ.

1380

ΑΛ. οὔκουν καταδακτυλικὸς σὺ τοῦ λαλητικοῦ; *to hunt*  
ΔΗΜΟΣ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀναγκάσω <sup>to me</sup> κυνηγετεῖν ἐγὼ  
τούτους <sup>they</sup> ἅπαντας, <sup>forward</sup> παυσαμένους <sup>settling the matter</sup> ψηφισμάτων. *by a measure passed*

ΑΛ. ἔχε νυν ἐπὶ τούτοις τουτονὶ τὸν ὀκλαδίαν,  
καὶ παῖδ' ἐνόρχην, ὃς περιοίσει τόνδε σοι  
κἄν που δοκῇ σοι, τούτον ὀκλαδίαν ποίει.

1385

ΔΗΜΟΣ. μακάριος ἐς τάρχαῖα δὴ καθίσταμαι.

suited to their age, affectedly describe him by a number of epithets mostly ending in -ικὸς, doubtless a fashion of the day. The language of affectation is seldom perspicuous, and several of the terms here employed admit of more than one interpretation, but the general sense of the passage appears to be as follows. *A smart fellow is Phaeax, and cleverly he escaped the death-sentence . . . For indeed he is logical (συνερκτικὸς, from συνέργω, to piece together, to fit one argument to another. συνείρειν τοὺς λόγους καὶ συντιθέναι, Scholiast), and goes right through to his conclusion (περαντικὸς), and clever he is at coining phrases (γνωμοτυπικὸς, Thesm. 55), and lucid, and forcible (κρουστικὸς), and first-rate in repressing (καταληπτικὸς) noise and tumult (τοῦ θορυβητικοῦ).* Forms of this kind are found in many writers. Mitchell refers to the Sophistes and Politicus of Plato; to Xenophon (Mem. iii. 1. 6), Isocrates (against Nicocles 31, 32, Evagoras 54), Lucian (Demosth. Encom. 32, who speaks of the orator's *συνακτικὸν καὶ κρουστικὸν*), and other writers. To these I will only

add Wasps 1209 and Diog. Laert. (Plato iii. 49 and Pyrrho ix. 69).

1381. καταδακτυλικός] The Sausage-seller retorts in the same vein; but whilst the language censured by Demus is merely intended to express the admiration entertained for the orator, the language of the Sausage-seller is intentionally coarse and indecorous: καταδακτυλίσαι is equivalent to σκιμαλίσαι, which is explained by the Scholiast on Peace 549 to mean *κυρίως τὸν δάκτυλον εἰς τὸν πρωκτὸν τοῦ ὀρέου βαλεῖν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν βουλόμενοι ἐφύβρισαι τινὰ τὸν μέσον δάκτυλον ἐπέινοτες καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συνάγοτες δειξώσιν αὐτῷ.* It therefore means to prod or poke any one indecorously or (perhaps) derisively. But my translation is a mere makeshift.

1382. κυνηγετεῖν] For hunting, he means, will exercise a healthy and strengthening influence over both their bodies and their minds, making them, on the one hand, upright and sober citizens, and on the other, better able to cope with the perils and adventures of



*Coercive speaker ; most conclusive speaker ;  
Effective ; argumentative ; incisive ;  
Superlative against the combative.*

S.S. You're quite derisive of these talkatives.

DEMUS. I'll make them all give up their politics,  
And go a-hunting with their hounds instead.

S.S. Then on these terms accept this folding-stool ;  
And here's a boy to carry it behind you.  
No eunuch he ! DEMUS. O, I shall be once more  
A happy Demus as in days gone by.

war. ὠφελήσονται γὰρ, as Xenophon says (De Venatione xii. 1), οἱ ἐπιθυμήσαντες τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πολλά. ὑγίειάν τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάδουσι, καὶ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν μᾶλλον, γηράσκειν δὲ ἦττον' τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα παιδεύει. And a little below σώφρονάς τε γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ δικαίους. See the whole of that and the succeeding chapter. Such are the reforms which Demus proposes to introduce. And it will be observed that no one of them has the slightest bearing upon party politics. Aristophanes was in no sense a political partisan; he merely aimed at the removal of abuses which would be recognized and deplored by all honest citizens.

1384. τὸν ὀκλαδιαν] Scil. δίφρον, a folding-stool. ὀκλαδίας ὁ συγκεκλασμένος δίφρος, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἐντεινόμενος, ποτὲ δὲ συστελλόμενος.—Scholiast. θρόνος πτυκτός (folding), δίφρος ταπεινὸς ὃν οἱ ἀκόλουθοι φέρονται τοῖς εἰς τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐξιούσι πλουσίοις. καὶ πεποιήται τοῦνομα παρὰ τὸ ὀκλασθαι.—Hesychius, s. v. And this like the wearing of the golden cicala (supra 1331) was a return to the olden fashions

of the Marathonian period. See the passage of Heracleides Ponticus cited by Athenaeus (xii. 5) and, without mentioning his name, by Aelian, V. H. iv. 22. Ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις, ἕως ἐτρίφῃ, μεγίστη τε ἦν, καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατους ἔτρεφεν ἄνδρας. ἀλουργῆ μὲν γὰρ ἡμπίσχοντο ἰμάτια, ποικίλους δ' ὑπέδνον χιτῶνας· κορύμβους δ' ἀναδούμενοι τῶν τριχῶν, χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐφόρον· ὀκλαδίας τε αὐτοῖς δίφρους ἔφερον οἱ παῖδες, ἵνα μὴ καθίζοιεν ὡς ἔτυχεν. καὶ οἱτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οἱ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νικήσαντες μάχην, καὶ μόνου τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης δύναμιν χειρωσάμενοι. And this is confirmed by the reply of Demus, μακάριος ἐς τὰρχαῖα δὴ καθίσταμαι. And the boy is not to be a eunuch, as in Barbarian Courts; ἐπεὶδὴ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις σπάδωνες, says the Scholiast, οὗτος ἐνόρχην δίδωσι.

1386. τοῦτον] The boy himself. You can make him your camp-stool if you please. Probably, as the Scholiast says, there is κακίμφατόν τι in the words; but we may well be content with their literal meaning.

- ΑΛ. φήσεις γ', ἐπειδὴν τὰς τριακοντούτιδας  
σπονδὰς παραδῶ σοι. δεῦρ' ἴθ' αἱ Σπονδαὶ ταχύ.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', ὡς καλαί· πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, 1390  
ἕξεστιν αὐτῶν κατατριακοντούτισαι;  
πῶς ἔλαβες αὐτὰς ἐτέον; ΑΛ. οὐ γὰρ ὁ Παφλαγῶν  
ἀπέκρυπτε ταύτας ἔνδον, ἵνα σὺ μὴ λάβοις;  
νῦν οὖν ἐγὼ σοι παραδίδωμ' εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς  
αὐτὰς ἰέναι λαβόντα. ΔΗΜΟΣ. τὸν δὲ Παφλαγῶνα, 1395  
ὃς ταῦτ' ἔδρασεν, εἴψ' ὃ τι ποιήσεις κακόν.
- ΑΛ. οὐδὲν μέγ' ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἕξει τέχνην·  
ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀλλαντοπωλήσει μόνος,  
τὰ κύνεια μινγὺς τοῖς ὀνείοις πράγμασιν,  
μεθύων τε ταῖς πόρνοισι λοιδορήσεται, 1400  
κάκ τῶν βαλανείων πίεται τὸ λούτριον.
- ΔΗΜΟΣ. εὐ γ' ἐπενόησας οὐπὲρ ἔστιν ἄξιος,  
πόρνοισι καὶ βαλανεῦσι διακεκραγένοι,  
καὶ σ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλῶ  
ἐς τὴν ἔδραν θ', ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ φαρμακός. 1405  
ἔπου δὲ ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν τὴν βατραχίδα·

1388. τριακοντούτιδας] A truce for thirty years was the utmost which Aristophanes could hope for in the Acharnians (lines 194-9) and is the utmost which he can hope for now. But the Peace of Nicias, concluded three years later, went beyond his fondest hopes. It was a truce for no less than fifty years which, had it not been broken, would have covered the entire remainder of the poet's life. The Scholiast appears to think that thirty persons, dressed up to represent Σπονδαί, now make their appearance on the stage, but this is, of course, incredible. Probably only

one or two came forward, as a sample of the whole. But all are supposed to be visible to Demus, though invisible to the audience.

1393. ἀπέκρυπτε] He means that, but for the violent opposition of Cleon, the Athenians would long before this have been in the enjoyment of a thirty years' Peace.

1394. εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς] For this, to the mind of Aristophanes, was always the culmination of the blessings of Peace, the return to their farms and country homes. For above all other Hellenic peoples, the Athenians loved, and were

- S.S. I think you'll think so when you get the sweet  
Thirty-year treaties. Treaties dear, come here.
- DEMUS. Worshipful Zeus! how beautiful they are.  
Wouldn't I like to solemnize them all.  
Whence got you these? S.S. Why, had not Paphlagon  
Bottled them up that you might never see them?  
Now then I freely give you them to take  
Back to your farms, with you. DEMUS. But Paphlagon  
Who wrought all this, how will you punish *him*?
- S.S. Not much: this only: he shall ply my trade,  
Sole sausage-seller at the City gates.  
There let him dogs'-meat mix with asses' flesh,  
There let him, tipsy, with the harlots wrangle,  
And drink the filthy scouring of the bath.
- DEMUS. A happy thought; and very fit he is  
To brawl with harlots and with bathmen there.  
But you I ask to dinner in the Hall,  
To take the place that scullion held before.  
Put on this frog-green robe and follow me.

accustomed to, rural scenes and a country life, Thuc. ii. 14-16.

1403. *διακεκραγέειν*] *To bawl in rivalry with; to scream one against the other.* See Birds 307 and the Commentary there.

1405. *φαρμακός*] *Φαρμακός* and *κάθαρμα*, originally words of good and wholesome import, became terms of the strongest abuse from their connexion with the two miserable human beings who were sacrificed every year at Athens as scape-goats for the purification of the city. These would always be the vilest of mankind; and hence to say that a man was

a *φαρμακός* would imply that he too was amongst the most degraded of outcasts. The word *φαρμακός* is again used in this sense in Frogs 733, and the word *κάθαρμα* in Plutus 454, where see the notes. Aeschines in his speech against Ctesiphon 212 (p. 84) applies the description *κάθαρμα* to Demosthenes himself.

1406. *βατραχίδα*] *Green robe.* The colouring of a frog's skin varies, but is generally a sort of yellowish green. In our common frog the yellow predominates, but the edible frog and the tree-frog (very common in Attica, Dodwell ii. 44) are almost entirely green. We may

κακείνον ἐκφερέτω τις ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν τέχνην,  
ἵν' ἴδωσιν αὐτὸν, οἷς ἐλωβᾶθ', οἱ ξένοι.

infer from this passage, as Casaubon observes, that there was a regulation robe, of a green colour, required to be worn by the guests at the Prytaneian dinners.

1408. οἱ ξένοι] For the play was produced at the Lenaean festival at which

strangers were not present. They must carry him out of the Theatre, ἐκφερέτω, before the strangers (that is the Allies, cf. Peace 644) can behold the disgrace of their oppressor. And now theatrical supernumeraries make their appearance on the stage, and proceed to carry out

Whilst him they carry out to ply his trade,  
That so the strangers, whom he wronged, may see him.

---

the prostrate form of Paphlagon; *αἰρό-  
μενος ἐκφέρεται ὁ Κλέων*, as the Scholiast  
says. And so the Comedy ends. Every  
other extant Comedy concludes with  
some lyrical lines or line, generally  
spoken or sung by the Chorus as they

move out of the orchestra; but the  
ignominious exit of Paphlagon is in the  
nature of a funereal procession, and is  
not to be enlivened by any poetical  
accompaniment.

## APPENDIX

### OF VARIOUS READINGS

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WE are told by Professor John Williams White in the admirable articles on "the Manuscripts of Aristophanes" which he contributed to the first volume of "Classical Philology" that the "Knights" occurs in twenty-eight existing MSS. But of these only the seventeen mentioned in the following list appear to have been yet collated. The readings of the MSS. marked with an asterisk are to be found in the Zacher-Velsen edition.

\*R. The Ravenna MS.

\*V. The first Venetian (No. 474, St. Mark's Library, Venice).

(I have the facsimiles of both these MSS., and am responsible for the presentation of their readings in this Appendix.)

\*P. The first Parisian (No. 2712, National Library, Paris).

P<sup>1</sup>. The second Parisian (No. 2715).

P<sup>2</sup>. The third Parisian (No. 2717).

(These are the MSS. on which Brunck's edition was founded.)

V<sup>2</sup>. The third Venetian (No. 475, St. Mark's Library, Venice).

\*I. The Vaticano-Palatine MS. (Pal. No. 128, in the Vatican Library).

\*I<sup>1</sup>. The Vatican MS. (No. 1294, in the Vatican Library).

\*F. The first Florentine (No. 31. 15, Laurentian Library).

\*F<sup>1</sup>. The second Florentine (No. 31. 16).

F<sup>2</sup>. The third Florentine (No. 31. 13).

- \*F<sup>5</sup>. The sixth Florentine (No. 2779, Bibl. Abbat).
- F<sup>8</sup>. The ninth Florentine (No. 31, Laurentian Library ?).
- \*M. The first Milanese (L. 39, St. Ambrose Library).
- M<sup>2</sup>. The third Milanese (D. 64).
- M<sup>3</sup>. The fourth Milanese (L. 41).
- P<sup>6</sup>. The seventh Parisian (No. 2716, National Library, Paris).

Several of these MSS. however do not give the Play in its entirety. I<sup>1</sup> contains only the first 270 lines, and M<sup>3</sup> only the first 544 lines, of the Knights.

All the printed editions included in the list given in the Appendix to the Acharnians antecedent to Elmsley's edition of that Play contain the Knights as well. The subsequent editions in my possession are as follows :—

- (20) Bekker. London, 1829.
- (21) Bothe's first edition. Leipsic, 1829.
- (22) Dindorf. Oxford, 1835.
- (23) Mitchell's Knights. London, 1836.
- (24) Weise. Leipsic, 1842.
- (25) Bothe's second edition. Leipsic, 1845.
- (26) Bergk. Leipsic, 1857 (reprinted 1888).
- (27) Meineke. Leipsic, 1860.
- (28) Holden. London, 1868.
- (29) Velsen's Knights. Leipsic, 1869.
- (30) Green's Knights. London, 1870.
- (31) Kock's Knights. Berlin, 1882.
- (32) Velsen's Knights, re-edited by Zacher. Leipsic, 1887.
- (33) Merry's Knights. Oxford, 1887.
- (34) Blaydes. Halle, 1892.
- (35) Hall and Geldart. Oxford, 1900.
- (36) Van Leeuwen. Leyden, 1900.
- (37) Neil. Cambridge, 1901.

The readings in Mitchell's edition of five Plays—the Acharnians, the Knights, the Clouds, the Wasps, and the Frogs—are not given in the Appendices to those Plays, his text being that of Dindorf, taken either from the Oxford, or an earlier German, edition.

Some of the complete editions, such as Bothe's first, and those of Blaydes and Van Leeuwen, were originally published in parts, so that the different Plays bear different dates.

Recent editors of these Comedies concur in numbering the lines as they are numbered in the text of Brunck's edition. Owing to this convenient practice, references to Aristophanes have acquired a fixity and uniformity which are wanting in references to Pindar and the Attic Tragedians.

1. The name *Δημοσθένης* is prefixed to the first speech and the name *Νικίας* to the second, by all the MSS., by the Scholiast, and by all editors down to and including Bergk, with the single exception of Weise. Dindorf however had pointed out that the language of one of the Arguments, and a scholium on line 1, appeared inconsistent with the use, in the text, of the actual names; and Weise therefore substituted *οικέτης* A and *οικέτης* B. Weise is followed by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Green, Merry, Hall and Geldart, Zacher, and Van Leeuwen. Van Leeuwen indeed gives *both* the name and the description; and as he attributes the first speech to Nicias, with him Nicias is *οικέτης* A and Demosthenes *οικέτης* B. All editions except Frischlin, before Portus, following F., prefix to the first speech *Δημοσθένης προλογίζει*. My own reasons for retaining the actual

names will be found in the Introduction to the Play.

5. *τοῖς οἰκέταις* MSS. (except R.) vulgo. *τοὺς οἰκέτας* R. Invernizzi, Bekker.

8. *δεῦρό νυν* MSS. (except R.) vulgo. *δεῦρο δὴ* R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Blaydes. We have *δεῦρο δὴ*, *δεῦρο δὴ*, in a love-song, Eccl. 952, 960; but the *δὴ* seems out of place here. In passages like the present we always find *δεῦρό νυν*, Clouds 91, Lys. 930, Thesm. 279, Frogs 1368.

13. *λέγε σύ*. ΔΗ. *σὺ μὲν οὖν μοι λέγε* MSS. vulgo. Beer's unlucky alteration, as to which see the Commentary on this passage, is adopted by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Green and Neil.

14. *ἴνα μὴ μάχωμαι* R. I<sup>1</sup>. Suidas and all printed editions except as hereafter mentioned. *ἴνα σοὶ μὴ μάχωμαι* V. and the MSS. generally. *ἴνα μοι μάχωμαι* Cratander, Zanetti, Farreus. *ἴνα σοι*



μάχωμαι Bothe. Bergk suggests ἵνα μηχανῶμαι.

18. κομψευρικῶς R. V., the MSS. generally, Suidas, Bentley, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. κομψευρικῶς M. all editions before Brunck. Various transpositions of these lines have been proposed; but there is really no serious objection to the MS. arrangement, which I have therefore retained.

20. Owing, I suppose, to a misapprehension of the meaning of the word *ξυνεχῆς* in the following line, some scholars have amused themselves by inventing an imaginary line to be introduced between 20 and 21. Velsen suggests NI. λέγε νῦν μολω. ΔΗ. μολω. NI. ἐπιθες τὸ μεν. ΔΗ. ποιῶ. Zacher NI. λέγε δὴ μολω. ΔΗ. μολω. NI. ἔπαγε νῦν μεν. ΔΗ. μεν. NI. εὔ. And Müller-Strübing NI. λέγε νῦν μολω. ΔΗ. μολω. NI. μετὰ τοῦτο, μεν. ΔΗ. μολω | μεν. NI. νῦν μολωμεν κ.τ.λ. But of course this is mere trifling. The text is perfect. It was witty, and necessary, to divide the *αὐτομολῶμεν* into two parts. It would have been tedious, and unnecessary, to divide it into three.

25. κατεπάγων R. P. F<sup>5</sup>. I. I<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. κατεπάδων V. F. Bergk. And M. had originally κατεπάδων which has been corrected into κατεπάγων. Enger suggested κᾶτ' ἐπάγων, and this is approved by Meineke (V. A.) and adopted by Kock, Merry, and all subsequent editors. But it seems to be manifestly wrong. In the first place we should expect κᾶτ' ἐπάγων to be followed by another imperative; and this, I presume, is the reason why Kock prints the speech as unfinished, and Zacher would change πυκνόν into πύκνου. In the next place,

πρῶτον in the preceding line refers to μολωμεν, and is fully satisfied by the εἶτα δ' αὐτὸ which follows; and it seems impossible, after that, to introduce another εἶτα referring back to the long-passed ἀτρέμα.

26. ἦν. All editions before Brunck wrote this ἦν, connecting it with the οὐχ ἡδύ; of the next line, *Was it not pleasant to the taste?* Brunck altered it to ἦν, *en! see there!* and all subsequent editors have followed him.

29. δέρμα δεφομένων. Between these words the MSS., as a rule, insert τῶν, and so all editions before Brunck. Bentley recommended the omission of τῶν, and this is done by Bekker and almost all subsequent editors. Some however made the line scan by shuffling the words. τὸ δέρμ' ὅτι P. Brunck and Invernizzi. Bothe, on the other hand, in his second edition, and Blaydes transpose τῶν δεφομένων and ἀπέρχεται, whilst Herwerden (V. A.) would place τῶν δεφομένων at the commencement of the line.

31. του R. Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. ποι all other MSS. and editions.

32. βρετετάς. This, in my judgement, is the correct reading; and it is gratifying to find, from Neil's recent edition of the Play, that both the late W. G. Clark and himself had arrived at the same conclusion. βρεττάς V. V<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>5</sup>. and (as corrected) M. F. and P<sup>5</sup>. I give V.'s reading from Velsen's transcript, for I am not quite sure of it myself. This reading, however unmetrical, unquestionably points to a prolongation of the disyllable βρέτας, which is confirmed by the Scholiast's

remark, *ἐν παρολκῇ παίξει*. Marco Musuro in the Editio Princeps wrote *βρετέτας*, and so all editions, except Junta and Gormont, before Brunck; and Bothe and Weise afterwards; but *βρετετέτας* is far lighter and more Aristophanic, and may indeed be compared with the *βρεκεκεκέξ* of the Frogs. The other readings are as follows. *βρέτας*; *ποιόν βρέτας*; P<sup>1</sup>. I<sup>1</sup>. Brunck and Invernizzi. *βρέτας* alone (*contra metrum*) the other MSS., Junta, Gormont, Bekker, and (with a lacuna marked) all subsequent editors, including Neil, not herein otherwise mentioned. Kock suggested *ποιόν βρέτας σύ γ'*; which is adopted by Merry and Van Leeuwen. Meineke reads *ποιόν βρέτας*; *φέρ'*. Dobree suggested *ᾧ τᾶν*, which is adopted by Blaydes. Dindorf proposed *ποιόν βρέτας πρὸς*; There are numerous other conjectures, indeed Blaydes alone offers seven, which it is unnecessary to repeat. Had I not been perfectly satisfied with *βρετετέτας*, I should have suggested *ποιόν βρέτας προσιτέον*; *ἡγεί γὰρ θεούς*; (cf. Aesch. Eum. 233 *πρόσειμι . . . βρέτας τὸ σὸν, θεά*) though I should be sorry to lose the incredulous *έτεόν*.—*ἡγεί* V. and all printed editions. *ἡγῆ* R. and the MSS. generally.—*γὰρ* V., the MSS. generally, and all printed editions. *σύ* R.

34. *οὐκ εικότως*; The severance of these two words from the rest of the line, and the addition of the note of interrogation, are Bergler's happy thought which, though ignored by Brunck and some others, is unhesitatingly accepted by Dindorf and all subsequent editors except Bothe. Previously the entire line had been taken as one sentence; *because I am hated by*

*the Gods without reasonable cause*. It is obvious that the last three words are out of place.

35. *ἀλλ' ἑτέρα ποι σκεπτέον*. These words, given to Nicias by the MSS. and early editions, were rightly restored to Demosthenes by Hermann and Elmsley (at Ach. 828), who are followed by Bothe, Bergk, and practically all subsequent editors. But nobody has adopted Elmsley's further proposal, for *εὖ προσβιβάζεις μ'* to read *οὐ προσβιβάζεις μ'*.—*ποι* R. V. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M. I. I<sup>1</sup>, all editions before Dindorf; and Bothe and Weise afterwards. *πη* P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores.

42. *πυκνίτης* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>6</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. I<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. and (originally) F. F<sup>5</sup>. vulgo. *πυκνίτης* M. I<sup>1</sup>. and (as corrected) F. F<sup>5</sup>. and several of the old editions.

49. *κοσκυλματίοι ἄκροισι* MSS. vulgo. These words seem perfectly right, but several attempts have been made to alter them. For *κοσκυλματίοι* Herwerden (V. A.) would read *ποικιλματίοι*, so ignoring the allusion to Cleon's trade. For *ἄκροισι* Helbig would read *σαθροῖσι* and Kock *σαπροῖσι*. Suidas, quoting the line, gives *κοσκυλματίοι τισι*, and Bentley thought that *τισι* might stand for *ἄττοισι*.

51. *ἐνθου* MSS. and all editions before Dindorf, rightly; *ἐνθού* Dindorf and (except Weise and Bothe) all subsequent editors, wrongly. See Appendix to Frogs 483.

55. *ἐν Πύλῳ* MSS. vulgo. C. F. Hermann suggested *ἐν πυέλῳ*, an ingenious but highly improbable conjecture. There is a play on the words *πυέλους* and *Πύλος* in line 1060: a very poor joke as it stands, and one which would be intolerable if it were a mere repe-

tion of a joke made in the earlier part of the Play. Nevertheless Hermann's conjecture is adopted by Meineke, Kock, Velsen (not Zacher), and Van Leeuwen.

56. *περιδραμών* R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. M. M<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. I. vulgo. *παραδραμών* V. V<sup>2</sup>. Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen (not Zacher), and Van Leeuwen.

61. *ὁ δὲ γέρων* R. M. F<sup>2</sup>. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Zacher and Van Leeuwen. *εἶθ' ὁ γέρων* V., the MSS. generally, all editions before Invernizzi; and Zacher and Van Leeuwen afterwards.

62. *μεμακκοηκότα* R. (and this is the usual form in verbs ending in -οῶ) Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Bothe, Green, Kock, Merry, Blaydes. But in all other MSS., and vulgo, it is spelled -ακότα.

66. *τάδε* MSS. vulgo. Brunck altered it to *ταδί*, and so Weise, Bergk, recentiores, except Green, Hall and Geldart, Zacher, and Neil.

67. *Ἔλαν* V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. F<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *Ἔλλαν* R., most MSS., Junta and Gormont.

68. *ἀναπίσειε'* P<sup>2</sup>. I. Brunck, Porson, Bekker, recentiores, except Bergk and Zacher. *ἀναπίσειη'* R. V., the other MSS., all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi, Bergk, and Zacher afterwards.

69. *πατούμενοι* MSS. vulgo. Cf. Lys. 440. Blaydes, giving no reason, alters it into *πεκτούμενοι*.

70. *ὀκταπλάσια* R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *ὀκταπλάσιον* V., the MSS. generally, all editions before Invernizzi; and Hall and Geldart afterwards.

71. *ἀνύσαντε* R. V., most of the MSS., Bentley, Bekker, recentiores. *ἀνύσαντες* P. P<sup>1</sup>, several MSS., and all editions before Bekker.

72. *νῶ* (with or without the iota sub-

script) MSS. vulgo. And the accusative is quite right after *τρεπτέον*, Birds 1237, Eccl. 876. *νῶν* Pierson (at Moeris s.v. νῶ), Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Bothe, Green, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

73. *τὴν μόλωμεν* V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *ἦν μόλωμεν* R. Invernizzi. *ἦν μόλωμεν* Bergk, Velsen (not Zacher).

75. *αὐτός* V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *οὗτος* R. Invernizzi, Bekker, and Bergk to Hall and Geldart (except Green).

79. *ὁ δὲ νοῦς* V. P. P<sup>6</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. Brunck, Bothe, Blaydes. *ὁ νοῦς δ'* R. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. M. vulgo. *ὁ δὲ νοῦς δ'* M.

81. *ἀποθάνωμεν* R. V., all the MSS., except as hereinafter mentioned, and vulgo. *ἀποθάνοιμεν* P. F<sup>5</sup>. F. (corrected from *ἀποθάνωμεν*) and F<sup>1</sup>. (corrected into *ἀποθάνωμεν*) Junta, Gormont, Brunck, Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Kock, Merry, and Neil.

84. *αἰρετώτερος* MSS. vulgo. *αἰρετώτατος* (from a conjecture of Herwerden) Meineke, Velsen (not Zacher), Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.

86. *βουλευσαίμεθα* R. P. F. (originally) M. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, recentiores. *βουλευσώμεθα* V. F. (as corrected) I. I<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

87. *ποτοῦ*—and *ποτῶ* in 97—(*ποτόν*, *ἀνίηκ*) R. V. M. I. I<sup>1</sup>. P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. vulgo. *πότου*—and *πότῳ* in 97—(*πότος*, *drinking*) F<sup>5</sup>. Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Blaydes.—*γοῦν* P. P<sup>6</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. all printed editions excepting Blaydes. *οὖν* R, which must really mean *γοῦν*. *γάρ* V. P<sup>2</sup>. I. Blaydes. The line is usually closed, as in the present text, by a note of interrogation. Mr. Walsh says: "Expunge the note of interrogation at the

end of the line; for a question can scarcely be asked with *γούν* the second word in the sentence. Nicias proposes to drink bull's blood; Demosthenes to drink wine. Nicias then laughs at the proposal of his friend. 'At all events however,' says he, 'your proposal is concerning drink.' Afterwards, in the 97th line, he makes use of the emphatic phrase, *τῷ σῶ ποτῷ*; whereas it would have been merely *τῷ ποτῷ*, unless there were a distinction to be forcibly pointed out between *your* kind of drink, and *my* kind of drink." This is ingenious, and is strongly supported by Mr. Green; and one or two other editors, I do not know whether for the same reason, omit the note of interrogation. But it seems to me to introduce an idea unsuited to the speech of Nicias; and *τῷ σῶ ποτῷ* is, in my judgement, intended to contrast the drink-remedy of Demosthenes with the abstemiousness, and not with the drink-remedy, of Nicias. Meineke (V. A.) proposes *περὶ πτότον νοῦς*.

89. *κρονοχυτρολήμαιον* R. V., practically all the MSS. (though in F. and F<sup>b</sup>. the final *-ον* has been altered into *-ος*), and vulgo. Dobree however preferred the ending *-ος*, which is found in Junta, Gormont, and Junta II; and is adopted by Dindorf, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, and Green. Bentley suggested *κρονοχυτρολήμαιον*, referring to the *Κρονοκαῖς λήμεις λημώντες* of Plutus 581. Bergk was at first disposed to adopt Bentley's suggestion, reading *κρονοκο-* for *κρονο-*, and changing the final *ν* into *ς*. And so Blaydes reads. But afterwards Bergk repudiated the *κρονοκο-* and returned to the *κρονο-* of the MSS. Many other

suggestions have been offered, but the only one worth mentioning is Fritzsche's proposal to read the last three syllables *λήμαιος*.

90. *ἐπίνοιον* MSS. vulgo. This is the very word required, but Sylburg, in a note on the Etym. Magn. s.v. *οἶνος* where these three lines are quoted, proposed to read *ἀπόνοιον*, which is quite unsuitable to the sense, and Kulenkamp was fully justified in saying in a further note on the Etym. Magn. that Sylburg could not have considered the passage in Aristophanes. Yet Sylburg's absurd conjecture was unaccountably approved by Duker (on Thuc. viii. 88) and Dindorf (in his note here), and is actually introduced into the text by Bergk.

92. *ἄνθρωποι* MSS. vulgo. Dindorf added the aspirate, *ἄνθρωποι*, which is quite out of place, but is adopted by Meineke, Holden, Velsen (not Zacher), Green, and Van Leeuwen.

96. *τόν νοῦν κ.τ.λ.* This line is repeated infra 114. Aristophanes, like all Comic poets, was fond of repeating a verse; a repetition which (like the catchwords in our modern drama) was calculated to elicit a laugh. Cf. Ach. 384, 436; Birds 192, 1218. Wherever he does so, somebody is sure to suggest that one of the two lines is an interpolation, and ought to be deleted. This suggestion has not the slightest plausibility, excepting perhaps in the case of the Birds, where there is an interval of more than 1,000 lines between the two verses; and where on its first appearance the line is hardly as apposite to the context as it is on its second.

101. *ὡς εὐτυχῶς* MSS. vulgo. Reiske suggested *ὡς εὐτυχῶ γ'* or *ὡς εὐτύχησ'*,

Herwerden (V. A.) ὡς εὐτυχίης. Cobet again proposed ὡς εὐτύχησ', and proceeded, after his manner, to pronounce the MS. reading a solecism. But this must have been only Cobet's fun. The MS. reading is perfectly right. See the Commentary.

104. *ρέγκει* V. F. M. I. I<sup>1</sup>. and all printed editions. *ρέγχει* R. P. F<sup>6</sup>. But in 115 below all MSS. and editions have *ρέγκεται*.

111. *ταῦτ' ἀτὰρ*. This is Bergler's excellent arrangement, followed by Bothe, Dindorf, and all recent editors. It has since been found in F., and I. has *ταῦτ'*; *ἀτὰρ*. But all the other MSS. and editions have *ταῦτ' ἀτὰρ* without any intermediate punctuation. And almost all the early editions have a note of interrogation after *δαίμονος*, translating *ταῦτ' ἀτὰρ τοῦ δαίμονος*; by "Haecceine vult Genius?" Brunck, ignoring Bergler's explanation, says "Ordo est ἀτὰρ δέδοικα ὅπως μὴ ταῦτα τὰ βουλευήματα τεύξομαι τοῦ κακοδαίμονος δαίμονος," than which nothing can be more unlikely. Reiske proposed *ταῦτα γὰρ*, I do not know why.

120. *δὸς μοι δὸς* R. Invernizzi, Bekker, recentiores, except Bothe, Weise, and Blaydes. *δὸς σὺ μοι δὸς* P. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>6</sup>. and (with a lacuna for *σὺ*) F. *δὸς σὺ μοι* V. I. P. vulgo.

121. *τί φησ'* Bentley, Dindorf, recentiores, except Neil. *τί φησιν* MSS. vulgo.

125. *ἐφύλαττου* MSS. vulgo. *ἐφύλαττες* Blaydes.

129. *γίγνεται* M. Brunck, recentiores. *γίνεται* R. V., MSS. generally, and all editions before Brunck.

133. *τί τόνδε* R. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>6</sup>. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise and Van

Leeuwen. *τί τοῦτον* V. I. I<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. vulgo.

134. *ἕως ἕτερος* R. V., several other MSS., Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise. *ἕως ἂν ἕτερος* P. I. I<sup>1</sup>. and other MSS., all editions before Dindorf; and Weise afterwards.

136. *ἐπιγίγνεται* P. F. F<sup>6</sup>. Brunck, recentiores. *ἐπιγίνεται* R. V., most MSS., and all editions before Brunck.

143. *ἐξελῶν* R. Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Zacher, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. And this must have been the reading of the Scholiast, who explains it by *ὁ ἐκβάλλειν μέλλων καὶ ἐξωθεῖν τῆς πολιτείας τὸν Κλέωνα*. In R. the line, omitted in its proper place, is supplied at the foot of the page. *ἐξολῶν* V., the remaining MSS., all editions before Bekker; and the three, excepted above, afterwards.

147. *κατὰ θεῖον*. All MSS. except R. and vulgo. *καταθεῖον* R. Invernizzi. *κατὰ θεόν* Cobet, Meineke, recentiores, except Green, Kock, Zacher, and Neil.

159. *Ἀθηνῶν* Dawes, Brunck, recentiores, except that some write the word *Ἀθηνέων* as hereafter mentioned. *Ἀθηναίων* MSS., all editions before Brunck. "Huic lectioni ortum dedit ignorata vocis *ταγέ* prosoedia," as Dawes observed. His correction has been universally approved; but Porson on *Σοῦμιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν* (Odyssey iii. 278, Gaisford's edition), after noticing that both there and in *Clouds* 401 the MSS. have *Ἀθηναίων*, adds "vide annon legendum sit, cum in Homero, tum in Aristophane, Ionica dissolutione, *Ἀθηνέων*." This seems probable enough, since *αι* and *ε* are very frequently confused in the MSS., and on Bernhardt's suggestion

'*Ἀθηνέων* is read in the present line by Bergk, Meineke (who however in his note reverts to '*Ἀθηνῶν*'), Velsen (not Zacher), and Neil. Not without doubt, I have followed the multitude in keeping the form '*Ἀθηνῶν*'.

163. *τὰς τῶνδε* V. V<sup>3</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. Bekker, recentiores, except Weise and Bothe. *γε τῶνδε* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. I<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Bekker; and Weise and Bothe afterwards. *τῶνδε* (without either *τὰς* or *γε*) R. P. F<sup>5</sup>. Elmsley (at *Medea* 1334) objected to the *γε*, and proposed to substitute *σὺ* or *δὴ*.—*λαῶν* MSS. vulgo. Cobet, failing to notice that Aristophanes is borrowing an Homeric phrase (see the Commentary), proposed to read *λεῶν*; but nobody has followed him.

166. *πατήσεις καὶ* MSS. vulgo. *καταπατήσεις* Blaydes.

167. *λαϊκάσεις* R. V. (but in V. somebody has deleted the final letter) V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>2</sup>. M. I. I<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. all editions before Dindorf; and Weise, Bothe, Bergk, Green, Kock, Merry, Zacher, and Van Leeuwen afterwards. *λαϊκάσει* P<sup>1</sup>. Dindorf, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

173. *παράβαλλ'* R. F<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *παράβαλ'* V., the other MSS., Bekker, Dindorf, Velsen (not Zacher), and Green.

174. *Καρχηδόνα* MSS. vulgo. *Χαλκηδόνα* Paulmier, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, and Bothe. *Καλχηδόνα* (as Chalcædon is frequently spelled) Bekker, Dindorf, Holden.

175. *εὐδαιμονήσω γ'* V. and all MSS. except R. and all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise afterwards. *εὐδαιμονήσω δ'* R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. But Blaydes, while in his text following R.'s reading, in his note rightly prefers the reading of all the

other MSS. The Sausage-seller is speaking ironically, and not propounding a serious question for the purpose of obtaining information. I have omitted the note of interrogation usually found at the end of the line.

177. *ὡς ὁ χρησμὸς οὔτοι* MSS. vulgo, but R. prefixes *ὄντως* to *ὡς*. *ὄντως, ὡς ὁ χρησμὸς σοι* Kock, Merry.

182. *ἰσχύειν* R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores. *ἰσχύειν* V. and almost all the MSS., and so Fracini, Gelenius, Portus, and all subsequent editions before Brunck. *ἰσχύσειν* F<sup>2</sup>. and all other editions before Brunck. *ἰσχύσαι* P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. Brunck.

186. *εἰ μὴ 'κ* R. V. M. P. F. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. *εἴμ' ἐκ* I. I<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Bekker; and Weise and Bothe afterwards.

187. *ὄσον* R. Bentley, Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise and Van Leeuwen. *οἶον* the other MSS. and editions.

190. *τουτὶ μόνον σ'* R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise and Van Leeuwen. *τουτὶ σε μόνον* the other MSS. and editions; but this would make *μόνον* seem to apply to *σε* rather than to *τουτὶ*.

193. *ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμαθῆ καὶ βδελυρόν*. MSS. vulgo. This sudden change in the structure of the sentence has given offence to some; and Herwerden proposed to finish the line by *ἦκει' μὴ παρής*; Meineke to read *ἦκεν' ἀλλὰ μὴ | παρής ἄ σοι διδάσσω ἐν λοίοις θεοί*; and Blaydes *ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμαθῆ ἦκει καὶ βδελυρόν' μὴ νυν παρής*. But they have all had the good sense to leave the text unaltered.

195. *πῶς δῆτα* MSS. vulgo. Meineke proposed *πῶς δῆ; τί*.

196. *καὶ σοφῶς* R. M. Suidas, Tyrwhitt, Brunck, Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores,

except Bothe. καὶ σαφῶς the other MSS. and editions.—ἤνιγμένος MSS. vulgo. Meineke proposed ἤνιγμένα, which Velsen introduced into his text. Zacher however reverted to the MS. reading.

197. ἀγκυλοχείλης MSS. Suidas, vulgo. Bothe introduced ἀγκυλοχόλης, which is followed by almost all subsequent editors. But Aristophanes, composing Homeric hexameters, adhered to the old Homeric phrase. See the Commentary.

201. αἶ κεν P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. I<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Bergk, except Bothe and Dindorf; and Zacher, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen afterwards. αἶ κα R. Bothe, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except as aforesaid. αἶ κε V. F. M. I. F<sup>5</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>., which is really equivalent to αἶ κεν.

207. ὁ τ' ἀλλᾶς Bentley, Dawes (in his note on Plutus 166), Brunck, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe. ἀλλᾶς τ' (without the article) MSS., all editions (except Brunck) before Dindorf; and Bothe afterwards.

209. τὸν βυρσαίετον MSS. vulgo. Bentley proposed τοῦ βυρσαίετον, for the purpose, I presume, of making it quite clear that the serpent was to prevail over the eagle, and not vice versa. But Aristophanes is probably imitating the cryptic language of the oracles, of which the answer alleged to have been given many generations later to a Macedonian king, *Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse*, is a very apposite example. In Aristophanes, it is hardly necessary to say, κρατεῖν commonly takes an accusative; Clouds 1346, Wasps 536, 539, Birds 419, 1752.

210. αἶ κε MSS. vulgo. αἶκα Meineke, Green, Kock, Merry. Meineke (V. A.) supports his alteration by saying that in

the Sausage-seller's reply τὰ μὲν λόγι' αἰκάλλει με "manifesta est ad αἶκα allusio." But even if any allusion of this kind was intended (which I very much doubt), it would be as effective with αἶκε as with αἶκα.

211. λόγι' αἰκάλλει M. vulgo. And I think that V. meant the same, though the letters are confused and the accentuation wrong. Bekker gives it as λόγια καλεῖ, Velsen as λόγια 'καλ\*εῖ. λόγια αἰκάλλει R. λόγι' ἀκάλλει F. λόγια καλεῖ P. P<sup>1</sup>. Brunck. λόγι' ἀδ καλεῖ Invernizzi (thinking that to be R.'s reading). αἰκάλλει is unquestionably right; and if, as is generally supposed, the Ion of Euripides had already been produced, there may here be an allusion to line 685 of that Play (to which Bergler refers) οὐ γὰρ με σάινει θέσφατα.

212. ἐπιτροπέειν εἴμ' R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Bothe and Weise. εἴμ' ἐπιτροπέειν the other MSS. and editions.

213. ταῦθ' MSS. vulgo. ταῦθ' (from conjecture of Lenting) Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Merry, Blaydes.

216. μαγειρικοῖς MSS. vulgo. μαγειρικῶς Lenting, Velsen, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. But this is to miss the point of the line. Cleon was accustomed to flavour his speeches with terms borrowed from his trade, and the Sausage-seller is advised to do the same. The ῥημάτια μαγειρικὰ here answer to the κοσκευλάτια of line 49 supra.

218. γέγονας κακῶς R. V. P. P<sup>6</sup>. F. F<sup>5</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. I. M. Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise and Bothe. γέγονας κακὸς P<sup>2</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. I. all editions before Bekker; and Bothe and Weise afterwards.

220. χρησμοί τε MSS. vulgo. Blaydes

says "Malim χρησμοὶ δέ," and alters the text accordingly.

225. *ἰππεῖς* V. P. F. V<sup>3</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. Scholiast, Hesychius, Junta, Gormont, Cratander. *ἰππῆς* R. M. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>8</sup>. I. I<sup>1</sup>. vulgo.

230. *ἐξηκασμένος* R. V., the MSS. generally, Brunck, recentiores. *ἐξείκασμένος* F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

234. *οἶμοι κακοδαίμων*. This line is rightly given to Nicias by R. V. and all the other MSS. and vulgo. Not understanding that Nicias is now represented by a choregic actor, Weise continued it to Demosthenes, and so Van Leeuwen; whilst C. F. Hermann proposed to transfer it to the Sausage-seller, and this is done by several recent editors.

235. ΠΑΦΛΑΓΩΝ Meineke, Holden, Kock, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. ΚΑΕΩΝ MSS. vulgo. And so throughout. See the remarks on this subject in the Introduction.

236. *ξυνόμυτον* R. F<sup>2</sup>. Bekker, recentiores, except Bothe, Bergk, and Merry. And so Elmsley had conjectured (at Ach. 733) before R.'s reading was known, since Invernizzi had overlooked it. And cf. Fritzsche towards the end of his lengthy note on Thesm. 1158, 1159. *ξυνόμυτον* V. and the remaining MSS., all editions before Bekker; and Bothe, Bergk, and Merry afterwards.

238. *ἔσθ' ὅπως* R. M. Bentley, Invernizzi, recentiores. *ἔστιν ὅπως* V. and the remaining MSS., and all editions before Invernizzi.

240-6. *οὗτος τί φεύγεις; . . . καὶ τροπήν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦ*. In the MSS. and editions generally these seven lines are, as in the text, given to Demosthenes. Among the MSS. the only exception is R.; among the editions, Van Leeuwen's. R. gives

lines 242, 243 *ἄνδρες ἵππης . . . δεξιὸν κέρας* to the Sausage-seller, who could not possibly have addressed Simon and Panaetius in this way; and R.'s reading is followed by Van Leeuwen only. But both R. and P. assign 244-6 to Demosthenes, as if the preceding lines had been spoken by some one else, who could, in that case, have been the Coryphaeus only. The Scholiast on 240 says *τοῦτο ὁ θεράπων πρὸς τὸν Ἀγοράκριτον. ἔντισι δὲ οἱ δύο στίχοι οὐκ ἔγκεινται*. And again on 243 *τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸ μὲν "ἄνδρες ἰππεῖς" ἀλλαντοπόλῃν λέγειν τὸ δὲ "ἄνδρες ἔγγυς" τὸν θεράποντα*.

242. *παργέεσθε* R. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. I<sup>1</sup>. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *παργίνεσθε* V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. F. F<sup>5</sup>. *παργίνεσθε* M. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

243. *ὦ Παναίτι'* MSS. vulgo. Blaydes changes *ὦ* into *καὶ*, for no other reason than that in Birds 656 Aristophanes wrote *Ξανθία καὶ Μανόδωρε*, and in Eccl. 867 *ὦ Σίκων καὶ Παρμένων*. But in both those cases we have a simple direction to servants to remove the luggage, where the anxious summons *ὦ Ξανθία, ὦ Μανόδωρε, οἱ ὦ Σίκων, ὦ Παρμένων* would have been ridiculous. Here the urgent appeal is exactly in place; and the whole spirit of the call to arms is destroyed by Blaydes's alteration.

248. *φάραγγα* R., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *φάλαγγα* V. V<sup>2</sup>.

255. *φράτορες* MSS., all editions before Meineke; and Green afterwards. But Dindorf in his notes suggested *φράτερες*, as "old Attic"; and this is adopted by Meineke and subsequent editors except as aforesaid.

262. *διαβαλῶν* MSS., all editions before Brunck; and Green, Hall and Geldart,



and Neil afterwards. Duker (whose notes are given at the end of Bergler's edition) proposed to substitute *διαβαλῶν*, the word on which *διαβαλῶν* is intended to be a play; and this error is adopted by Brunck and, except as aforesaid, all subsequent editors. Yet they leave *διαβολᾶς*, infra 491, unaltered. Some would trace the original error to Casaubon, but for this there is no ground whatever.—*ἀγκυρίσας* MSS. vulgo. *ἡγκυρίσας* Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf, Weise, Velsen.

263. *ῥῆμον* MSS. vulgo. *ῶμόν* Mahaffy, Neil.—*ἐνεκολήθασας* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἐνεκολάβησας* MSS., editions before Brunck; but Kuster had conjectured *ἐνεκολάβισας*.

264, 5. *καὶ σκοπεῖς . . . τὰ πράγματα*. The full force of *σκοπεῖς* (see the Commentary) not being perceived, these two lines seemed rather feeble in this place, and accordingly were transferred from hence and placed between 260 and 261 by Brunck, Bothe, Merry, and Van Leeuwen. For the same reason Kock would change *σκοπεῖς* into *πέκεις* or *ξυρεῖς*, and Meineke into *σποδεῖς*.

266. *ἄνδρες* V. and the other MSS. (except R.), and vulgo. *ἄνδρες* R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Kock, Merry, Hall and Geldart, and Neil.

268. *ἰσάναι*. Elmsley (at Heracleidae 937) pointed out that this was the right reading, and he is followed by Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Bergk, and all subsequent editors except Green, Hall and Geldart, and Neil. *ἑσάναι* MSS. vulgo.—*ἀνδρείας* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. M. P. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. I<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. *ἀνδρίας* F. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. Brunck, Bothe, Bekker.

270. *κάκκοβαλικεύεται*. Toup, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf (in notes), Velsen. The MSS. and all editions before Brunck have *ἐκκοβαλικεύεται* (with a stop at the end of the preceding line after *ὑπέρχεται*); but it was obvious that *γέροντας ἡμᾶς* was governed by *ὑπέρχεται*, and it was necessary therefore to introduce a conjunction between *ὑπέρχεται* and *ἐκκοβαλικεύεται*. I have adopted Toup's mode of doing this. Bentley suggested *χῶσπερει*, which is adopted by Weise and Dindorf, but hardly meets the difficulty; and Dindorf in his notes reverted to Toup's suggestion. Cobet (N. L. p. 37) proposed *καὶ κοβαλικεύεται*, erroneously stating that to be the reading of R., and (probably on account of that erroneous statement) this proposal, though not in any way accounting for the *ἐκ-* of all the MSS., is adopted by Bergk, and substantially all subsequent editors; the only editors since Brunck who follow the MS. reading and punctuation being Bekker and Green. Cobet also wished to read *γέροντας ὄντας* instead of *γέροντας ἡμᾶς*, but to this nobody has assented.

271. *παρέλθη*. See the Commentary. *γε νικᾷ* MSS. vulgo. The MS. reading has been generally doubted, but the only editors who have altered the text are Blaydes and Van Leeuwen, the former reading *γε νείση* and the latter *γε τεινή*. Halbertsma conjectured *γ' ἰπέκη*; and Blaydes gives five other conjectures of his own besides the one he adopts.

272. *πρὸς σκέλος* MSS. (except R.) all editions (except Invernizzi and Bekker) before Dindorf; and Velsen and Van Leeuwen afterwards. *τὸ σκέλλος* R. *τὸ σκέλος* Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores,

except as aforesaid. *πρὸς τὸ σκέλος* Invernizzi, who gives that as R.'s reading.

274. *ὄσπερ* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. M. M<sup>2</sup>. I. F. F<sup>9</sup>. Bekker, recentiores, except Bothe and the other editors mentioned below. *ὄσπερ* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>8</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>, all editions before Bekker; and Bothe afterwards. *ὄπερ* (a conjecture of Kock) Meineke, Holden, Kock, Van Leeuwen. *ὄνπερ* Blaydes.—*καταστρέφει* R. Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise. *καταστρέφεις*, the other MSS., all editions (except Bekker) before Dindorf.

275. *πρῶτα* R. Invernizzi, recentiores. *πρῶτον* the other MSS. and all editions before Invernizzi. Bergk and several other recent editors transfer this line to Paphlagon, which gives rise to great difficulties, requires various alterations in the next two lines, and deprives *πρῶτα* of all sense. Hence, I suppose, Herwerden's note (V. A.) "Suspectum mihi est *πρῶτα* dictum eo sensu, quo *εὐθὺς* aut *αὐτίκα* solet usurpari. Nescio an vera lectio sit *ῥᾶστα*." So one error constantly gives rise to another.

276. *μέντοι γε* MSS. vulgo. *μὲν τόνδε* Porson, Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Hall and Geldart.—*νικᾶς τῇ βοῇ* MSS. vulgo, except that R. omits the words *τῇ βοῇ*. Suidas, s. v. *τήνελλα*, citing this line, says Ἀριστοφάνης' "ἀλλ' ἐὰν νικήσης τῇ βοῇ, τήνελλος εἶ." ἀντὶ τοῦ νικηφόρος, whence Blaydes reads *νικήσης βοῇ* here.—*τήνελλος εἶ* MSS. vulgo. *τήνελλ' ἔσει* Porson. *τηνελλάσει* Meineke. *τήνελλά σοι* Kock, Van Leeuwen.

277. *παρέλθης* R. V. and all the MSS. except M., all editions before Bergk; and Green and Blaydes afterwards. *παρέλθης* M. M. Bergk, recentiores, except as afore-

said. This error is occasioned by the transfer of 275 to Paphlagon.

278. *ὑδέικνυμι*. This is a suggestion of Dobree, in a note on Andocides de Reditu suo 14, where the orator describes Peisander as saying of him *ἄνδρες βουλευται, ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐνδεικνύω ὑμῖν σίτῳ τε εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσαγαγόντα καὶ κωπείας*, a very similar denunciation to the present. Dobree's suggestion is adopted by Dindorf, Bergk, and all subsequent editors. *δεικνυμι* MSS., all editions, except Dindorf's, before Bergk.

282. *ἐξάγων* Porson, Dindorf, recentiores. *ἐξαγαγών* MSS. editions before Dindorf.

287. *σε κρίζων* R. V. (but in V. *σε* is corrected into *σου*) F. I<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. Porson, Brunck, recentiores. *σου κρίζων* P. M. I. all editions before Brunck. But Kuster had noticed that *σε* was found in Priscian xviii. p. 1187, and both Porson and Brunck pointed out that it was required by the metre.

289. *τὸ νῶτον* P. P<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>, all printed editions, save that in Frischlin the article is omitted. *τὸν νῶτον* R. V. and the MSS. generally.

290. *ἀλαζονείαις* Elmsley (at Oed. Col. 1454), Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Green. *ἀλαζονείας* MSS. vulgo.

291. *τοὺς πόδας σου*. See the Commentary. *τὰς ὁδοὺς σου* MSS. vulgo.

292. *ἀσκαρδάμυκτος* R. V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *ἀσκαρδαμύκτως* P. M. and one or two other MSS. *ἀσκαρδαμυκτί* Etymol. Magn. Meineke, Velsen (not Zacher), Kock, Merry, and Blaydes.

294. *γρύξεις* V. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. Junta, Gormont, Cratander, Farreus, Grynaeus, Bergler. And all subsequent editors have the future tense, but Elmsley (at

Ach. 278) preferred γρύξει, and this is adopted by Dindorf, Holden, Velsen, Blaydes, and subsequent editors. γρύξεις R. P. M., the MSS. generally, and (except as aforesaid) the editions before Bergler.

295. λαλήσεις R. V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. λακήσεις P<sup>1</sup>. λακήσει Blaydes.

298. γεβλεπόντων MSS. vulgo. Porson (at Ach. 739) proposed γ' ἐμβλεπόντων, but he did not repeat the suggestion here, and it has not been followed.

300. σε φαίω Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except as hereafter appears. σε φανῶ MSS. editions before Brunck; and Bekker, Dindorf, and Green afterwards. φανῶ σε Porson, Dobree, Velsen, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. The last-named editor says "φαίω non recipiendum, quoniam prytaenes non iam adsunt." But of course the Prytaenes were present (see the Commentary); and that is the reason why ἐνδείκνυμι in line 278 and φαίω here are used in the present tense. My translation does not show this. For ἱερὰς some write ἱρὰς, but this is unnecessary. ἱερὸς is often pronounced as a disyllable, like πόλεως and some similar words.

304. κατακεκράκτα Hermann, Dobree, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Holden, Green, Kock, and Blaydes. κεράκτα R. V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. κράκτα P. Meineke, Velsen, Van Leeuwen. (In each case the accent on the penultimate is sometimes the circumflex, and sometimes the acute.) Generally in these cretico-paeonic systems, cretics and paeons are intermingled and interchangeable, but that is not the case here. Here every cretic has its proper

place, and so has every paeon. A cretic in the Strophe cannot correspond with a paeon in the Antistrophe, and vice versa. See the scheme of the Ode 386 infra. Every proposal which ignores this rule stands self-condemned; and such readings as καὶ κεκράκτα and καὶ κράκτα and such emendations as Hall and Geldart's ingenious καὶ κεκράχθ', οὐ θράσους must be peremptorily ruled out. See the Commentary.

312. ἐκκεκώφωκας Reiske, Porson (at Orestes 1279, where see his note), Meineke, Velsen (not Zacher), recentiores, except Zacher and Green. ἐκκεκώφηκας R. V. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>, the MSS. generally, and vulgo. ἐκκεκώφευκας P. Zacher.

313. φόρους R. V. and all the MSS. except M., and vulgo. πόρους M. Fracini, Gelenius, Portus, and all subsequent editors before Bekker; and Weise and Bothe afterwards.—θυνοσκοπῶν MSS. vulgo. Kock and Bergk suggested θυνοσκοπεῖς, but (except Kock) Meineke is the only editor who has brought it into the text.

319. νῆ Δία κάμ' κ.τ.λ. This seems a very simple line, but it has given rise to much discussion. In the first place, who is the speaker? *Demosthenes*, according to the MSS. and editions generally. *The Chorus*, according to Beer, Bergk, Meineke, and Holden. *Nicias*, according to Elmsley (*Classical Journal* vi. 223), Dindorf, Bothe, and Green. I have in the Commentary given my reasons for following Elmsley. Then in all the MSS. except R. and in all editions before Brunck the νῆ Δία is preceded by a καὶ. Tyrwhitt proposed to strike out the unmetrical καὶ,

and it does not appear in Brunck or any subsequent edition except Weise. I think, however, that Bentley also meant to strike it out. In the Classical Journal his marginal jotting is given as "Ald. καὶ delet." He must really have written "Ald. καὶ dele." This leaves νῆ Δία, a dactyl, at the commencement of a trochaic line, which in my opinion is quite unobjectionable. See Appendix to Birds 396; and to 1078 of the same play. But many object to it. Bentley proposed κάμῃ νῆ Δία (and so Kuster also suggested, and so Brunck and Bothe in his first edition read) or else κάμῃ τοῦτ' ἔδρασε νῆ Δί'. The elision of the *a* in Δία shows that he meant the Δί' to come before ὄσπερ, so that Bentley's second proposal is equivalent to Porson's κάμῃ τοῦτ' ἔδρασε ταυτὸ, νῆ Δί', which is adopted by Velsen (not Zacher) and Van Leeuwen. Weise (always regardless of metre) has καὶ νῆ Δία με τοῦτ' ἔδρασε, Bothe in his second edition νῆ Δία τόδε μ' ἔδρασεν. Dindorf reads νῆ Δι, on the theory that Δι is used for Δία. Blaydes has κάμῃ, νῆ Δί' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔδρασεν. Meineke (V. A.) suggests νήχι κάμῃ. *Risum teneatis, amici?* But all the rest, I think, follow as I have done the reading of R. which is in truth the reading of all the MSS. For the initial καὶ in my opinion merely stands for κλ, that is, Cleon. In these slanging matches the speeches as a rule alternate between the Sausage-seller (ἀλλ.) and Paphlagon (κλ): and I suspect that after the Sausage-seller's last speech some old copyist very naturally prefixed κλ to this, which, when the error was discovered and the speech attributed to Demosthenes, survived in

the form καὶ. There is still another question on the line. κατὰ γέλων MSS. vulgo (except that it is sometimes written κατὰ γέλων). καὶ γέλων Elmsley, Dindorf (in notes), Meineke, recentiores, except Green, Hall and Geldart, and Neil.

325. προστατεὶ ῥητόρων Bentley, Hermann, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bergk and Merry. προστατεὶ τῶν ῥητόρων (contra metrum) MSS. all editions before Bothe's first; and Bekker, Bergk, and Merry afterwards.

326. ἀμέλγεις V. and all other MSS. except R. and vulgo. ἀμέλγει R. Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, and Green. Bothe in both editions reads ἀμέργεις, which is followed by Velsen and Merry. Kock preferred ἀμέργει, which is read by Meineke, Holden, Kock, Blaydes, and Neil. But in reality ἀμέλγειν is, and ἀμέργειν is not, suitable to the sense of the passage. ἀμέργειν is to *pluck* or *gather* (as from a tree or shrub), which does not give the signification required. The Chorus mean that Paphlagon *robs* or *drains dry* the wealthy strangers, a meaning admirably expressed by ἀμέλγειν.

327. Ἴπποδάμων. all the MSS. and all the editions, except that Bothe in his second edition reads Ἴπποδαμίδων. It appears from the Scholiasts that some read Ἴππόδαμος. Compare Appendix to Frogs 422. But a difficulty arises from the fact that the name here has the penultimate long. Fritzsche (De Socrat. vet. Comicorum, p. 215) thinks that it is the Doric form of Ἴππόδημος, like Εὔδαμος for Εὔδημος in Plutus 884, and quotes other Attic names in which the same Doricism occurs. And to this

view Meineke (V. A.) and others subscribe. On the other hand Hermann proposed to read *Ἰπποδάμου*, Schneider *Ἰπποδάμου μοι*, Velsen *Ἰπποδάμου σε*, and so on. For *λείβεται* (MSS. vulgo) Van Eldik proposed *λείπεται*, and Van Leeuwen reads *θλίβεται*.

330. *πάρεσι* R. V. P. P<sup>2</sup>., the MSS. generally, Brunck, recentiores. *πάρεσι* P<sup>1</sup>. all editions before Brunck. But Bentley had suggested *παρελθών*, and Tyrwhitt *χ' ὑπερέσται*.

331. *πανουργία* R. V. P. P<sup>2</sup>., the MSS. generally, Junta, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἐν πανουργία* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. and all editions, except Junta, before Brunck.

333. *ᾄθενέρ εἰσιν* R. V. and all MSS., except P. and M., and vulgo. *ᾄθεν πάρεσιν* P. M. Brunck, Invernizzi.

338. *ἄλλ. μὰ Δία* R. V., the MSS. generally, Bentley, Bothe, Bekker, recentiores. *ἄλλ. οὐ μὰ Δία* F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. all editions before Bothe's first.

339. *ἀλλ' αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.* This line is placed here by R. and all recent editors. It comes after 336 in the other MSS. and in all editions before Invernizzi. No doubt the error arose from the circumstance that the words *οὐκ αὖ μ' ἑάσεις* commence the preceding line in each case.

340. *ἐγὼ οὐ παρήσω* Tyrwhitt, Bothe, Fritzsche (at Thesm. 926), Bergk, recentiores, except Green. *ἐγὼ σ' οὐ παρήσω* MSS. all editions before Brunck. *σ' ἐγὼ οὐ παρήσω* Bentley, Brunck, and subsequent editors before Bergk, and Green afterwards.

341. *πάρες πάρες πρὸς* R. V., the MSS. generally, Junta, Gormont, Grynaeus, Bentley, Bergler, recentiores. *πάρες πρὸς* F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. all editions before Bergler.

342. *ἐμοῦ λέγειν ἔναντα* Bothe, Bekker, recentiores. For *ἔναντα* the MSS. and all editions before Bothe's first (except Brunck's) have *ἐναντία*. Brunck reads *λέγειν ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ*. Burney proposed the more rhythmical *λέγειν ἐναντίον μου*. Bentley conjectured *ἐναντί* for *ἐναντία*, and Reisig proposed *ἐμοῦ γ' ἐναντί εἰπεῖν*. Kock would change *λέγειν* into *βλέπειν*.

344. *σὺ πρᾶγμα* F. Hermann, Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Blaydes. *σοι πρᾶγμα* R. *τι πρᾶγμα* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Bergk; and Green and Blaydes afterwards. But the other MSS. have simply *πρᾶγμα* (without *σὺ*, *σοι*, and *τι*). Blaydes reads *εἴ τι πρᾶγμα προσπέσοι σοι*.

346. *ὁ μοι πεπονθέναι δοκεῖς*. P. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. vulgo. *ὅπερ πεπονθέναι μοι δοκεῖς* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. M. P<sup>6</sup>. *ὁ μοι δοκεῖς πεπονθέναι δοκεῖς* (which must have been intended for the reading in the text) P<sup>1</sup>. *ὅπερ πεπονθέναι δοκεῖς* F. Bergk to Velsen, Merry, Hall and Geldart, and Neil. But *μοι*, which seems to be necessary, is found in every MS. except F.; and *ὅπερ*, which is rather out of place here, is probably borrowed from the latter part of the line.

347. *κατὰ ξένου μετοίκου* MSS. vulgo. The conjunction of these two words is rather surprising, and various conjectures have in consequence been put forward. Meineke (V. A.) proposed either *κατ' ἀξένου μετοίκου* (which he suggests may mean "a friendless sojourner") or else *κατὰ ξένου ἢ μετοίκου*, but this particularization in an unimportant matter savours rather of a pedant than of a poet; it is however adopted by Van Leeuwen. Velsen reads

κατ' Ἀξένου μετοίκου, "against a sojourner named Axenus." Müller-Strübing proposes κατ' ἀπροξένου μετοίκου, Sharpley (Class. Rev. xix. 58) κατ' ἀσθενοῦς μετοίκου, and Kaehler κατ' ἀξίου μετοίκου. But the MS. reading is no doubt what Aristophanes wrote. See the Commentary.

353. ἀνθρώπων τιν' F. Frischlin, Brunck, and subsequent editors (except Dindorf) before Bergk; and Velsen, Kock, Merry, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen afterwards. ἀνθρώπων τίν' R. V. and all the other MSS. and vulgo.

354. ἀκράτου R. Bekker, recentiores. ἀκρατον V. V<sup>2</sup>. F. I. M. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>3</sup>. editions before Bekker. ἀκρατα P. F<sup>5</sup>.

357. ἐπιτιῶν R. Bekker, recentiores, except Weise and Bothe. ἐκπιῶν V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. πιῶν P<sup>1</sup>.

360. ἐκροφήσεις MSS. vulgo. Elmsley (at Ach. 278) preferred ἐκροφήσει, on the ground that in Wasps 814 we have the form ῥοφήσομαι. But this is a very inadequate ground, since many verbs have a future in both the active and the middle forms. And it may have been the feeling that he had been a little too hasty in this and a few other matters that caused Elmsley to suppress his edition of the Acharnians. Yet in reliance on his great authority the unanimous verdict of the MSS., both here and elsewhere, has been overruled by Dindorf and almost all subsequent editors, except Bergk and Merry. Dr. Rutherford (New Phrynichus, § 302, pp. 392, 393) merely restates Elmsley's view, but does not attempt to prove it. The two lines of this speech which in the MSS. and vulgo are rightly given to the Chorus are by

a few recent editors transferred to Demosthenes; whilst line 366 by R. rightly given to Demosthenes is by some absurdly transferred to the Chorus.

365. δέ γ' Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. The MSS. and other editions have either δέ τ' or δ' alone.—ἐξέλεω Porson, Bothe, Bekker, Meineke, recentiores, except Merry. ἐξελλέγω R. Invernizzi. ἐξελεῶ V. and the other MSS. (save that in F<sup>1</sup>. and F<sup>5</sup>. it has been altered into ἐξολῶ) and vulgo.—τῆς πυγῆς R. V<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. P<sup>3</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except Zacher. τῆς πυγῆς P. M<sup>2</sup>. τῆ πυγῆ V. M. I., most of the other MSS., all editions before Brunck; and Zacher afterwards.

366. τᾶρ' Bothe, Bergk, recentiores. γὰρ MSS. all editions before Brunck; and Bekker and Dindorf afterwards. γ' ἄρ' Brunck, Invernizzi, Weise.

367. ὕ τῶ ξύλω, Elmsley (at Ach. 343), Dobree, Dindorf (in notes), Bergk, recentiores. τῶ ξύλω (without ὕ) MSS. editions before Bergk.

373. παρατιλῶ R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. περιτιλῶ V. and the other MSS. and editions.

374. πρηγορέωνα MSS. vulgo. Bentley suggested πρηγορώνα, which is read by Dindorf and most subsequent editors, but not by Bergk, Zacher, Hall and Geldart, or Neil. Cf. Birds 1118.

382. πυρός γ' P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. and all printed editions except as hereinafter mentioned. R. V. and the remaining MSS. have πυρός without the γ'. Velsen changed the γ' into θ', and is followed by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen, but the γ' is far better.

383. λόγοι τῶν. These words are not found in the MSS. or editions; they

are an addition by Godfrey Hermann, necessary both for the sense and for the metre.

385. ἦν ἄρ' οὐ R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν V., the MSS. generally, Brunck and Weise. οὐκ ἦν all editions before Brunck. While the text was in this state Bentley suggested the insertion of ἄρ' between οὐκ and ἦν; but it is quite wrong to quote him as preferring that reading to ἦν ἄρ' οὐ.

386. οὐδαμῶς. I have inserted this word, in brackets, not as a restoration of what Aristophanes really wrote, but merely to show what is required to satisfy the metre. A cretic has slipped out after δδ', if we should not rather treat δδ' itself as corrupt, and say that a third epitrite — — υ —, commencing with a vowel, has slipped out after φαῦλον. Bergk proposed to insert, after δδ', the words οὐδ' ἐλαφρόν, and this is followed by Merry and Blaydes; Velsen proposed ἀλλὰ καλόν, and Wecklein φαῦλον ὅσα γ' δδ' ἰδεῖν. But all these conjectures are metrically unsound. The scheme of the ode is as follows (see on 304 supra):

— υ υ υ,	— υ υ υ,	— υ υ υ,
— υ —	— υ —	— υ —
— υ —	— υ —	— υ —
— υ —	— υ —	— υ —
— υ —	— υ —	— υ —
— υ υ υ	— υ —	— υ —
— υ υ υ	— υ —	— υ —
— υ υ υ	— υ —	— υ —

387. μηδὲν δλίγον V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. μηδὲν ἔλαττον R. M. Invernizzi. μήδ' ἔλαττον Bothe. μηδὲν ἐλαφρόν Dindorf.

389. ὡς ἐάν R. F. M. F<sup>1</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. Grynaeus,

Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ὡς ἂν V. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>3</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. all editions (except Grynaeus) before Brunck.

394. ἀφάει V. and the MSS. generally, and vulgo. ἀφάνει R. Raphaeleng, a mere clerical error, I fancy. ἀφάινει Zacher (after Ribbeck). Blaydes suggests ἀφείει, which would be quite out of place.

396. καθήμενον MSS. vulgo. "Dedi καθήμενον, quod sensus postulare videtur" Blaydes. But of course τὸ τοῦ Δῆμον πρόσωπον is a mere periphrasis for ὁ Δῆμος; and, for the matter of that, it was Demus himself and not his πρόσωπον who μακκοῖ, supra 62.

400, 401. These two lines are given by the MSS. and older editions to one of the actors, Demosthenes or Cleon. But apart from the corresponding lines in the strophe being continued to the Chorus, it is obvious that the Chorus alone could have spoken line 401. They have, therefore, been restored to the Chorus by Bothe, Dindorf, Bergk, and all subsequent editors.

400. ἐν Κρατίνου P<sup>1</sup>. Bos (Ellips. p. 8), Elmsley (at Ach. 1222), Bergk, recentiores, except Kock, who reads τῶν Κρατίνου. ἐν Κρατίνου R. V. all other MSS. and vulgo.

401. προσάδειν MSS. vulgo. Hermann suggested πρὸς ἄδειν, Cobet ἰπάδειν, and Bergk παράδειν.—τραγωδίαν MSS. (except R.) vulgo. τραγωδία R. τραγωδία Meineke, apparently with the co-operation of Cobet; "τραγωδία ego et Cobetus." This seems to be nonsense. For a Tragic Chorus does not sing an accompaniment to the Tragedy; it sings the Tragedy itself, that is, the choral parts of it. Yet this absurdity is introduced

into the text not only by Meineke himself, but by Holden, Velsen, Kock, Merry, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. And Blaydes attempts to support it by such expressions as *προσάδειν κιθάρα* and *προσαυλεῖν*, but in those cases the voice is an accompaniment to the lyre, and the pipe is an accompaniment to the song; whilst here the Chorus sing the play, not to the play.

407. *Ἰουλίου* MSS. vulgo. Bothe proposed *Ἰουλήτην* which Velsen reads. Meineke reads *Βουλίον*, and so Holden and Green. *Ἰουλιέα* Zacher after a conjecture of Schnitzer.—*οἶμαι* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. a corrector of F<sup>1</sup>. and all printed editions except Junta. *οἶμαι* R. V. and all the other MSS. and Junta.—*πυροπίπην* I. P<sup>2</sup>. and a corrector of F<sup>6</sup>. Dindorf (in notes), Bothe (2nd ed.), Bergk, Meineke, Merry, Zacher, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Neil. And *πυροπίπην* the reading of R. F. P. is clearly intended for *πυροπίπην*, just as in the edition called Scaliger's *πυροπίπην* is a mere mistake (corrected in the next edition) for *πυρροπίπην*. *πυρροπίπην* V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo.

408. *ἠπαιωνίσαι* R. Suidas (s.vv.  $\delta$  *περὶ πάντα*) Brunck, recentiores. *ἠὴ παίων ἄσαι* V. M. I. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. *ἠὴ παίων ἄσαι* P. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. *καὶ παιῶνα δὴ* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>6</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

410. *παραγενοίμην* MSS. vulgo. Mehler proposed and Blaydes reads *συγγενοίμην*.

412. *ἐκ παιδίου* (*from a boy, from my youth up*) R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *ἐκ παιδίων* V., the other MSS., and vulgo.—*μαχαιρίδων*. Brunck adopted this form from Pollux x. 104

who says *μαχαιρίδες Ἀριστοφάνους γούνην Ἰππεύσιν ὁ μάγειρος λέγει "Μαχαιρίδων τε πληγὰς."* And it has since been found in R. and is followed by every subsequent editor except Weise. *μαχαιριδίων* V., the other MSS., all editions before Brunck; and Weise afterwards.

416. *μάχει* R. V. and all the MSS. (except P<sup>6</sup>. and a correction of F. which have *μάχη*) and all editions except Dindorf before Bergk; and Neil afterwards. Dindorf altered this into *μαχεῖ*, and is followed by Bergk and subsequent editors except Neil. But the fight between the *κύων* and the *κυνοκέφαλος* has commenced; it is not a thing of the future.—*κυνοκέφαλλος* Dindorf, citing Phrynichus Bekkeri, p. 49. 19 *κυνοκέφαλλος· διὰ τῶν δυοῖν λ οἱ Ἀττικοί*, and Photius, s.v. *κυνοκέφαλον· ἐν τοῖς δύο λέγουσιν· οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης*, doubtless referring to this very passage. Dindorf is followed by Bergk and all subsequent editors except Van Leeuwen. *κυνοκέφαλος* R. V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo, and so Van Leeuwen. *κυνοκεφαλῶ* Bothe in his second edition. Several suggestions have been made for the purpose of preserving *κυνοκέφαλος*. Burney proposed *κυνοκέφαλος* σύ, and so Meineke. Brunck proposed *σύ γε κυνοκέφαλος*. But *κυνοκέφαλος* is obviously right.

417. *καὶ νῆ Δι'*, V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *νῆ τὸν Δι'* R. Invernizzi, Bekker.

418. *μαγείρους ἂν λέγων* Bernhardt, Cobet, Holden, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *μαγείρους λέγων* R. V. the MSS. generally. *μαγείρους ἐπιλέγων* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and a corrector of F<sup>6</sup>. and vulgo. *μαγείρους ἀπολέγων* Bothe in his second



edition. Bergk suggested *μαγειρίσκους λέγων*, a hopeless suggestion which Meineke inserts in his text.

421. *σοφῶς* Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise. *ὡς σοφῶς* MSS. editions before Dindorf (except Bothe); and Weise afterwards.

424. *τὰ κοχῶνα* F. I. F<sup>2</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk, Green, Zacher. And this, of course, though the accent is misplaced, is the meaning of *τὰ κόχωνα*, the reading of R. V. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. and all editions before Brunck. Aristophanes, it need hardly be said, had nothing to do with the accents; and no one could have really supposed the words to be the neuter plurals. However P<sup>1</sup>, the work of a persistent and not very felicitous conjecturer, wrote *τὰς κοχῶνας*, and so do one or two other inferior MSS., and Kuster in his notes and Brunck and Invernizzi in their texts. But since Invernizzi all editors have read the dual *κοχῶνα*. The proper feminine dual of the article is *τὰ* as (practically) all the MSS. here, but *τῶ* is occasionally used for all genders, especially in the adjuration *τῶ θεῶ*, see the Appendix on Thesm. 285; and Cobet, who was always unable to grasp the fact that language is not a machine-made article, governed by a set of cast-iron rules, but the product of innumerable minds, and susceptible of infinite anomalies and varieties, took upon himself not to prove, but to assert, that Attic writers never use *τὰ* for the feminine, a position contradicted by every known fact. Nevertheless Meineke and all subsequent editors, except as aforesaid, have followed this shallow assertion like a flock of sheep

and written *τῶ κοχῶνα*.—*ἀπώμνον* V<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἀπώμνον* R. V., the other MSS., and all editions before Brunck.

430. *καθίεις* MSS. vulgo. *καθειμένως πνέων* is the Scholiast's explanation; "subandi ἐμαντόν" Brunck. Dawes proposed to read *καταίεις*; and Porson for *καὶ μέγας καθίεις* would read *Καικίας μέγας τε*; but neither of these suggestions has found any favour.

433. *κελεύσας* R. F<sup>2</sup>. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Neil. *κελεύων* the other MSS. and editions.

437. *Καικίας* F. Kuster (in notes), Dawes, Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *κακίας* R. V., the MSS. generally, all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi afterwards.

438. *Ποιδαίαις* MSS. vulgo. The second syllable is long, and the name is found in inscriptions spelled *Ποειδαίαις*, and F. Thiersch suggested that it should be so spelled here. This is adopted by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Green.

440. *τοὺς τεθρίους* R. M. Scaliger, Porson, Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. *τοὺς τε θρίους* or *τοὺς τεθρίους* V. and the other MSS. *τοὺς τε θρίους* all editions before Portus; *τοὺς δὲ θρίους* Portus and all subsequent editions before Brunck. *τοὺς δὴ θρίους* Brunck, Weise. But all the time the passage was properly understood; the Scholiast's explanation (of *τεθρίους*) being taken to apply to *θρίους*.

442. [*δωροδοκίας*]. This word is not in the MSS., and the words *φύξει γραφὰς ἑκατονταλάντους τέτταρας* are in almost all the editions written as a single senarius. Invernizzi was the first to

write them in two lines (the first being merely *φείξει γραφάς*), and Dindorf in his notes does the same, marking a lacuna before *φείξει*. That is followed by Kock and Blaydes; but Meineke, Holden, Velsen, and Hall and Geldart mark the lacuna after *γραφάς*, which cannot be right. Meineke suggests *φείξει γραφάς σὺ δειλίας*, which is read by Merry. Van Leeuwen reads *αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν*, an interpolation almost as idle as that which Blaydes suggests but does not read, viz. *οὐ βούλομαι*, or that which Bergk also suggests without reading, *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ*. Kock's *λιποταξίον* is far better. When I suggested that the line should commence with *δωροδοκίας*, I had no idea that Götting (whoever he may be) had proposed that the line should end with that word. I think that all editions not mentioned above, including Neil's, gave the two lines as one senarius.

453. *ἀνδρικότατα καὶ* (*ἀνδρικότα* R. which the accent shows to be a mistake for *ἀνδρικότατα*) V. P. I. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. M<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, Weise, Bergk, Merry, and Neil. *ἀνδρικότατα* (without *καὶ*) M. all editions before Brunck; and Dindorf and Green afterwards. But Dindorf suggested *ἀνδρείοτατα καὶ*, which is adopted by Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Kock, and Hall and Geldart. Elmsley proposed *ἀνδρικότατ' εὖ*, and Reisig *ἀνδρικότατ' αὖ* which Blaydes adopts. Blaydes himself makes ten conjectures, one of which *ἀνδρικόως τε καὶ* is brought into the text by Van Leeuwen.

459. *θ' ἑπήλθες* V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *τ' ἑπήλθες* R. Bekker, Dindorf, Green, Kock, Van Leeuwen,

and Neil. But *ἐπήλθες* does not, and *ἑπήλθες* does, imply the success of their champion.

463. *γομφούμεν' αὐτὰ* R. M. Bekker, recentiores, except Weise. *γομφούμενα τὰ* V. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. V<sup>3</sup>. M<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. Junta, Gormont. *γομφούμενά γε τὰ* P<sup>1</sup>. (correcting as usual) and F<sup>2</sup>, all other editions before Invernizzi; and Weise afterwards. *γομφούμεν' αὖ τὰ* Invernizzi, giving it as R.'s reading.

464. *οἶμοι, σὺ δ' οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.* At the suggestion of Hermann this line is removed from its place here, and inserted between lines 467-8, by Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Kock, Merry, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. This seems quite wrong. It makes the Chorus complain of their champion, which is not by any means their cue. They are alarmed at Paphlagon's metaphors, and hope that the Sausage-seller will be able to repay them in kind. This he at once proceeds to do; but of course before producing his "wheelwright" metaphors, it is necessary to lay a foundation for their use.

465. *μ' ἐν Ἄργει γ' οἶα*. Except that R. P. P<sup>6</sup>. have *μὲν* for *μ' ἐν*, and that R. and P<sup>6</sup> are the only MSS. which insert the *γ'*, this is the reading of all the MSS. The *γ'* is omitted in all the editions before Bothe's first, and by Bekker, Dindorf, and Weise, so leaving an hiatus between *Ἄργει* and *οἶα*. In this state of things Porson made two proposals: (1) to read *ἐν Ἄργει μ' οἶα*, which is adopted by Bothe, Meineke, and Green, or (2) *μ' ἐν Ἄργείois ἄ*, which is adopted by Bergk, Holden, Merry, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. But this second alternative consorts ill with the general tone of the

speech, which means that he did *not* deal with the Argives; the repetition of the name 'Αργείους in two successive lines would be very clumsy; whilst the word ἐκεῖ two lines below seems to show that the *locality* has already been mentioned. The remaining editors read as in my text.—πράττει Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart, Van Leeuwen, and Neil, who follow the πράττεις of the MSS. and editions before Brunck. But though the change from the second to the third person, and vice versa, is common enough in Aristophanes, the Sausage-seller here seems to address the Chorus throughout; and only to turn to Paphlagon in line 472.

477. ἐν τῇ πόλει R. P. P<sup>5</sup>. Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Holden, Velsen, Green, Van Leeuwen. ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει V., the remaining MSS., and vulgo. Cobet suggests, I do not know why, τὰς ἐν πόλει, which is brought into the text by Meineke, and Hall and Geldart. See the Commentary.

482. γνώμην R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Dindorf, Weise, Green, Zacher, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. ψυχὴν V., the other MSS., all editions before Invernizzi; and those excepted above afterwards.

483. νυνὶ διδάξεις MSS. vulgo. In P<sup>2</sup>. there is a marginal reading νυνὶ δὲ δείξεις, which is adopted by Brunck and Bothe, and (with δὲ changed into γε) by Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Merry, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen; but is far more prosaic than the uniform reading of the MSS.—τότε V. and all the MSS. except R., and vulgo. ποτὲ R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Holden, Green, and Blaydes.

484. τὰ κοχῶνα R. and the editors who read the same in 424 supra. τὰς κοχῶνας MSS. (except R.) and vulgo. τῶ κοχῶνα the editors who so read in 424.

488. ὡς ἔχω MSS. vulgo. ἀς ἔχω Kock after a conjecture of O. Schneider.

491. ἐξολισθάνειν R. V. Porson (referring to Dawes at Lys. 678), Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise. ἐξολισθάνειν the MSS. generally, the editions before Bothe's first; and Weise afterwards.

492. ταυταγί R. Brunck, recentiores. ταυτά γε V., the other MSS., and all editions before Brunck.

496. διαβάλλειν R. V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. καταβάλλειν (or καταβάλλει) P. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. and a corrector of F. Brunck, Bothe, Weise, and Blaydes.

503. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν MSS. vulgo. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῶν Brunck, Bekker, Velsen.—πρόσχετε (or πρόσσχετε) Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. προσέχετε MSS. all editions before Bothe's first; and Weise, Bergk, Zacher, Hall and Geldart, and Neil afterwards.

504. τοῖς τ' ἀναπαίστοις Grynæus, an edition which more than once alone preserves the genuine reading. Καὶ τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. Junta, Gormont. τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις R. V., the other MSS., and vulgo. The last four lines of this Commation have been severely treated by editors. The words ὦ παντοίας . . . καθ' ἑαντούς, combined into one line, make an ordinary anapaestic tetrameter catalectic; and the preceding line and a half have been variously compelled to come into the same metre. Hermann wrote them ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν ἀναπαίστοις. Meineke,

Holden, and Velsen (not Zacher) ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν χαιρόντες τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις. All these omit the words ὡ παντοίας . . . καθ' ἑαυτοῦς. Others have both anapaestic tetrameters, Hirschig reading the first line as ὑμεῖς δὲ τέως πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀναπαίστοις, and so Blaydes, except that for δὲ τέως he retains δ' ἡμῖν, whilst Van Leeuwen reads the last three words as τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπιούσιν. The tetrameters so concocted are added to the Parabasis Proper, where they seem somewhat out of place. The appeal ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ. corresponds to the ὑμεῖς δὲ τέως in the Commation of the Wasps (line 1010).

506. καθ' ἑαυτοῦς MSS. vulgo. καθ' ἑορτάς Van Leeuwen from a conjecture of Deventer.

508. λέξοντας ἔπη πρὸς R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. ἐπιλέξοντας ἐς I. ἔπη λέξοντας ἐς V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>6</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. and (with γ' inserted after λέξοντάς) all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise afterwards. But Bentley had already pointed out that the author of one of the arguments to the Clouds quotes the line as in the text. And Porson, Class. Journal v. 139 (in a short review of Brunck's Aristophanes), relying on the same authority, and referring to Ach. 629 and Peace 735, insisted on substituting πρὸς for the γ' ἐς of the vulgar reading; and nearly twenty years afterwards in his Preface to the Hecuba, p. 54 proposed to read the whole line as in the present text.

510. τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν R. V. and all the MSS. except M. and P<sup>1</sup>. and all the editions except Bergler and Blaydes. τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν M. P<sup>1</sup>. Burmann (in Bergler's edition, but without Bergler's

authority, and apparently by a mere clerical error), Blaydes. "Praestat, opinor, ὑμῖν: namque in Parabasi idem est Chorus ac Poeta." Blaydes. This is really an astonishing remark; every line in this section of the Parabasis is distinguishing between the Chorus and the poet; and the same is the case in almost every Parabasis. Moreover ὑμῖν destroys the very point of the passage, which means that the poet and the Knights are combined in detesting the demagogue. That is why they are willing to act as his Chorus.

512. ἀ δὲ R. V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. δ δὲ P<sup>1</sup>. Blaydes, which certainly gives a simpler construction.

513. ὡς MSS. vulgo. "forte πῶς" Bentley. And this is adopted by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Green, and Hall and Geldart. But it does not seem at all necessary.

514. ἐκέλευε R. M. F. Bekker, recentiores, except Weise and Bothe. ἐκέλευσε V. and the other MSS. and vulgo.

526. πολλῶ ῥέυσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ MSS. vulgo. Although the only editor that has altered the text is Velsen who, following a conjecture of Kayser, substitutes βρίσας for ῥέυσας, yet these words, and especially the participle ῥέυσας, which is supposed on what seem to me insufficient grounds to be inadmissible in Attic of this date, have given offence to many scholars. Bergk proposed ὡς πολλῶ βρίσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ Διὰ τῶν φελλέων πεδίων ἔρρει. Meineke ῥέυματι πολλῶ ποτ' ἀίνως. Fritzsche (Quaest. Aristoph. 259) had previously proposed ῥέψας. Kock suggested πρέψας, O. Schneider βρύσας, Hultsch λάβρος. Blaydes offers fifteen conjectures. Dr.

Verrall (Class. Review, xvi. p. 9) would read *πόλλ' ἱρεύσας ποτ' Ἐπαῖνον*, "having formerly offered many thanksgivings to Applause, that is to say, having celebrated with sacrifice many a dramatic success and dedication of the prize," a conjecture, says Herwerden (V. A.) "doctior et acutior quam probabilior." Herwerden himself proposed, but in his V. A. withdrew, *πολλῶ ῥῶ τῶν ἐπινοιῶν*.

527. *καὶ τῆς στάσεως* MSS. vulgo. *καὶ τῆς στάσεως* is proposed by O. Schneider and read by Blaydes. The word *ἀφελῶν* in the early part of the line has also met with some criticism. Bergk, as we have seen, would substitute *φελλέων*, a word which, as Meineke observes (V. A.) "neque adjectivè dici, neque duabus syllabis efferri potest." Hultsch, still more absurdly, would read *ἄφρον διὰ τῶν πεδίων*, while Meineke faintly hints at changing *ἀφελῶν* into *μεγάλων* and Herwerden (V. A.) into *ἀφρευῶν*. But if these gentlemen would only think, for a moment, of our poet's meaning, they would see that *ἀφελῶν* is really the very word required. The volume of Cratinus's popularity flowed on without a ripple; there were in its bed neither stones, ridges, nor other obstacles to ruffle it.

534. *δίψη* R. I. F<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *δίψει* V. M. and several other MSS. (but some have both readings, one above the other) Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Weise.

536. *τῷ Διονύσῳ* MSS. vulgo. *τῷ Διονύσου* Elmsley (at Ach. 1087), Velsen, Kock, Merry, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. Meineke for *μὴ ληρεῖν* conjectures *μάκληρεῖν*, "admodum infeliciter" as Van Leeuwen says.

539. *στόματος μάττων* MSS. vulgo. Zacher conjectures *σταιτὸς μάττων* and

Van Leeuwen *σταιτὸς πλάττων*, but neither has altered the text.

540. *μόνος* MSS. vulgo. Van Leeuwen conjectures *μόλις*.

546. *παρπέμψατ' ἐφ'* R. V. and practically all the MSS. and vulgo; though one or two MSS. have (unmetrically) either *παρπέμψαντες ἐφ'* or *παρπέμψαντος ἐφ'*, and Junta inserts *ἐς* before *ἐφ'*: Bentley said "an legendum *παρπέμψατέ θ' ?*" but adds "At Suidas *ἐφ'*." Blaydes however reads *παρπέμψατέ θ'*. Kock suggested *παρπέμψατέ τ' ἐν δέκα*.

550. *μετώπω* R. V. and all the other MSS. and vulgo. *προσώπω* a corrector of M. Brunck (apparently a clerical error), and Bothe.

564. *παρεστὸς*. R. M. F<sup>1</sup>. Scaliger (in notes) Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Van Leeuwen. *παρεστῶς* V. F. F<sup>5</sup>. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. all editions before Bekker; and Weise, Bothe, and Van Leeuwen afterwards. Reiske proposed *πρόσθε παρεστῶς*, and Blaydes *πλείστα παρεστῶς*.

569. *οὐ γὰρ οὐδείς πάποσ'* R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. *κοῦδεις οὐδεπάποσ'* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise afterwards. While the text was in this condition Bentley suggested *κοῦτις οὐδεπάποσ'* and so Porson. *οὐδεις γὰρ πάποσ'* V. P. F. I. and many MSS. *οὐδὲ εἰς* (or *οὐδεεις*) γὰρ πάποσ' Cobet, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

570. *ἠρίθμησεν* R. V. and all MSS. and editions except Frischlin. And so Suidas s. v. *ἠρίθμησεν*. But one MS. of Suidas has *ἠρέμησεν*, which Frischlin reads and Kuster would have preferred to read here.

572. *τοῦτ'* R. F<sup>2</sup>. Frischlin, Invernizzi,

Bekker, recentiores. ταῦτ' V. and the other MSS., and all other editions before Invernizzi.

574. ἐρόμενος MSS. vulgo. "Qu. ἐλόμενος, sc. φίλον vel προστάτην?" Dobree.

578. μόνον R. V. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>., the MSS. generally, Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. μόνως F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

589. χορικῶν ἔστιν MSS. vulgo. χορικῶν μούσῳ Velsen (not Zacher). Wilamowitz proposed Χαρίτων ἔστιν which Kock reads.

598. οὐκ ἄγαν MSS. vulgo. Herwerden proposes οὐ τόσον, which Blaydes brings into the text. Mr. Richards (C. R. xv. 386) observes that "Attic prose and Comedy do not use τόσος for τοσούτος," and himself proposes to commence the following line by ὡς δ' ὄτ', connecting the ὡς δ' with ἀνεβρύαξαν in line 602, and treating ὄτε . . . κρόμμνα as a subordinate clause. But the MS. reading seems to mean "Their feats ashore we do not view with very great wonder, as we do their feats afloat."

600. καὶ σκόροδα M. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. The καὶ before σκόροδα is omitted by R. V. and all the other MSS. Bergk proposed, but did not read, σκόροδ', ἐλάας, κρόμμνα, and so Meineke and Velsen (not Zacher) read. Blaydes substitutes δέ γε for the καί, and Mr. R. T. Elliott proposes δὲ δῆ.

602. ἀνεβρύαξαν MSS. vulgo. ἀνεφρνώξανθ' Walsh (in a note to his translation), Zacher, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. And it may be that the poet selected the word ἀνεβρύαξαν on account of its similarity to the other word; but he is careful in this Antepirrhema to attribute human not equine qualities to the horses.

604. εἶτα δ' R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores. εἶτά γ' V. and the other MSS. and all editions before Invernizzi.— νεώτατοι R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Bothe, Weise, Zacher, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen, who with the other MSS. and the editions before Invernizzi read νεότεροι.

605. στρώματα V. and all the MSS. except R., and all editions. βρώματα R. which is very possibly right.

608. ἔφη R. M. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. Junta, Gormont, Cratander, and all subsequent editors before Gelenius, Frischlin, Brunck, recentiores. ἔφθη V. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>., a corrector of F. and of M., Aldus, Fracini, Junta II, Gelenius, and all subsequent editors before Brunck. Bergler indeed in his notes restored ἔφη, but Burmann, his editor, retained ἔφθη.

609. μήτ' ἐν βυθῷ. So all the MSS. and all editions before Brunck. Brunck silently changed μήτ' into μηδ', and is followed by all subsequent editors except Invernizzi, Zacher, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart.

610. μήτε γῆ Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. μήτ' ἐν γῆ MSS. editions before Brunck. There is precisely the same error in Acharnians 533.

614. ἠγωνίσω MSS. vulgo. Cobet and Bergk suggested ἠγώνισαι, which is read by Meineke, Zacher, and Van Leeuwen.

616. ἄξιόν γε P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. ἄξιον (without γε) R. V. and the other MSS. Junta, Invernizzi, Blaydes. ἄξιόν τι Velsen (not Zacher).

617. ἀμείνον' Bergler (in his notes, disregarded as usual by Burmann), Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. ἄμεινον MSS. all editions (except Bothe) before Dindorf.

618. ἐργασάμεν' Bentley, Bothe, Bek-

ker, recentiores. *εἰργασμέν'* MSS. all editions before Bothe's first.

619. *ἅπαντα* MSS. vulgo. Bentley, with great probability, would read this line *-θαις ἅπαν μοι σαφῶς*, and the corresponding line, 686 infra, *καὶ δόλοισ ποικίλοις*. See the Commentary. Bothe in his second edition adopts Bentley's suggestion in both places.

628. *ἐρείδων* MSS. vulgo. *ἐρείπων* Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Zacher, Hall and Geldart, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. Bergk suggested *ἐρείκων* and F. Thiersch *ἐρεύγων*. Blaydes offers eleven conjectures of his own, but himself adopts Brunck's. But a repetition of this kind is not unknown in these Comedies; we have *ρεύσας* and *ἔρρει* supra 526, 527; *παραδόντες* and *δῶμεν* in Peace 729, 730.

635. *τε καὶ Κόβαλοι* MSS. vulgo. Dobree did not himself propose to read, but suggested that the Scholiast read, *Κοάλεμοί τε*. But this seems an impossible reading, since *Κοάλεμοι* are the Powers of Dulness, the very last Powers the Sausage-seller would invoke at this crisis. However Zacher introduces it into the text, on the supposed authority of Dobree.—*Μόθων* Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. *Μόθωνες* MSS. editions before Brunck.

637. *εἴπορον* MSS. vulgo. Burges conjectured *εἴτροχον*, and Blaydes *εἴστροφον*.

639. *ἀπέπαρδε* MSS. vulgo. Halbertsma conjectured *ἐπέπαρδε*, which is read by Meineke to Blaydes and by Van Leeuwen.

643. *πρώτον* R. and (originally) V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *πρώτος* V. (as corrected) and V<sup>2</sup>. Bergk, recen-

tiores, except Green, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. But apart from the overwhelming authority of the MSS., it was obviously a greater compliment to the Council to say that he wished to tell them *first* than to say that he wished to be the *first* to tell them.

646. *οἱ δ' . . . διεγαλήνισαν* R. M. (except that M. has *διεγαλήησαν*), Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Bergk, Zacher, Kock, and Hall and Geldart. *τῶν δ' . . . διεγαλήνισεν* the other MSS. (except that V. has *διεγαλήησεν*) all editions before Invernizzi, and Bergk, Zacher, and Hall and Geldart afterwards. *ἡ δ' (scil. Βουλή) . . . διεγαλήνισεν* Kock. Invernizzi restored *οἱ δ'* from R., but left the verb in the singular.

648. *ποιησάμενος* MSS. vulgo. Bentley suggested *ποιησαμένοις*, and Reiske *ποιησαμένους*, and Velsen brings the latter word into the text.

652. *ὑπονόσας* MSS. vulgo. Meineke suggested *ἐπινοήσας* which Van Leeuwen adopts.—*εἰδῶς θ' ἅμα* Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Holden, Green, Kock, Merry, Neil. *εἰδῶς τ' ἅμα* Invernizzi. *εἰδῶς ἅρα* V., the remaining MSS., and vulgo. Dindorf had previously suggested *εἰδῶς τ' ἅρα* which Velsen reads.

655. *εἰσηγγεμέναις* V., and apparently all the MSS. (except R.) and vulgo. The transcriber of R. was careless over this word, omitting the initial *εἰς* and ending with *-ας* instead of *-αις*. He found out the latter mistake and superscribed *αις*, but left the former uncorrected. This gave Cobet the opportunity of suggesting *ταῖς ἡγγεμέναις* which Meineke, but nobody else, adopts.

659. *δηκοσίησι* R. V. P. F. M. V<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>.

F<sup>5</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker, Zacher, Neil. *δηκοσίοισι* I. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck. *διακοσίοισι* P<sup>2</sup>. *διακοσίοισι* (a suggestion of Dindorf) is read by Bothe, Dindorf, and (save as aforesaid) all subsequent editors. But Bergk says "forte restituendum *δηκοσίοισι*"; the best MSS. are unanimous for that form; and these old forms were certainly sometimes, as Neil observes, retained in Attic ritual. He instances, amongst other examples, the *Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίοις πᾶσι καὶ πάσῃσιν* in the sacrificial prayer, Birds 866.

667. *ἤντιβόλει* MSS. vulgo. The author of the Etymol. Magn., s.v. *ἀντιβολῶ*, after saying that *ἤντιβόλησε* is the proper form, but that some write it *ἀντεβόλησε*, adds *παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Ἀμφιάρῳ διὰ τοῦ ἤντεβόλησε δύο κλίσεις ὑπέστη*. He is plainly speaking of a particular and abnormal use of *ἤντεβόλησε* in one passage in the Amphiarus, yet Cobet (N. L. 157) proposes to write *ἤντεβόλει* here, and that is done by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Kock.

668. *λέγει* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and (originally) F. all printed editions except Zacher. *λέγει* *πάλιν* V. P. I. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. and (as altered) F. *λέγη* R. Zacher. *λέγη* *πάλιν* M. M<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. This appearance of *πάλιν* is rather disconcerting. Dindorf thought it was borrowed from 663. Porson (at Hec. 1161) proposed to substitute it for *λέγων*, the final word in the following line; and this is done by Bothe. The *λέγων* in the following line was formerly construed with *ἀφίκται* and applied to the Lacedaemonian herald; but Bergk punctuated after *σπονδῶν* and so made the *λέγων* apply to Paphlagon. And this has been almost universally followed.

674. *ἀπιέναι* Brunck, recentiores. *ἀπιέναι* MSS. editions before Brunck.

675. *πανταχῇ* R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. *πανταχοῦ* V., all the other MSS., and vulgo.

676. *ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ κορίανν' ἐπριάμην ὑποδραμῶν* MSS. (except R.) and vulgo. R. has precisely the same line, except that for *ὑποδραμῶν* it has *ὑπεκδραμῶν*, which Invernizzi, regardless of metre, prints in his text. Bothe in his second edition omits the *δὲ* after *ἐγὼ*, and ends the line with *δ' ὑπεκδραμῶν*. A far better way of preserving *ὑπεκδραμῶν*, and at the same time improving the rhythm of the line is pointed out by Fritzsche in his note on Frogs 488 *ἐγὼ δ' ἐπριάμην τὰ κορίανν' ὑπεκδραμῶν*, and this is adopted by Meineke, Kock, Velsen, Merry, and Blaydes.

683. *πάντα τοι* R. Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. *πάντα δὴ* the other MSS. and vulgo; but in V. the *δὴ* was originally omitted, and is written above the line, apparently by a later hand.—*πέπραγας* R. and all the MSS. (except V.) Junta, Gormont, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. In V. the antepenultimate letter has been altered, it is said from *χ* to *γ*, and all editions, except Junta and Gormont, before Brunck have *πέπραχας*.

697. *περικόκκυσα* V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>2</sup>. I. M. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. vulgo. *περικόκκυσα* F. P<sup>1</sup>. *περικόκκασα* R. Photius s.v. writes *περικόκκασα*, probably by a clerical error; and this error has been introduced into the text of Aristophanes, against the authority of all the MSS., by Dindorf, Bergk, and all subsequent editors except Neil. *κοκκύω* is the only proper form from *κόκκυξ*, *κόκκυγος*, as



κηρύσσω from κήρυξ, κήρυκος, and is in constant use, being indeed found twice in these very Comedies, Frogs 1380, Eccl. 31. κοκκάζω is a vox nihili.

698, 700. εὖν μὴ σ' ἐκφάγω—ἦν μὴ 'κφάγης—ἦν μὴ σ' ἐκπίω. The Ravenna MS. is remarkable for the frequency with which it reads ἦν or εὖν with an optative or indicative (Appendix to Plutus 217), and εἰ with a subjunctive. The present is a striking instance of the latter use. In these three cases R., and R. alone, has (1) εἰ μὴ σ' ἐκφάγω, (2) εἰ μὴ 'κφάγης, (3) εἰ μὴ σ' ἐκπίω. All the other MSS. without exception have εὖν or ἦν. No doubt εἰ was occasionally used with a subjunctive (see infra 805), but very rarely; and great as is the authority of R., it seems impossible to follow it in a case like this, where it is opposed to every other MS.

698. Δήμητρ' εὖν V. and all MSS. (except R. and M.) and vulgo. Δήμητραν εὖν M. Δήμητρά γ' εἰ R. Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Holden to Merry, and Neil. Δήμητρά γ' ἦν Weise, Bothe. Δήμητρ' ἔτ' εἰ Reisig, Meineke, Zacher. The general reading of the MSS. is retained here and in 700 by Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

700. ἦν μὴ V. and all MSS. (except R.) and vulgo. εἰ μὴ R. and the editors who read εἰ in 698.—'κφάγης MSS. vulgo. 'κφάγης μ' Bothe (in his second edition), Bergk, Velsen (not Zacher), and Blaydes.—δέ γ' ἦν μὴ σ' Bentley, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. δέ σ' ἦν μὴ V., the remaining MSS., and all editions before Portus, contra metrum. Portus rectified the metre by inserting γ' after μὴ, and this was the reading of all subsequent editions before Inver-

nizzi, and Weise and Bothe afterwards. Bentley rectified it as in the text, and this turned out to be the reading of R. except that R. had εἰ for ἦν. δέ γ' εἰ μὴ σ' R. and the editors who read εἰ in 698. Porson proposed δ' εὖν σε μὴ.

701. κῆτ' ἐκροφήσας Seager, Dindorf, Bergk, Green, Merry, Blaydes. κάπεκροφήσας MSS. vulgo. κῆν ἐκροφήσας Bothe (in his second edition), Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Kock. κῆν Van Leeuwen.

706. δῶ R., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. δοκῶ V. V<sup>2</sup>.

707. φάγοις ἦδιστ' ἄν; MSS. vulgo. But the notion that ἐπὶ after φάγοις must refer to a garnish only has proved too much for the critics, and various attempts have been made to alter the words. Only three editors however have tampered with the text, Velsen reading (after Enger) φαγῶν ἦδοι' ἄν; Kock φαγῶν ἦδοι' ἄν; and Van Leeuwen μάλιστ' ἦδοι' ἄν; In addition to these Bergk suggested φάγοις γίπει' ἄν; Meineke φάγοις ἡσθεῖς ἄν; O. Schneider φάγοις ἦδιστά μ'; or φάγοις μ' ἦδιστ' ἄν; while Kaehler would make a more extensive alteration ἔμ' ἴσως φάγοις ἦδιστ' ἄν ἐπὶ βαλλαντίφ. But see the Commentary.

711. καὶ διαβαλῶ πλείονα R. F, F<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. and all editions except Velsen (not Zacher). καὶ διαβαλῶ γε πλείονα V. P. M. I. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. V<sup>3</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. and (as altered) F. καὶ διαβαλῶ σε F<sup>1</sup>. διαβαλῶν γε Velsen. Others, retaining διαβαλῶ γε, would alter the commencement of the line, Hermann proposing for σ' ἔλξω to read σ' ἄρα, Bergk σ' ἔλκων, and Sauppe δὲ σέ γε.

712. πείθεται MSS. vulgo. Herwerden (V. A.) proposes πείσεται, but see the Commentary.

716. *καθ' ὡσπερ* V. V<sup>3</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M. F. F.<sup>1</sup> F<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. R. and the other MSS. and all editions before Brunck have *καθῶσπερ* or *καθῶσπερ*.

717. *ἐντιθεῖς* R. V. and all MSS. except P., and all editions before Bothe's first, and Bekker, Meineke, Holden, and Van Leeuwen since. *ἐντίθης* P. and the remaining editions. See Plutus 45.

721. *τουτογι* R. and (as corrected) F. Bentley, Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise. *τουτοι* V., the MSS. generally, all editions before Bothe's first; and Weise afterwards.

722. *με δόξεις* MSS. (except P<sup>1</sup>, which has *διδάξεις*) vulgo. Herwerden proposed to read *μ' εἶθ' εἴξεις*, and in his V. A. would also change *ἄγαθ'* into *ὄσπερ*.

726. *δῆτ' ὦ Δημίδιον, ὦ φίλτατον* Elmsley (at Ach. 475), Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe and Weise. *δῆτ' ὦ Δημίδιον φίλτατον* MSS. editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi afterwards; but Kuster in his notes had suggested *Δημίδιον γε* and Bentley *Δημακίδιον*. *δῆτα Δημίδιον, ὦ* Brunck, Porson, Bothe in his first edition, and Weise; but in his second edition Bothe changed *φίλτατον* into *φιλαιτατον*. These lines calling out Demus are variously distributed by editors.

727. *ἔξελθ', ἴν' εἰδῆς*. This line is placed here by R. M. and M<sup>2</sup>. and by Invernizzi and all subsequent editors except Weise, Kock, and Van Leeuwen. The other MSS. and editions place it before line 730.—*οἶα περιυβρίζομαι* Elmsley (at Ach. 475), Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise. *οἶαπερ ὑβρίζομαι* all MSS. except P<sup>1</sup>. Junta, Inver-

nizzi. *οἶαπερ γ' ὑβρίζομαι* P<sup>1</sup>. and the remaining editions.

728. *ἄπιτ' ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας* V., all MSS. (except R. and M.), and vulgo. For *ἀπὸ* R. and M. have *ἐκ*, and Bothe suggested *ἐκτός*, which Velsen (not Zacher) adopted. But as the rivals were *outside* the house *ἀπὸ* is clearly right. Elmsley (at Ach. 475) proposed *ἄπιτ'*; *οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας*; which I regret my inability to adopt.

729. *κατεσπαράξατε* MSS. vulgo. Cobet and Herwerden conjectured *κατασπαρέξετε*, the latter in his V. A. proposing also to change *μον* into *μή*.

739. *λυχροπόλαισι* R. M. and (originally) F<sup>6</sup>. Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise and Bothe. *λυχροπόλησιν* V., all the other MSS., and (as corrected) F<sup>6</sup>. and all editions before Bekker; and Weise and Bothe afterwards. Exactly the same statement applies to *βυρσοπόλαισιν* in the following line, except that there F<sup>6</sup>. had originally *βυρσοπόλησιν*. For *βυρσοπόλαισιν δίδως* Cobet proposed, and Meineke reads, *βυρσοπόλαις ἐπι δίδως*.

741. *εἰπέ νυν* (or *νῦν*) V., all MSS. except R. and M., and vulgo. *εἰπέ μοι νῦν* R. M. *εἰπέ μοι* Bergk, Velsen, Kock, Merry, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. But all the MSS. have *νυν*, and the fact that *εἰπέ μοι* is so very common in these Comedies may well account for its intrusion, beside *νυν*, in two or three MSS.

742. *ὄτι* MSS. vulgo. *ὄ,τι*; Elmsley (at Ach. 959) and most recent editors.—*τόν στρατηγόν* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and (as corrected) F. all editions before Brunck; and Bothe, Weise, Velsen, and Zacher afterwards. *τῶν στρατηγῶν* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>2</sup>. M. M<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. I. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. and (originally) F. Invernizzi,

recentiores, except as herein mentioned. τὸν στρατηγὸν Brunck.—ἵποδραμῶν R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except as herein mentioned. ἱπεκδραμῶν P. M. M<sup>2</sup>. I., a corrector of F. F<sup>2</sup>., all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi and Velsen afterwards. But some connect this and the following word. C. F. Hermann proposed ἀποδραμόντων, which Meineke (who has in his text ἵποδραμόντων) afterwards preferred and which is read by Holden. Kock reads ὑποτρεμόντων, and so Merry and Blaydes.—τοὺς ἐκ Πύλου Bentley, Brunck, Zacher, Van Leeuwen. τῶν ἐκ Πύλου MSS. (except a corrector of F.) and the editions which read τῶν στρατηγῶν above. τὸν ἐκ Πύλου F. (as corrected), all editions before Brunck. τοὺς ἐν Πύλῳ Brunck. τὸν ἐν Πύλῳ Weise. The foregoing statements are, I feel, very confusing, and it will make the matter clearer if I give here the principal readings. All editions before Brunck had τὸν στρατηγὸν ἱπεκδραμῶν τὸν ἐκ Πύλου. Whilst this was so, Bentley proposed τὸν στρατηγὸν ἵποδραμῶν, τοὺς ἐκ Πύλου, as in my text. This is also Zacher's reading. Brunck read τοὺς στρατηγὸν ἵποδραμῶν τοὺς ἐν Πύλῳ. Then Invernizzi introduced R.'s reading (which is that of most of the MSS.) τῶν στρατηγῶν ἵποδραμῶν, τῶν ἐκ Πύλου. This seems destitute of all meaning, but has ever since been the common reading. C. F. Hermann proposed ἀποδραμόντων, which was approved by Meineke and adopted by Holden, while Kock, Merry, and Blaydes read ὑποτρεμόντων. Van Leeuwen omits the first τῶν, and takes στρατηγῶν as a participle, ὃ τι; στρατηγῶν, ἵποδραμῶν τοὺς ἐκ Πύλου. It seems to me that Bentley's

reading is in every way the best and simplest. I ought perhaps to add that Bentley's reading is erroneously stated by Neil and others to be τῶν στρατηγῶν ἵποδραμῶν τοὺς ἐκ Πύλου, a mistake arising from their failing to observe the text of Gelenius which Bentley was correcting. For a very similar mistake see Appendix to Birds 1096. The words τῶν στρατηγῶν were not known in connexion with this line until nearly half a century after Bentley's death.

748. ἵνα τοῦτον R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores. ἵν' ἐκείνον V., all the other MSS., and all editions before Invernizzi.

750. καθιζοίμην MSS. vulgo. καθεζοίμην Bergk, Merry, Van Leeuwen.

751. εἰς (or ἐς) τὸ πρόσθε MSS. (except V<sup>2</sup>.) vulgo. Casaubon suggested ὡς τὸ πρόσθε, ut antea, and so did Bentley; and ὡς is found in V<sup>2</sup>. and is adopted by Brunck, Bekker, Weise, Bergk, Velsen (not Zacher), Kock, Merry, and Neil. But this is unquestionably erroneous. πάριτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν was the regular formula used at the opening of an ἐκκλησία, Ach. 43, Eccl. 129. For the same reason I adopt, with Blaydes, Herwerden's conjecture of παρίνοι for the παρίνοι of the MSS. and editions.

755. ἐμποδίζων ἰσχαδᾶς MSS. vulgo. No editor has altered the text, but for ἐμποδίζων Kock suggested ἐμβροχίζων, Ribbeck ἐμπαγίζων, and Zacher ἐστομίζων, whilst Dr. Verrall (Classical Review xvi. 9) with singular ingenuity proposes to read ἐμπιδίζων ἰσχαδᾶς, a fig-bird gnat-hunting. This was at first adopted by Herwerden, but in his V. A. he says that he has long since repented, giving as his reason "cuinam vir doctus per-

suadebit hoc uno loco duo periisse vocabula penitus ignota?" I lay no stress on that objection, but I cannot think that there could ever have been a bird called *ισχαδās*. *ισχάδες* are *dried figs*, which would be out of the reach of the birds; a fig-bird would be a *συκαλις*, not an *ισχαδās*. Add to this that Demus is to be imagined as sitting with his mouth open in a stupid mooning way; whereas nothing is more alert and wide-awake than a bird catching flies.

759. *εὐμήχανος* *πὸρίζειν* Bentley, Brunck, Bergk, recentiores, except Green. *εὐμηχάνους* *πορίζων* MSS. vulgo.

760. *ἔξει* MSS. (except P<sup>1</sup>. and F<sup>2</sup>. and except that some have *ἔξει*) Brunck, recentiores. *ἔξει* P<sup>1</sup>. *ἔσει* F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

761. *προσκέισθαί σοι* F. F<sup>2</sup>. I. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. *προκέισθαί σοι* V. P. M. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. *προσικέσθαι σου* R. Suidas, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Velsen (not Zacher), and Green. *προῦκέσθαι σου* Holden. But *προσκέισθαι*, which means to *press upon*, *change*, *attack*, is manifestly right. It was necessary that the foe should *come near*, *προσικέσθαι*, before the *δελφίνες* could be brought into play.—*πρότερον* R. P<sup>2</sup>. Suidas, Bothe, Dindorf, Holden, recentiores, except Merry, and Hall and Geldart. *πρότερος* V., the other MSS., and vulgo.

763. *Ἀθηναίη* R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. I. all editions before Bekker; and Weise, Bothe, Zacher, and Kock afterwards, while Meineke who reads *Ἀθηναίη* says in his note "*Ἀθηναίη restituendum.*" *Ἀθηναίη* M. V. V<sup>2</sup>. Bekker, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

765. *Σαλαβακχῶ* R. Bothe, Bekker, recentiores. *Σαλαβάκχαν* V., the other

MSS., and all editions before Bothe's first.

767. *ἀντιβεβηκῶς* R. (changed from *ἀντιβεκκῶς*) and (originally) F. Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. *ἀντιβεβληκῶς* V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. all editions before Bekker. *ἀμφιβεβηκῶς* Dawes (p. 204), Velsen, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. But of course, when Dawes made his suggestion, R.'s reading was unknown.

768. *κατατηθειήν* R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise, Bothe, and Van Leeuwen. *διατηθειήν* V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *διαπληθειήν* I.

776. *χαριόμην* R. Bekker, recentiores, except Weise and Bothe. *χαριζόμην* V., and all the other MSS. and vulgo. *χαρισόμην* Bentley (and so Brunck seems to have read, though my copy has *χαριζόμην*), Invernizzi, Bothe, and Weise.

781. *Μαραθῶνι* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἐν Μαραθῶνι* MSS. editions before Brunck.

783. *ταῖσι πέτρας* Brunck, recentiores, except Bekker, Velsen, and Blaydes. *ταῖς πέτρας* MSS. editions before Brunck; and Bekker and Blaydes afterwards. *ταῖσδε πέτρας* Velsen (not Zacher).

786. *ἔγγονος* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. Portus, Kuster, Bergler, Bekker, Velsen, and Neil. *ἔκγονος* M. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and vulgo. There is no reason for departing from the reading of the best MSS. The two words mean the same thing: "usurpantur promiscue" says Stallbaum (on Plato, Rep. II, chap. vii, p. 364 E), and include "sobolem et posteribus omnes."—*Ἀρμοδίου* MSS. vulgo. Ribbeck proposed *Ἀρμοδίων* which is read by Merry and Blaydes.

792. *ταῖς πιθάκναισι* R. M. P. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. Bentley, Dawes (on Plutus 166), Brunck, recentiores, save that Brunck proposed to substitute the un-Aristophanic word *φιδάκναισι*, and this is done by Bothe, Velsen (not Zacher), Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. See Plutus 546 and the Commentary and Appendix there. *ταῖσι πιθάκναισι* V. F. I. all editions before Kuster, though in Fracini by an error of printing the last two letters are omitted. *ταῖσι πιθάκναισι* Kuster, Bergler.

798. *πεντωβόλον* Kuster (in notes), Dobree, Bergk, recentiores, except Hall and Geldart. *πεντώβολον* MSS. vulgo.

802. *ἀρπάξῃς* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἀρπάξῃς* R. *ἀρπάξῃς* V. P. F. all editions before Brunck.

803. *καθορᾷ σου* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. M. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *καθορᾷται* Suidas s.v. *ὁμίχλη*. *καθορᾷ τι* Blaydes.

804. *καὶ μισθοῦ* MSS. vulgo. *τοῦ μισθοῦ* Cobet, Velsen, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. But *ἔπο χρείας* is far more poetical standing alone, as in Septem 275.

805. (1) *εἰ . . . διατρίψῃ . . . ἀναθαρρήσῃ . . . ἔλθῃ* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. M<sup>1</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. Here, as there is a great consensus of authority in favour of *εἰ* with the subjunctive, I have followed it in the text. See supra on 698, 700. (2) *ἦν* with the same three verbs Dobree, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. (3) *εἰ* with *διατρίψει*, *ἀναθαρρήσει*, and *ἔλθῃ* P. F. M. Brunck, Bergk, Zacher. (4) *εἰ* with *διατρίψει*, *ἀναθαρρήσει*, and *ἔλθῶν* Hirschig, Meineke, Holden, Velsen. *ἔλθῶν*, with the other two verbs in the future, is Hirschig's prosaic conjecture, and should not have been read with *διατρίψῃ* and *ἀναθαρρήσῃ*, as Blaydes reads it.

806. *στεμφύλω* R. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. I. M<sup>2</sup>. Kuster (in notes), Brunck, recentiores. *στεμφύλων* V. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M. M<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. all editions before Brunck, except Junta and Gormont, who have *στέμφυλον*.

809. *γιγνώσκων* M. Fracini, Gelenius, Frischlin, Portus, recentiores. *γινώσκων* R. V., the MSS. generally, and all other editions before Portus.

821. *παῦ παῦ οὔτος* Bentley, Elmsley (in a review of Hermann's *Hercules Furens*, *Class. Journ.* viii. 218), Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except as hereafter appears. *παῦ οὔτοσι* MSS. and all editions, except Grynaeus and Kuster, before Brunck. *παῦσαι γ' οὔτος* Brunck, Invernizzi, Weise. Bentley made some other suggestions; *παῦ οὔτωσι*, and this is read by Kuster, Bothe, and Neil; and *παῦ ὁ οὔτος*, and so Zacher, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. Grynaeus had already given *παῦ ὁ οὔτοσι*. Velsen reads *νῦν παῦ οὔτος*, Kock ὁ *παῦ οὔτος*, Bekker *παῦ οὔτος*. But perhaps the best suggestion of all is that of Porson and Dobree who would insert *μοι* after *μή* and read *παῦ οὔτος, καὶ μή μοι*.

822. *ἐλελήθεις* MSS. all editions before Brunck; and Bergk, Zacher, and Merry afterwards. *ἐλελήθῃς* Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. This is part of the great "Attic" blunder.

826. *κάμφοῖν χειροῖν* Bentley, Porson, Brunck, recentiores, except Blaydes. *κάμφοῖν χειροῖν* MSS. *κάμφοῖν γε χειροῖν* Lenting, Blaydes.

832. *τὸν Ἀθηναίων* all printed editions except as hereinafter mentioned, and Blaydes *thinks* this is the reading of F<sup>2</sup>. *τῶν Ἀθηναίων* R. V. and all the other MSS. and Cratander, Zanetti, and Far-

reus. Grynaeus set it right, but the error was reintroduced by Frischlin, and continued by Portus and all subsequent editors before Brunck.

834. *Μιτυλήνης* R. V. and all the MSS. except V<sup>3</sup>. (which has *Μυτηλήνης*) and all editions except Bothe before Dindorf; and Weise afterwards. Bothe introduced *Μυτιλήνης* because the name is so spelled upon coins, and he is followed by Dindorf, Bergk, and subsequent editors. But in Attic literature the name was always *Μιτυλήνη*.

836. *ἀνθρώποις* R. P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *ἀνθρώποισι* V. and the other MSS. Brunck, Invernizzi.

851. *μὴ ᾿γγένηται* R. Invernizzi, Kock, Merry, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. *μὴ ᾿κγένηται* V., the other MSS., and vulgo.

853. *περιοικοῦσι* MSS. vulgo. For some reason or other this word has not commended itself to certain critics, and some amusing substitutes have been proposed: *περιογκοῦσι* by Geel, *περικυκλοῦσι* by Bergk, *περιβομβοῦσι* by Meineke, *περιπολοῦσι* by Kock, and *περιστείχουσι* by Piccolomini. But nobody has altered the text.

856. *κατασπásαντες* R. F. M. Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Zacher, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. *καθαρησάντες* V., the other MSS., and vulgo.

872. *ἐμβάδων* MSS. vulgo. Dindorf has in his text *ἐμβάδων*, apparently by a clerical error; otherwise he would certainly have called attention in his notes to his alteration, saying "Legebatur *ἐμβάδων*" or the like. However the error was revived by Bergk, and is adopted by all subsequent editors except

Zacher, Merry, Hall and Geldart, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. Yet it is quite contrary to the Greek idiom. The dual is implied in *ζεύγος*, and to say *ζεύγος ἐμβάδων*, as Neil observes, is as if we were to say "A pair of two shoes." It is strange that this obvious blunder should have been substituted by so many recent editors for the reading of the MSS. which is obviously right.

873. *ἴσων* Bentley, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. *ἴσον* R. V., the MSS. generally, Junta, Gormont. *ἴσον γ'* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all the other editions before Bergk. *ἴλον* M.—*ἄνδρ'* R. and (with *ἴντα* superscribed) M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. *ἴντ'* V. and the other MSS. and editions.

877. *Γρύπτον* R. V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo; but one or two inferior MSS. have *Γρύπτον*, and Suidas, s. v. says that some spelt it *Γρύπον*. Bergk proposed to read *γρυπὸν*, the hook-nosed man; and this brilliant idea is approved by Meineke and brought into the text by Van Leeuwen.

880. *γένοντο* R. (and written over *γένωνται* in M.) Invernizzi, recentiores, with the exception of Weise and Hall and Geldart. *γένονται* V., the other MSS., and vulgo.

890. *ὑπερβαλεῖ* R. V. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. and the MSS. generally, Dawes, Brunck, recentiores. *ὑπερβαλεῖς* F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

891. *πόνηρ'*. *ἰαιβοί*. The ejaculation *ἰαιβοί* was suggested by Dindorf from Wasps 1338, and is adopted by Bothe, Dindorf himself, and all subsequent editors. *πόνηρ'*. *αἰβοί* R. *πόνηρε*. *αἰβοί* V. and the remaining MSS. and all editions except Bothe's first before

Dindorf. And the hiatus may possibly be justified by the change of speakers.

892. ὄζων MSS. vulgo. Kock suggested ὄζει, as in Wasps 38, and this is read by Velsen, Kock, Merry, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. But this is to change a dramatic exclamation into a prosaic statement of fact. Lenting, thinking that Paphlagon is offering Demus an *ιμάτιον*, proposed ὄζον. But the rivals are endeavouring to supply his want of a *tonic* (*ἀνευ χιτῶνος*, supra 881), and ὄζων refers to the *χιτῶν* which Paphlagon has brought.

893. τοῦτό γ' Bentley, Porson, Elmsley, Dindorf, recentiores, except that Velsen (not Zacher) and Van Leeuwen write τοῦτο δ'. τοῦτ' MSS. editions before Dindorf. — περιήμπισχ' ἵνα σ' F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck; and Weise and Meineke afterwards. And the same reading, with περιήμπισχ' for περιήμπισχ', is adopted by Zacher, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. I do not quite understand to whom the latter reading is due. Meineke reads as in my text, but says in a note "restituendum περιήμπισχ' ut edidit Dindorfius"; but that is not the reading of Dindorf's Oxford edition. περιήμπισχέν γ' ἵνα σ' (with τοῦτ' ἐπίτηδες) P<sup>1</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker. περιήμπισχεν ἵν' V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. and (originally) F. Bothe, Dindorf, Bergk, and Green. περιήμπισχεν ἵν' Velsen, Kock, Merry, Neil. περιήμπισχεν ἵνα σ' R. Holden. περιήμπισχεν ἵνα σ' M. and (as altered) F.

895. τοῦ σιλφίου MSS. (except P.) and vulgo. τὸν σιλφίου P. Bentley, Brunck, Velsen, and Blaydes.

896. ἔσπευδ'. All the MSS. (except

R. and M.) and vulgo. ἔσπευσεν R. M. ἔσπευσ' Bergk, Meineke, Velsen, Kock, Merry, and Neil.

899. Κόπρειος R. Brunck, recentiores. Κόπριος V., the MSS. generally, and all editions before Brunck.

902. ὁ πανούργε R. M. F. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. ὁ πόνηρε V. P. I. all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise afterwards.

903. ἀλαζονείαις Dindorf (in notes), Bergk, recentiores, except Green. ἀλαζονείας R. ἀλαζονεία V. and the other MSS. all editions before Bergk; and Green afterwards.

904. οὐχὶ νικήσεις R. M. F<sup>1</sup>. and (originally) F. Invernizzi, recentiores. οὐ νικήσεις V. P. I. and (as altered) F. οὐ με νικήσεις all editions before Invernizzi.

906. κολίχρινόν γε R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. M. F. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. κολίχρινόν τε P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and (as altered) F. all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise afterwards.

909. τῶφθαλμίδιω MSS. vulgo. But some have objected to the anapaest in the sixth place; and Bentley suggested τῶφθαλμίω and Elmsley τῶφθαλμίδια. But no editor has altered the text.

913. ἀναλίσκοντα τῶν σαντοῦ. Cobet proposed to omit these words, and they are accordingly omitted by Meineke and Holden, and bracketed by some other editors.

920. ὑπερξέων MSS. vulgo. ὑπερξέωνθ' Brunck, Invernizzi, under the mistaken idea that the Chorus are addressing the Sausage-seller.

921. τῶν δαδίων Bentley, Bp. Maltby, Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise, Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes.

τῶν δαίδων (or δάδων) MSS. except P<sup>1</sup>. and F<sup>2</sup>. δὲ τῶν ξύλων P<sup>1</sup>, F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck except Junta, Gormont, and Cratander who read δὲ τῶν δάδων. τὶ τῶν ξύλων Brunck, Weise. τὶ τῶν δάδων Invernizzi. Bentley also suggested τῶν δαλίων, which is approved by Bergk, and adopted by Meineke, Holden, and Blaydes, but involves a greater departure from the MSS.

936. ἐλθὼν V. V<sup>2</sup>. and (as corrected) F. Meineke, recentiores, except Green and Kock. ἐλθεῖν R., the other MSS., and vulgo.

940. ἐπαποπνιγείης Elmsley, Dindorf, Holden, Green, Blaydes. ἀποπνιγείης MSS. vulgo. But the second syllable is short. Meineke reads ἄμ' ἀποπνιγείης, as if a man could eat while he is choking; and attempts to support it by referring to Eccl. 91 τί γὰρ ἂν χεῖρον ἀκροφύμην ἄμα ξαίνουσα; as if *listening* and *carding wool* were not two independent operations which might very well, or so the speaker thought, be carried on simultaneously. Yet this ridiculous alteration is adopted by Velsen, Kock, and Merry. Bergk reads ἐναποπνιγείης, the exact purport of which I confess that I do not understand. It is however followed by Hall and Geldart. Elmsley's emendation to *be choked upon* (that is, *as a result of*) *your eating* seems to give the exact meaning required.

969. διώξεις MSS. vulgo. Elmsley (at Ach. 278) objected to the active future in this and some other verbs, and proposed to substitute everywhere the middle, which was also undoubtedly in use. There was really no ground for this proposal, and it may well have been one of the points on which he

afterwards became so dissatisfied that he endeavoured to call in his edition of the Acharnians. Dindorf however introduced διώξει here; and that form, after being repudiated by Bergk, was again adopted by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Neil. The ablest English exponent of the new scholarship was the late Dr. Rutherford; but those who read carefully his dissertation on the subject (New Phrynichus, § 302), will see that he *assumes* throughout that the right form is διώξομαι, and merely shows that *on that assumption* it is not difficult to correct all passages in which διώξω is found. That may be true enough; but it does not seem to me rational to reject everywhere the reading of every MS. in favour of an assumption which is quite unsupported by argument or authority.—καὶ κύριον MSS. vulgo. Dindorf with less than his usual good taste proposed to destroy this characteristic little joke by reading κ' Ἀγύρριον. He did not of course disfigure his text by introducing such an infelicitous conjecture, nor has any other editor done so except Van Leeuwen.

970-2. καὶ μὴν ἔνεγκ' . . . οὐδὲν κωλύει. These three lines are in the MSS. and editions variously distributed between the various speakers. I have adopted what seems to me the most probable arrangement.

974. τοῖσι παροῦσι πᾶσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις. This is the reading proposed by Dobree in the Addenda to Porson's Aristophanica (p. 129), and adopted by Dindorf, Holden, Green, Zacher, Kock, and Blaydes. The word πᾶσιν is not found in the MSS., but, as



Dobree says, "πᾶς passim irrepisse, neque multo rarius excidisse, vulgo notum." He might have added that there is here a special probability of its omission, from the circumstance that it immediately followed *παροῦσι* or *παροῦσιν*. Dobree mentions that the insertion of *πᾶσι* had been previously suggested, but after, instead of before, the copula *καί*. In this case the special reason for its omission would disappear; besides which the insertion of *πᾶσι* in the second branch of the sentence would, as Herwerden (V. A.) observes, seem to restrict the universality of *παροῦσι*. This reading is however adopted by Weise and Van Leeuwen. The MSS. have *τοῖσι* (or *τοῖσιν* or *τοῖς*) *παροῦσι* (or *παροῦσιν*) *καὶ τοῖσιν ἀφικνουμένοισιν*, and so vulgo, contra metrum. Bentley proposed either (1) *τοῖς ἀφιξιμένοισιν εἶν*, or (2) *τοῖσι δεῦρ' ἀφικνουμένοις*, which is read by Hall and Geldart; but *δεῦρ'* is not likely to have dropped out. Bothe reads *καὶ τοῖσιν γ' ἀφικνουμένοις*; Bergk, *τοῖς ἀποῦσιν, ἰκνουμένως*; Merry, contra metrum *τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις*. Cobet suggested *τοῖσιν εἰσαφικνουμένοις*, which is adopted by Meineke, Velsen, and Neil, but the *εἰσ-* adds nothing to the meaning.

981. *γένεθ'* Scaliger (in notes), Dindorf, recentiores. Bothe in his first edition had *γένεθ'*. *γένουθ'* MSS. and (save as aforesaid) all editions before Dindorf.

983. *δύο* M. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. Suidas (s.v. *δοῖδουξ*), Zanetti, Farreus, Rapheleng, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *δύο* R. V., most MSS., and, save as aforesaid, all editions before Brunck.

989. *ἂν ἀρμόττεσθαι* P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. *ἐναρμόττεσθαι* F<sup>2</sup>. Dindorf, Weise, Kock, Van Leeuwen. *ἀρμόττεσθαι* (contra metrum) R. V. and the MSS. generally, and Bekker.

991. *μαθεῖν* MSS. vulgo. *λαβεῖν* Suidas (s.v. *Δωριστι*), Dindorf, Green.

996. *Δωροδοκιστί* R. Suidas (s.v. *Δωριστι*), Bentley, Kuster, Bergler, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Zacher, recentiores. *δωροδοκιστί* V. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. M. F. vulgo. *δωροδοκιστί* R. Bergk.

1010. *τὸ πέος οὔτοσι δάκοι* R. M. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except as hereinafter appears. By a very natural mistake V. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>2</sup>. repeat the *περὶ ἀπάντων πραγμάτων* of four lines above, and then give *τὸ πέος οὔτοσι δάκοι* in a separate line, save only that P<sup>1</sup>. inserts *ἂν* before *οὔτοσι*. The reading of P<sup>1</sup>. is given by all editions before Brunck. Bergk however replaced *περὶ ἀπάντων χρημάτων* in this line, and having got rid of the indecency here, where at all events it is humorous, actually substituted it for the words *ὁ περὶ τοῦ κυνὸς δάκη* in line 1029, where it is merely stupid. And this absurdity is followed by Meineke, Velsen (not Zacher), and Hall and Geldart. *περὶ ἀπάντων χρημάτων* (without any alteration in line 1029) is also read by Green, Merry, and Blaydes, but merely, I suppose, for decency's sake.

1013. *νεφέλαισιν* R. Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Velsen, Kock, and Van Leeuwen. *νεφέλησιν* (as in the oracle) V., the other MSS., and vulgo.

1018. *πρὸ σέθεν* Dobree, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. *πρόσθεν*

(or *πρόσθε*) MSS. vulgo.—*χάσκων* R. M. and correctors of F. and F<sup>5</sup>. Invernizzi, Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Holden, Velsen (not Zacher), Green, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. *λάσκων* I. P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. But this makes the line tautological. *δάκνων* V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. M<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. and other MSS. and all editions before Brunck.

1019. *δρῆ* MSS. vulgo. *δρᾶς* Bothe, Bergk, recentiores, except Green, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

1026. *θύρας* MSS. vulgo. *ἀθάρης* Hermann, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Kock, Van Leeuwen.—*παρεσθῆι* MSS. vulgo. Dr. Verrall (Classical Review xvi. 9) would read *παρεισθῆι*, and translates the whole speech as follows: "That is not the true meaning; the true dog is myself. He slipped in at the door (so to speak) of your oracle, did this dog; I have an oracle which really describes him."

1029. *ὁ περὶ τοῦ κυνὸς δάκη* MSS. vulgo. In the margin of V. is an erasure in which Velsen thinks that he can detect fragments of the letters forming *τὸ πῖος οὔτοσὶ δάκοι*. They cannot be detected in the photo-gravure: and if they were ever written there, they were doubtless so written by mistake, and were erased when the mistake was discovered. They form no excuse for Bergk's absurd alterations mentioned on 1010 supra.

1036. *ἄκουσον* R. V. P. M. F., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *ἀκούσας* (with *ἄκουσον* superscript) F<sup>5</sup>. Blaydes. *ἔτ' ἄκουσον* Zacher, from an unnecessary suggestion of Velsen.—*τότε* MSS. vulgo. ΔΗΜΟΣ. *τὸ τί*; Bamberg. *τὸδε* or *τοδί* (from a conjecture of Meineke) Holden,

Zacher, Merry, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart.

1039. *τὸν* R. M. and a corrector of F., Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise. *ὄν* V., the remaining MSS., all editions before Bothe and Bekker; and Weise afterwards.—*φύλαξαι* Bekker, Meineke, recentiores, except as hereafter appears. *φύλαξαι* R. V. M. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck, and Green and Neil since. *φύλασσε* P. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf, Weise, Bergk, Blaydes.

1042. *ἔφραξεν* R. M. Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. *ἔφρασεν* V. P. P<sup>2</sup>, the MSS. generally, and all editions before Brunck. *ἔφρασσεν* P<sup>1</sup>.

1044. *ἐλελήθεις* (*ἐλήθεις* R.) MSS. all editions before Brunck; and Bergk, Zacher, Merry, and Neil afterwards. *ἐλελήθης* Brunck, recentiores, except as aforesaid. See on 822 supra.

1045. *ἐν οὐκ* MSS. vulgo. Cobet weakens this by inserting *δ'* after *ἐν*, and he is followed by Meineke and Zacher.

1046. *ὁ μόνον* MSS. vulgo. The meaning seems to be that the *πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον* is the only thing which answers to the description of the wall of wood and iron. *μόνον*, *ὁ* Dindorf. *ὁ τι τὸ* Meineke, Velsen, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.—*σιδήρου*. So I think we should read. Bergk had already proposed *σιδήρου τ'* and "Anzius" *σιδήρου γ'*. *σιδηροῦν* MSS. vulgo.—*τείχος ἐστὶ* V. and all MSS. except R. M. and vulgo. *ἐστὶ τείχος* R. M. Bekker and most recent editors.—*ξύλων* R. V. P. I. F<sup>5</sup>. and most MSS.; but notwithstanding the great authority in its favour, I think that Neil is the only editor who adopts it. *ξύλον* is

given by a corrector of F. and is the almost universal reading of the printed editions. Some MSS. give, as an alternative, *ξύλιον*, and this, though unmetrical, is read by Portus, and the editions known by the names of Scaliger and Faber. *ξύλου* Zacher.

1049. *έκέλευσ' έν. έκέλευσε* R. F. *έκέλευε* V. and all the other MSS. and all editors before Bergk. But Porson, observing that the Etymol. Magn. s.v. *έξάκλιον* quotes, though without naming the author, the words *έν πεντεσνρίγγω ξύλω*, proposed to read here *έκέλευ' έν*. And this is done by Bergk and all subsequent editors except as aforesaid. It seems to me however far better to adopt R.'s reading *έκέλευσε* (with *έν*), especially having regard to the use of *έκέλευσε* two lines above; and I have the less hesitation in adopting it, since I find that Kock and Neil have done the same.

1052. *ός σοι* MSS. vulgo. *ώς σοι* Bergk, recentiores, except Green, Hall and Geldart, and Neil.

1056. *φέρει* R. P<sup>1</sup>. and a corrector of F. and all printed editions. *φέρει* V. and the other MSS.—*ανάθειη* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. M. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>2</sup>. and a corrector of F. and vulgo. *καταθειη* P. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and (originally) F. *ανάθειη* Cobet, Bergk to Velsen (not Zacher), Merry.

1058. *φράσαι* Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. The epic form is quite suitable to the oracular diction. *φράσαι* R. M. *φράξεν* V. and the remaining MSS. and vulgo. See nine lines below.

1062. *ούτος* R. M. Invernizzi, Bekker, Dindorf, Meineke, Velsen, Green, Blaydes, recentiores. *αὐτός* V. and the

remaining MSS. and vulgo. *ούτως* Bothe in his second edition.

1065. *αναγίνωσκε* M. Brunck, recentiores. *αναγίνωσκε* R. V., the other MSS., and all editions before Brunck.

1067. *φράσαι* Brunck, recentiores. *φράσαι* R. V. M. P. I. and the MSS. generally, and P<sup>1</sup>. has the second *σ* superscript. *φράσαι* F. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck; but Kuster had already observed "legendum vel *φράσαι* vel *φράξεν*."

1080. *τόνδ'* MSS. (except R.) vulgo. *τῶνδ'* R. *τοῦδ'* Cobet, Meineke, Velsen (not Zacher).

1084. *φράζει* R. Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. *φράξεις* V. and the other MSS. and vulgo.

1087. *γίγναι* Brunck, recentiores. *γίγνη* V<sup>2</sup>. *γίγη* R. V. M. and several other MSS. *γίγει* P. I. and several other MSS. and all editions before Brunck.—*βασιλεύεις* R. M. Bekker, Dindorf (in notes), Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Kock, Blaydes, recentiores. *βασιλεύσεις* V. and the other MSS. and vulgo.

1102. *ούκ ανέχομαι* R. M. and the MSS. generally, and vulgo. *ούδ' ανέχομαι* V. Blaydes.

1108. *εὖ με μάλλον άν ποιή* MSS. vulgo. But the doubling of *άν* with a subjunctive is thought objectionable, and Elmsley (Mus. Crit. i. 362) proposed for *εὖ* and *άν* to read *νῦν* and *εὖ*. And so Bergk, Meineke, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. Kock preferred *εὖ* and *νῦν*, and is followed by Velsen and Merry. Reisig preferred *εὖ* and *αὖ*, and so Dindorf in his notes, whilst Green commences the line with *όπότερος οὖν*. But a purely empirical rule, such as that which forbids the

duplication of *ἀν* with a subjunctive, must give way when it is shown by the MSS. to be wrong.

1110. *εἶσω* R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Bothe and Weise. *ἤδη* V. and the other MSS., all editions before Invernizzi; and Bothe and Weise afterwards.

1131. *χοῦτω* R. V. F. M. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise, Merry, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen. *οῦτω* P. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. all editions before Bothe and Bekker; and those excepted above.—*ἀν εὖ ποιούς* R. V. M. F. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. Bekker, recentiores, except Weise, and Velsen. *ἀν εὖ ποιείς* I. P<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, Invernizzi (who however seems from his note to have intended to read *ποιούς*), and Weise. Meineke in his V. A. suggested *ἄρ' εὖ ποιείς*, and this is read by Velsen (not Zacher). *ἀν εὖ ποιῆς* P. P<sup>1</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>, (and superscript in V.) all editions before Bekker.

1132. *εἶ σοι* MSS. vulgo. Bergler, Reiske, and Bergk all proposed *καί σοι*, and so Velsen (not Zacher) and Van Leeuwen read.

1134. *τούτῳ* MSS. vulgo. Dobree suggested *οὔτω*, which is read by Blaydes.

1150. *κημὸν* MSS. vulgo. *κημῶ* (a conjecture of Blaydes) Zacher, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.

1158. *εἰ δὲ μὴ, φράσεις γε σύ.* R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except as hereafter mentioned. And so, with *εἶ γε μὴ*, P. P<sup>2</sup>. M. I. F<sup>5</sup>. and all editions before Invernizzi. But V. V<sup>2</sup>. F. and some other MSS. have, with *εἶ γε μὴ, φράσις*. And Porson suggested *εἶσομ', ἦν φράσις γε σύ*, which seems as improbable as it is ingenious, but is adopted by Meineke, Holden, Kock, Zacher, and Van Leeu-

wen. Kuster proposed *εἶ γε μοι φράσεις γε σύ*.

1163. *ἦ γὰρ θρύψομαι* MSS. vulgo. See the Commentary. The MS. reading seems excellent, but Bentley suggested *εἰ γὰρ θρύψομαι*, Bergk *ἦ διαρραγήσομαι*, and Hartman *εἶ τι θρύψομαι* which Herwerden thinks probable, and Van Leeuwen brings into the text. The Scholiast says *ἀντὶ τοῦ συντριβήσομαι ἢ σφόδρα τρυφήσω καὶ σεμνουῖμαι*, where *συντριβήσομαι* seems to be a clerical error, but Kock, on the strength of it, suggested *ἦ πιτρίψομαι* which is read by Meineke, Holden, Kock, and Zacher. Of all the alterations Merry's *εἰ μὴ θρύψομαι* seems far the best; but no alteration is required.

1179. *χόλικος* MSS. vulgo. *χόλικας* Blaydes, Van Leeuwen.—*ἠνύστρου* MSS. vulgo. *ἠνυστρον* Van Leeuwen.

1189. *ἢ Τριτογένης γὰρ* MSS. vulgo. *ἢ Τριτογένει' ἄρ'* Cobet, Meineke, Holden. "sed non convenit hic particula ἄρ'" as Blaydes says: "sed γὰρ necessarium" as Van Leeuwen says.

1196. *ἐκείνοι γὰρ* Elmsley (at Ach. 754), Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise. *ἐκείνοι γὰρ* R. V. and all the MSS. except P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκείνοι γ'* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Bothe and Bekker; and Weise afterwards.—*τίτες*; R. V. and all the MSS. give this to Paphlagon (or Cleon), and make it an interrogation; and so all the editions except as hereinafter mentioned; but Meineke, who always prefers the prosaic to the dramatic (see Appendix to Frogs 765 and infra 1242), writes *ἔρχονται τίτες*, giving the entire line to the Sausage-seller; and this dull alteration is adopted in defiance of all the MSS. by

Holden, Velsen, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen.

1197. βαλλάντια R. V. P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. Bergk, recentiores, except Green. βαλάντια M. I., a few other MSS., all editions before Bergk; and Green afterwards.

1200. ἰφήρπασας MSS. vulgo. Dobree suggested ἰφαρπάσας, but immediately withdrew his suggestion. It is however adopted by Zacher, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.

1204. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκινδύνεσ'. See the Commentary. The first half of line is given to Cleon (Paphlagon) and the second to the Sausage-seller by R. V. and apparently all the MSS. which give the speakers' names, and vulgo. Bergk gives the first half to the Sausage-seller and the second to Paphlagon. The entire line is given to Paphlagon by Bothe, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Merry, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen; Blaydes however adopting Reiske's suggestion and writing ἐγὼ δ' ἐκυνηγέτησά γ' and Van Leeuwen reading ἐγὼ δ' ἐκινδύνεσά γ'.

1206. ἰπερναυιδευθήσομαι Elmsley (at Heracl. 387), Dindorf, Bergk, Velsen, recentiores, except Zacher and Van Leeuwen. So ἀναυιδεύεται supra 397. -δεσθήσομαι MSS. vulgo (though I am not sure of R.'s reading). -δίσθησομαι Dindorf (in notes), Meineke, Holden, Zacher, and Van Leeuwen.

1207. τί οὐ διακρίνεις, Δῆμ' MSS. vulgo. Elsewhere however the Sausage-seller says ᾧ Δῆμ', and Kock therefore suggested but did not read τί οὐ διακρίνεις δῆθ' which is brought into the text by Blaydes and Van Leeuwen. οὐ διακρινεῖς ᾧ Δῆμ' Velsen, Merry. οὐκουν κρινεῖς ᾧ Δῆμ' Zacher.

1214. ἔνεστιν; ΑΛ. οὐχ ὄρᾱς R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. ἔνεστιν; ΑΛ. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὄρᾱς V. and the MSS. generally. ἔστ'; ΑΛ. ἀλλὰ γ' οὐχ ὄρᾱς P<sup>1</sup>, all editions before Brunck. ἔνεστιν; ΑΛ. ἀλλ' ὄρᾱς Brunck, Weise. The ἀλλὰ seems to have crept into the text from the name ΑΛ.

1217. βάδιζε γούν MSS. all editions before Bergk; and Green afterwards. βάδιζέουν Reiske, Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Kock. βάδιζε δ' οὖν Sauppe, Kock. But the MSS. are unanimous, and there is no sufficient ground for departing from their authority.

1218. ὄρᾱς τὰδ'; οἶμοι Elmsley (at Ach. 1230), Bekker, Dindorf, Holden, Green, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, Van Leeuwen. ὄρᾱς (without τὰδ'); οἶμοι R. V., the MSS. generally, and Junta. ὄρᾱς οὖν; οἶμοι P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. ὄρᾱς; ἰώμοι Bergk, Meineke, Velsen, Kock, Merry, Neil.—ᾄσων R. V., the MSS. generally, Grynæus, Bentley, Brunck, recentiores. ᾄσων F<sup>3</sup>. all editions before Brunck.

1221. σ' ἐργάζετο a corrector of F<sup>5</sup>. Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Kock, Merry, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen. ἐργάζετο (without σ') V., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. ἐργάζετο Zanetti. σ' ἠργάζετο R. Velsen, Hall and Geldart, and Neil. And I too should have followed R. had there not been such a strong consensus of the MSS. in favour of the more ordinary form. As it is, I merely borrow the σ' from R.

1225. τν V. I. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. and (as corrected) F. and F<sup>5</sup>. and all printed editions except Velsen. τοι R. P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>5</sup>. M. and (as corrected) V. and F<sup>9</sup>. Elmsley (at Ach. 127) objecting, without sufficient reason, to δὲ commencing an anapaest, proposed

to read τ' and this is done by Velsen.—*κάδωρησάμην* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. I. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Dindorf except Brunck and Bekker; and Zacher afterwards. *κάδωρησάμαν* M. F<sup>2</sup>. Brunck, Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores, except Zacher. But Bekker and Dindorf were under the erroneous impression that V. so read. Blaydes changes *ἐγὼ* into *ἐγών*. But I ask a reader to consider what a mess the Waverley Novels would be in if every strict Scotticism were to be thrust into their Scotch speeches.

1230. *μ' ἐδέησεν*. See the Commentary. *'δέησέ μ'* Bentley, Bothe, Meineke, Holden, Velsen, Neil. *δέησει μ'* R. V. V<sup>2</sup>. F. M. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *δέησειν* P. M<sup>2</sup>. and originally F<sup>2</sup>., but the reading there has been corrected into *δέησει μ'*. Both the readings of the MSS. are unmetrical, and Bentley's emendation is the only one which has even the slightest plausibility. The others are *με δέι ποθ'* Brunck. *χρεὼν ἔμ'* Dindorf, Velsen. *με χρή' στιν* Dindorf in notes. *χρησται με νικασθαι* Meineke in V. A. *δίκη' στί μ'* Kock. *δέησει μ' ἀνδρὸς* (omitting *φράζων*) Hermann, Merry, Blaydes. *δέι μ' ἀνδρὸς* (retaining *φράζων*) Herwerden, Van Leeuwen.

1232. *τεκμηρίφ* MSS. vulgo. *τεκμηρίους* Herwerden, Zacher, Van Leeuwen.

1237. *μοῦ* (for *μοι δ*) Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Green and Hall and Geldart. *μ' οὐ* V. V<sup>2</sup>. *μοῦ* Bekker. *μου* R. and all the other MSS. and vulgo. The *εἶεν* which follows this verse is found in V. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>1</sup>. and F<sup>2</sup>., but is omitted in R. and all the other MSS. In V. it comes at the end of 1237; in all the printed editions before Kuster at the beginning of 1238. The first to notice that it should stand in a line by itself was

Scaliger, and the first so to print it was Kuster; and this course has been followed by all subsequent editors except Invernizzi who (with R.) omits it altogether.

1239. *ἐναντίον* V. and all the MSS. (except R.) and all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen since. *ἐναντία* R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except as aforesaid.

1242. *καὶ τὶ*; These words are given to Cleon (that is, Paphlagon) by all the MSS. and by all the editors before Dindorf, save only that Bothe gives *καὶ* to the Sausage-seller, leaving only the *τὶ*; to Cleon. Dindorf, at the suggestion of Meineke (see on 1196 supra), was the first to give the whole line (*καὶ τὶ καὶ*) to the Sausage-seller, and he is followed by every subsequent editor. So this little dramatic interposition, which must have been very telling on the stage, is clean wiped out; and the humour of Aristophanes is reduced to the level of prose historians and philosophers.

1250. *καὶ σ' ἄκων* MSS. vulgo. *κεῖ σ' ἄκων* Bergk, Velsen, Kock, Merry, Hall and Geldart, Van Leeuwen, and Neil. *κἂν σ' ἄκων* Meineke. *ἐπεὶ σ' ἄκων* Blaydes.

1252. *οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον* MSS. vulgo both here and in the Alcestis. *οὐχὶ μᾶλλον* Suidas s.v. *κλέπτῆς* and also s.vv. *οὐχὶ μᾶλλον*. Bp. Monk introduced the reading of Suidas into the Alcestis; and Porson thought it should be introduced here. I wish I had their courage; for *οὐχὶ μᾶλλον* seems to me both simpler and more euphonious.

1254. *ὦ χαίρε* κ.τ.λ. This speech is given to Demosthenes by R. and P., *rectissime*, and by Invernizzi, Bothe,

Bekker, Dindorf, and Van Leeuwen. He is the only person who could speak it. By V. and all the other MSS. and editions it is given to the Chorus, as if the Leader of the Knights had anything to do with making the Sausage-seller a Man, or could possibly sue for this subordinate position. I doubt if the statement that in R. the speech was originally attributed to Demus, and only by a correction to Demosthenes, is accurate. I think that the writer meant the original ΔΗΜ. for "Demosthenes," and then, finding that it might be mistaken for "Demus," went on to give the whole name. Had he ever intended it for "Demus" he would not have prefixed ΔΗΜ. to the next speech. The two speeches would have become one.

1256. *ἔσομαι* R. M. and (as corrected) F. Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores. *γένομαι* V. and that or *γένομαι* the other MSS. and editions.

1263. *ἀμείνω* τῇ MSS. vulgo. *ἀμείνω* ἅ τῇ Hirschig, Meineke, Holden, Blaydes, Van Leeuwen, a reading which, if it had the unanimous support of the MSS. instead of being entirely destitute of support, should be summarily rejected: for of course the Sausage-seller means that he will be the best man *to*, not *in*, the City. Though expressed in a slightly different manner, his meaning is the same as when he said *ἀμείνων* *περὶ σέ* to Demus supra 1208. *Δῆμος* and *πόλις* are convertible terms.

1264. The scheme of the Strophe (and Antistrophe) of this second Parabasis is as follows:—

υ		-υυ	,	-υυ		-υ	
		-υυ	,	-υυ		-υ	
-υ	,	-υ		-υυ	,	-υυ	
		-υ		-υ		-υ	

K.

-υ		-υ		-υ		-	
-υ	,	-υ		-υυ	,	-υυ	
		-υ		-υ		-υ	
-υ	,	-υ		-υυ	,	-υυ	
		-		-υυ	,	-υυ	
υ		-υυ	,	-υυ		-υ	,
		-υ	,	-υ		-υ	
		-υ		-υ		-υ	

10

1267. *μηδὲν ἐς Λυσίστρατον* MSS. vulgo. So long as *ἐλατῆρας* was supposed to be the object, and not the subject, of *ἀείδειν*, these words were altogether unintelligible. They could not, as Bentley observed, be construed with *λυπεῖν*, and the suggestion of Dindorf (in Invernizzi's edition) that *εἰπεῖν* is understood was equally impossible. Reiske proposed to change *λυπεῖν* into *λακεῖν* or *ἀστυεῖν*, while Kock suggested *μήδ' ἀεὶ Λυσίστρατον*, which Blaydes adopts. But when once you realize that *ἐλατῆρας* is the *subject* of *ἀείδειν* all difficulties disappear. *ἐς Λυσίστρατον* means "about" or "on" Lysistratus. Cf. *Lysist.* 1244.

1268. *τὸν ἀνέστιον* MSS. (except F<sup>2</sup>), both Juntas, Gormont, Invernizzi, recentiores, except Bothe. *ἀνέστιον* (without *τὸν*) F<sup>2</sup>. all the other editions before Invernizzi; and Bothe afterwards.

1270. *οὔτος, ὃ φιλ'* Invernizzi, Bothe, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores. *οὔτοι ὃ φιλ'* R. V., the MSS. generally, both Juntas, Gormont, and Bekker. *οὔτοι φιλ'* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>., all editions before Invernizzi. *οὔτος γ' ὃ φιλ'* Weise. From the reading of the best MSS. *οὔτοι ὃ φιλ'* it is necessary to strike out either the *-ι* or the *ὃ*, and the former is infinitely the more probable course. The *αἰ* at the end of the line was inserted by Dindorf, and is read by all subsequent editors except Bothe.

1271. *θαλεροῖς θακρύοισιν* Bothe, Bek-

R.

ker, recentiores, except as hereinafter mentioned. *θαλεροῖς δακρύοις* R. V., the MSS. generally, Bergk, Zacher, Merry, Hall and Geldart, and Neil; to meet their alteration of the corresponding line in the antistrophe. *θαλεροῖσι δακρύοις* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi afterwards. *θαλεροῖσι δακρύοισιν* Brunck, Weise.

1272. *Πυθῶνι διά μὴ κακῶς* Hermann, Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Bergk, recentiores. *Πυθῶνι ἐν διαί, κακῶς* R. M. F. Bekker, Dindorf. *Πυθῶνι ἐν, διαί κακῶς* V. P. F<sup>6</sup>. Invernizzi, who mistakes it for R.'s reading. *Πυθῶνι ἐν, διαί τὸ κακῶς* F<sup>2</sup>., all editions before Invernizzi, and Bothe afterwards. *Πυθῶνι ἐν, διαί μὴ κακῶς* I. Here I. greatly distinguishes itself as the only MS. which preserves the indispensable *μὴ*. No doubt the word dropped out of many MSS. when the adjective *διαί* was changed into the preposition *διαί* with which *μὴ* was quite incompatible. While *διαί* was the accepted reading Bentley proposed to read *Πυθῶδ' ἰδὼν* for *Πυθῶνι ἐν*, referring to Birds 188.

1275. *ὅστις εὖ λογίζεται*. For *ὅστις* Dawes (at Peace 117) proposed to substitute *εἴ τις*: "quod bonum," says Brunck, "forte etiam usitatus, nec tamen ideo contra codd. fidem reponi debuit." See note on Eccl. 290.

1277. *αὐτὸς ἦν ἐνδηλος* R. M. Invernizzi, Bekker, recentiores. *οὗτος ἦν ἐνδηλος* V., all the other MSS., and all editions before Invernizzi.

1281. *καὶ βούλεται* MSS. vulgo. Herwerden proposed to read *κἄλλων μέτα*. "Qu. τοῦτο μὲν κἄλλοι βροτοί, vel τοῦτο μὲν δὴ χᾶτεροι, vel τοῦτο πολλοὶ χᾶτεροι, vel τοῦτο μὲν καὶ μυρίοι" Blaydes.

1282. *οὐ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἡσθόμεν* | *Οὐδὲ*

*παμπόνηρος*. These two half-lines are found in their proper place only in R. All the other MSS. omit them. V. however has a note at the bottom of the page, *ἐν ἄλλοις Ἔστι δ' οὖν κ.τ.λ.*, giving lines 1282 and 1283 in full. In their absence the line becomes, unmetrically, *ἐστὶ δ' οὐ μόνον πονηρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξεύρηκέ τι*. And so both Juntas and Gormont have it. Aldus and all other editions give both lines in full. For *ἡσθόμεν* Bentley proposed *ἡχθόμεν*.

1294. *φασὶ μὲν γὰρ* Bentley, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Blaydes who places the *μὲν* after *τοῦτον*, and Van Leeuwen who reads *φασὶ γὰρ ποθ'*. *φασὶ γὰρ* MSS. and all editions, except Dindorf's, before Bergk; and except that Weise has *φασὶ γὰρ νῦν*.

1295. *ἀνέρων* MSS. vulgo. *ἀνδρικῶς* Velsen, Blaydes. This is the only alteration which has got into the text, but Meineke conjectured *οὐσίας*, Blaydes *χρήματα*, and Zacher *σιτία*. If any alteration were required, I would rather read *ἄνθεμα* or *ἄλφειτα*, governed not by *ἐχόντων* but by *ἐρεπτόμενον*.

1296. *ἀπὸ τῆς σιπύης* MSS. Bekker, recentiores, except Bothe who reads *σιπύης ἄπο*. *ἀπὸ σιπύης* all editions before Bekker.

1297. *ἂν ὁμοίως* R. M. Invernizzi, recentiores, except as hereinafter appears. *ἀνομοίως* V. V<sup>3</sup>. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. all editions before Brunck. *εἰᾶν ὁμοίως* is written in the margin of I. and of P<sup>2</sup>., and is read by Brunck and Weise. *ἀλλ' ὅμως* P. F<sup>6</sup>.; while F. had originally *ἀνομοίως* with *καὶ ἀλλ' ὅμως* in the margin. Bentley suggested *ἂν ὅμως*, which is read by Bergk, Zacher, Hall and Geldart, and Neil; but not by Merry, though he has



δακρύοις in the strophe. Velsen proposed *ἔλεινωῶς* or *ἂν ἔλεινωῶς*.

1298. *ἔξελεθε* MSS. vulgo. *εἰσελεθε* Bergk, Merry, which they do not explain, and I cannot understand. For why should they ask him to go *in*, when they want him to go *out*?

1302. *οὐδὲ πυνθάνεσθε* MSS. vulgo. *οὐδ' ἐπυνθάνεσθε* Bothe, *οὐδέπω πέπυσθε* (from a suggestion of Blaydes) Zacher, Blaydes.

1303. *καρχηδόνα* MSS. vulgo. But *καλκηδόνα* or *Χαλκηδόνα* seems to have been read by the Scholiast, and is suggested by Casaubon, Scaliger (in notes), Paulmier, Bentley, and Kuster (in notes); and *Χαλκηδόνα* is read by Brunck, Bothe, and Weise; and *καλκηδόνα* by Bekker, Dindorf, Meineke (in notes), Holden, Velsen (not Zacher), and Green. But see the Commentary.

1304. *μοχθηρὸν* V. V<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all printed editions except Invernizzi. *πονηρὸν* R., the other MSS., and Invernizzi.

1307. *εἰάν με χρῆ* Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise and Blaydes. *εἰάν με χρῆ* MSS. all editions before Bothe's first; and Weise afterwards. *εἰάν δέη* Blaydes.

1311. *καθῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ* Bentley, Brunck, recentiores, except as herein-after mentioned. *καθῆσθαι (καθείσθαι R.) μοι δοκῶ* MSS. all editions before Brunck; and Bothe and Holden afterwards. Dawes proposed *καθῆσθ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ* (cf. Birds 671) and so Meineke reads in his text, but in his V. A. he comes over to Bentley's reading.

1312. *πλεούσας* Reiske, Brunck (referring to Wasps 270), Weise, Meineke, recentiores, except Zacher, Hall and Geldart, and Neil. "Brunck's emendation is ingenious and certain," says Porson in Mus. Crit. ii. 129. *πλεούσας* MSS.

vulgo. *πλεούση* Invernizzi. *πλέουσ'* ἂν Dawes, which would be necessary if *δοκῶ* were retained.

1316. ΑΔ. In all the MSS., and in all the editions before Brunck, and in Velsen, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen afterwards, the name of the Sausage-seller remained unchanged throughout. But here, and for the remainder of the Play, Brunck calls him 'Αγοράκριτος, and he is followed by all subsequent editors except as aforesaid. There seems no sense in changing his name in the middle of the Play; he should either have been 'Αλλαντοπώλης throughout, or 'Αγοράκριτος throughout; and I gladly return to the MS. reading.

1319. *φέγγος 'Αθήνας καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπίκουρε* R. Invernizzi (except that he thought R. had *φέγγος τ'* and so prints the line in his edition), Porson, Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Blaydes. *νήσοις ἐπίκουρε καὶ φέγγος 'Αθήνας* V. and all the MSS. except R. P<sup>1</sup>. and F<sup>2</sup>. And with *ἐν* inserted before 'Αθήνας P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and all editions before Brunck. Whilst this was the only known reading, several amendments were proposed; *νήσοις ἐπίκουρε φανεῖς καὶ*, Bentley; *ἐπίκουρε φανεῖς νήσοις καὶ* Valckenaer, Brunck. *νήσοις ἐπίκουρ' ἡμῶν καὶ*, Kuster. But R.'s reading is not only obviously right in itself: it accounts for the error in the other MSS.; and I do not know why Blaydes should propose five new conjectural readings of the line, and actually insert one in his text, changing *καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπίκουρε* into *νήσοις τε φανεῖς ἐπίκουρε*, and that, although he admits that the article is required with *νήσοις*.

1321. *ἀφεψήσας ἑμίν* R. V. M. F. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>., the MSS. generally. Frischlin. Brunck.

recentiores. ἀφεψήσας ἡμῖν P. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions, except Frischlin, before Brunck.

1324. πῶς ἂν ἴδοιμεν Brunck, recentiores; but Bergk suspects, and Meineke and Holden omit, the line without any reasonable cause. πῶς ἂν ἴδοιμεν MSS. all editions before Brunck. See Dawes's canon cited in the Appendix to Plutus 438.—ποῖαν τιν' ἔχει σκευήν; Porson, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe. ποῖαν ἔχει (ἔχεις M) σκευήν; MSS., all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi, Bothe, and Bekker afterwards. τιν' ἔχει σκευήν; Brunck.—χοῖος Bentley, which accounts for the καὶ in the MSS., and fits in very appropriately with the οἶος in the reply. καὶ ποῖος MSS. all editions before Brunck, and Invernizzi, Bothe, and Bekker afterwards. ποῖος Reisig, Dindorf, recentiores, except Bothe. καὶ ποῖός τις Brunck. καὶ τίς Porson.

1327. φαινόμεναισι Porson, Bothe, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise. φαινόμεναισι R. V. M. I. P<sup>2</sup>. φαινόμεναισι P<sup>1</sup>. (but with -ιῶ superscript) all editions before Brunck. φαινόμενησι P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>3</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. φαινόμενησι Brunck, Invernizzi, Weise.

1331. τETTIΓΟΦΟΡῶΝ ἀρχαίῳ Bentley. τETTIΓΟΦΟΡΟΣ ἀρχαίῳ MSS. (except I.) all editions before Brunck; and Bekker afterwards. τETTIΓΟΦΟΡΑΣ ἀρχαίῳ Porson, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except Weise; and this is said to be the reading of I. τETTIΓΟΦΟΡΟΣ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ Brunck, Invernizzi, Weise. It has always seemed to me that the substantive τETTIΓΟΦΟΡΑΣ was out of place, and that the participle τETTIΓΟΦΟΡῶΝ was required. It seems far more natural to say "Here he stands, wearing the tettix," than to say "Here he stands a tettix-wearer." And now

that I find τETTIΓΟΦΟΡῶΝ suggested by Bentley I have no hesitation about introducing it into the text. Bentley suggested either τETTIΓΟΦΟΡῶΝ, ἀρχαίῳ or τETTIΓΟΦΟΡΟΣ κἀρχαίῳ.

1334. τοῦ Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου M<sup>2</sup>. Bentley, Elmsley (at Ach. 343), Bothe, Bekker, Dindorf, Bergk, Meineke, Holden, Velsen (not Zacher), Green, Blaydes, Neil. See Wasps 711. τοῦ ν' (variously written) the other MSS. vulgo. R. has τουμαραθωνι, and Fracini τοῦ Μαραθῶνι, but I imagine they both mean τοῦ ν' Μαραθῶνι.

1336. ἀφεψήσας. ΑΔ. ἐγώ; MSS. (except that R. makes the Sausage-seller's speech commence with the following line) vulgo. And it seems to me a very felicitous arrangement. Yet some German scholars have thought themselves able to improve it. Hermann proposed ἀφεψήσας ἔσω. Bergk ἀφεψήσας νέον, which Kock brings into the text. Meineke ΑΔ. ἀφεψήσας γ' ἐγώ; and Velsen ἀφεψήσας. ΑΔ. ἰδοῦ. What can be more tame than these alterations, and what more vivid than the unaltered text?

1338. οἶ' ἔδρας MSS. (except F<sup>2</sup>.) Bentley, Bekker, Dindorf, recentiores. οἶον ἔδρας F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Bekker.—νομίζεις ἂν R. M. F. I. vulgo. νομίζεις ἂν V. V<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. ἂν νομίζεις P.

1339. πρὸ τοῦ, κάτειπε' καὶ R. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise, Blaydes, and Hall and Geldart. κάτειπέ μοι πρὸ τοῦ καὶ V. the MSS. generally, contra metrum. Aldus made the line scan by omitting καὶ and so vulgo. It is obvious however that Blaydes, in restoring the reading of Aldus, believes himself to be restoring the reading of V. and the other MSS.

1341. *ἐραστής τ'* R. V. I. V<sup>2</sup>. P<sup>3</sup>. Bergk, Merry, Neil. *ἐραστής* the other MSS. and editions.

1346. *ταυτί μ' ἔδρων* R. V., the MSS. generally, Invernizzi, recentiores, except Bothe and Weise. *τοιᾶντα μ' ἔδρων* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Invernizzi; and Bothe and Weise afterwards.—*οὐκ ἤσθόμεν* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. *οὐκ ἦδειν* the MSS. generally, Invernizzi, Bekker. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to re-write the line, so as to bring in ἦδειν or ἦδη, but none worthy of mention.

1348. *σκιάδειον* M. M<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. P. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. and (originally) F. Brunck, recentiores, except Invernizzi. *σκιάδιον* R. V., most MSS., all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi afterwards. They are very possibly right. R. has *σκιάδιον* in Birds 1508 and 1550; but *σκιάδειον* is necessary in Thesm. 823, 829.

1350. *καὶ νῆ Δί' εἴ γε δύο* Porson, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores, except as hereinafter appears. *καὶ νῆ Δία γ' εἰ δύο* (contra metrum) R. M. M<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. P. P<sup>2</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. Rapheleng; and so, with *σοι* inserted *after* *δύο*, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bekker; and with *σοι* inserted *before* *δύο* Bergk, Merry, and Neil. *καὶ νῆ Δί' εἰ δύο* (contra metrum) V. *καὶ νῆ Δία γ' εἰ δύο* all editions before Brunck.

1351. *ναῦς λέγων* R. M. I. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. and (as corrected) V. all editions before Brunck; and Invernizzi and Bekker afterwards. *ναῦς μακρὰς* P. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>. and (originally) V. Brunck, Bothe, Dindorf, recentiores. The weight of the MSS. is greatly in favour of *λέγων*, and it seems to me that it is far less likely than *μακρὰς* to have crept in from a marginal explanation. We have *ναῦς*

*μακρὰς* a few lines below (1366); and an annotator may have reasonably wished to make it clear that the ships mentioned here were of that description, and so have written *ναῦς μακρὰς* by the side, whence the epithet got into the text. But who would have thought of writing *λέγων* by the side? It is not of much importance, but it is perhaps worth mentioning that the Scholiast gives his explanation of *ναῦς μακρὰς* on line 1366. Had he read *ναῦς μακρὰς* here, he would have given his explanation here.

1352. *καταμσθοφορήσαι τοῦθ'*, P. Bentley, Bothe, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores, except Meineke, Holden, Velsen, and Kock. *καταμσθοφορήσαι, τοῦτον* V. M. I., most MSS., all editions before Bothe's first; and Bekker and Weise afterwards. For *τοῦθ'* R. has *τοῦτων* and Kock *τῶνδε*. *καταμσθοφορεῖν, τοῦτοι* Elmsley (at Ach. 178), Meineke, Holden, Velsen (not Zacher).

1357. *νῦν δ' αὖ* Elmsley. *νῦν δέ* MSS. all editions before Brunck, and Bekker afterwards. *νῦν δὴ*, Brunck, Invernizzi, Bothe, Weise. *νυνδὶ* Seidler, Dindorf, Bergk, recentiores.

1368. *ἰπολίσποις* MSS. (except that R. has *ἰπολίποις*, a mere clerical error) vulgo. Brunck in his note suggested *ἰπολίσφοις*, which is read by Bothe in his second edition, and by Meineke, Holden, Velsen (not Zacher), Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, and Van Leeuwen. This is part of the great "Attic" blunder. Cf. Frogs 826.

1369. *ὀπλίτης* V. V<sup>2</sup>. And in 1835 before V.'s reading was known it was suggested by F. Thiersch; and so Dindorf (in notes), Weise, Bergk, recen-

tiores, except Green. *ὁ πολίτης* R. and the other MSS. and vulgo.

1371. *ὄσπερ* P. P<sup>1</sup>. F. F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. I. M<sup>2</sup>. M<sup>3</sup>. all editions except Bekker and Van Leeuwen. *ὄσπερ* R. V. M. V<sup>2</sup>. Bekker. Blaydes suggested *ὄπερ* which is read by Van Leeuwen.

1373. *ἀγοράσει γ' ἀγένης* V. M. F., the MSS. generally, and vulgo. For *γ'* R. has *τ'*, and so Blaydes and Van Leeuwen; F<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>5</sup>. M<sup>2</sup>. δ'; and M<sup>3</sup>. σ'. Dindorf writes *ἀγοράσἀγένης* and is followed by Green.—*οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ* P<sup>1</sup>. vulgo. *οὐδεὶς ἐν τὰγορᾷ* V. and the MSS. generally. *ἐν τὰγορᾷ οὐδεὶς* R. *οὐδ' ἐν τὰγορᾷ* Hermann, Bergk, Meineke, Merry. Kock proposed *ἐν τὰγορᾷ τ' ἀγένης οὐδεὶς ἀγοράσει* which is adopted by Holden, but Kock did not himself introduce it into his text: and indeed such a complete transformation of a line is only permissible in a very extreme case.

1376. *ἀ στωμιλείται τοιαδί* MSS. (except that one or two have *στωμιλείται*) vulgo. *ἀ τοιαδί στωμύλλεται* Velsen, Herwerden, Blaydes, and Van Leeuwen.

1377. *σοφός γ' ὁ Φαίαξ, δεξιῶς τ' οὐκ ἀπέθανε* (or *-εν*) R. V. M. M<sup>3</sup>. F. F<sup>2</sup>. V<sup>2</sup>. vulgo. And so with *ἐμάνθανεν* for *οὐκ ἀπέθανεν* P. F<sup>5</sup>. (but the latter has *γρ. οὐκ ἀπέθανεν*) Weise. And with *τε κατέμαθεν* for *τ' οὐκ ἀπέθανεν* Dindorf (in notes), Meineke, Holden, Velsen (not Zacher), and Kock. *δεξιὸς ὁ Φαίαξ καὶ σοφῶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν* P<sup>1</sup>. *δεξιὸς γ' ὁ Φαίαξ σοφῶς τ' οὐκ ἐπέθανεν* I. whence Bruneck wrote *δεξιὸς ὁ Φαίαξ καὶ σοφῶς ἐμάνθανεν*. The ordinary reading is plainly right. *οὐκ ἀπέθανεν* is an affected phrase for "obtained his acquittal on the capital charge," but that is exactly what we

should expect from these perfumed youngsters.

1378. *συνερκτικός* MSS. vulgo: and M. has *συνεργητικός* superscriptum. Dindorf, observing that the Scholiast's explanation is *συνείρειν τοὺς λόγους καὶ συντιθέναι δυναμένος*, says "ab *συνείρειν* non potest derivari *συνερκτικός*. Quamobrem scribendum *συνερτικός*." And *συνερτικός* is accordingly read by Meineke and all subsequent editors except Green and Neil. But the Scholiast does not say, or mean, that *συνερκτικός* is derived from *συνείρειν*. He is merely giving an explanation of that word. And even if we supposed that the Scholiast had really before him the reading *συνερτικός*, that variant should not prevail against the unanimous verdict of the MSS.

1385. *ὅς περιοίσει*. I have adopted the conjecture of Mr. Richards (*Classical Review* xv. 386) for the *ὄσπερ οἴσει* of the MSS. and editions. The alteration is very slight, and improves both the sense and the rhythm of the line.

1392. *ἔλαβες αὐτάς*; Bentley, Tyrwhitt, Brunck, recentiores. *ἔλαβε ταύτας* R. M. M<sup>2</sup>. all editions before Brunck. *ἔλαβες ταύτας* V. P. P<sup>1</sup>. P<sup>2</sup>. and the MSS. generally.

1393. *ἀπέκρυντε ταύτας* MSS. vulgo. *ἀπέκρυντεν αὐτάς* Hirschig, Kock, Blaydes.

1398. *μόνος* MSS. vulgo. Tyrwhitt proposed *ἤμενος*, Reiske *μόνον*, Blaydes *μένων*.

1401. *πίεται τὸ λούτρον* Elmsley, Bekker, recentiores, except Weise and except that Bothe has *πίετ' ἄν*. *πίεται τὸ λούτρον* R. V. M. P. F. and the MSS. generally. *αὐτὸ λούτρον πίεται* P<sup>1</sup>. F<sup>2</sup>.

all editions before Bekker; and Weise afterwards.

1405. ἦν ὁ φαρμακός MSS. vulgo. ἦσθ' ὁ φαρμακός Meineke (in V. A.), Zacher, and Blaydes.

1408. οἷς ἐλωβᾶθ' R. V. M. F. F<sup>1</sup>. Invernizzi, recentiores, except Weise. οὖς

ἐλωβᾶθ' P. F<sup>5</sup>, several other MSS., all editions before Invernizzi; and Weise afterwards. Dindorf refers to Bekker's Anecdot. 50. 29, where Phrynichus says that λωβᾶσθαι takes either a dative or an accusative.



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